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Marshal Blücher

THE
PUBLIC CHARACTERS
OF
EUROPE;

CONTAINING
THE LIVES

OF ALL
THE EMINENT MEN
NOW LIVING,

WHO HAVE PERFORMED CONSPICUOUS PARTS IN THE POLITICAL
TRANSACTIONS OF THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

FORMING A COMPLETE

History of the Late War.

BY FRANCIS GIBBON, ESQ.

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS
OF THE
Most Distinguished Personages.

VOL. III.

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PUBLIC CHARACTERS,

&c.

Memoirs

OF

C. M. TALLEYRAND DE PERIGORD,

PRINCE OF BENEVENTUM, &c.

FEW characters of the present day possess greater talents than this distinguished statesman; and few have had more occasions to call them into action. It is said, Talleyrand was called Napoleon's *right arm*; Berthier, his *military helmet*; and Fouche, his *revolutionary armour*. To the two former were ascribed his success in the cabinet and the field; and to the latter, the safety which he enjoyed at home against plots and conspiracies. To Talleyrand, however, France and Napoleon were most indebted. Without Fouche, Napoleon might have escaped the plots and conspiracies of the royalists; and, without Berthier, he might have gained battles in the field: but, without Talleyrand, the fruits of victory would in some measure have been lost; and those advantageous treaties, which were dictated at the point of the sword, and at the expence of the independence of the continent would never have received ratification. Few public transactions, either in France or Europe, for the last twenty-five years, have taken place, in which Talleyrand has not had a share; and his Memoirs in consequence become extremely interesting: we therefore offer no apology for presenting them to our readers.

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND DE PERIGORD was born at Paris, on the 7th of March 1754; and is

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descended

descended from one of the most ancient families in France. He is the younger son of a younger branch of the Counts of Perigord, who, three centuries ago, were sovereigns of a country in the south-western part of France, still called Perigord. Club-footed by birth, and having no hope of any fortune from his parents, he was educated and destined for the church: he was placed at the college of Louis-le-Grand, and was distinguished for his early genius.

In 1767, he obtained the first prize for learning in his class: but, at the same time, he was publicly reprimanded for his glaring irregularities; which, however, seems to have had but little weight: for, during the Easter week in 1768, having, with some of his licentious comrades, gone to a public brothel, he there got involved in a quarrel with some mousquetaires of the King's household troops; and, in consequence of declining to give one of them satisfaction, he was thrown from a two-pair-of-stairs into the street, and both his legs were broken in the fall. Refusing to tell the *guet* (at that time the police soldiers at Paris) his name and place of abode, he was carried to the hospital Hotel Dieu, where he remained four days, before the superior of the college and his friends could learn what had become of him. The lieutenant-general of the police, influenced by his relatives, gave out that the fracture was produced by accident in the street, and ordered him to be removed back to the college. But there, by the confession of one of his associates, the real cause was already known, and his re-admission refused. It has been related, that when he was informed of his disgrace, though lying on a bed of sickness, he flew into a passion, and swore that it should not be for want of his zeal if twenty-five years afterwards Christian teachers and Christian pupils were not to be found in France, or if Christian churches were not changed into theatres, and Christian colleges into brothels.

Talleyrand's father had died two years before this accident, and bequeathed nothing to his son but his high birth. He had, however, recommended him to his elder brother, the Count de Perigord, who had his nephew secretly brought from the hospital to his palace. In the autumn of the same year he was so far recovered as
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to be put under the care of the same governor with his first cousin, Prince de Chalay. The governor, whose name was Fouguet, soon observed that, notwithstanding the brightness of Talleyrand's genius, his most difficult task would be to restrain his vicious propensities. By turns, he duped his cousin by his art, and deceived his governor by his duplicity. He reigned over the former by his superior capacity, and often ruled the latter by an hypocrisy above his age, so perfect as to be mistaken for ingenuousness. Whenever he could get out alone, the brothel and the gaming-house were his usual places of resort. To indulge his extravagance, he robbed his cousin of his pocket-money, his governor of his books, and even made free with the scanty purses of their servants, but always in such a manner as to continue undiscovered, if not unsuspected. The following story has been related of him; which, if true, stamps him one of the greatest monsters the world ever produced.

In the vicinity of Count de Perigord's palace resided Madame Gauchier, a widow with five children, three of whom were daughters. Her husband, a Swiss by birth, had early entered the French service; and, from his merit, had risen from the ranks to be a Captain, and Knight of the order of St. Louis. Wounded in Germany during the seven years' war, he survived the peace of 1767 which concluded it, only two years. The scanty pension allowed his widow by government was insufficient to maintain her family; she therefore became a mantua-maker, and brought up her daughters to the same trade. Their industry and regularity were the common topics of conversation, and the admiration of all their neighbours, until the spring of 1769, when, on a fatal day, the charms of the girls excited the attention and inflamed the desire of Talleyrand. Poor and artless, by splendid presents and brilliant offers, their innocence was soon allured by the insidious snares of seduction. In less than six months Maria and Amy, the one aged eighteen, the other sixteen, were in a state of pregnancy, and were persuaded by their base seducer to take medicines in order to conceal the effects of their illicit attachment. So dreadful were their effects, that they immediately deprived Amy of life, and Maria of her reason; and the wretched mother accompanied, on the same day, one of her daughters to the

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grave,

grave, and the other to the mad-house. So little did she suspect the real author of her misfortunes, that she continued still to receive with distinction his visits, consulted him as a friend, and revered him as a benefactor. She had, however, soon occasion to repent of her simplicity, and to deplore her ignorance. Her third daughter, Sophia, on her fourteenth birth-day, during the carnival in 1770, eloped from her distressed parent. After many fruitless searches, the police was applied to: but in such a manner had Talleyrand planned the retreat of his new victim, that until Midsummer the police could not find out her place of concealment; and, had not a female accomplice, in whom Talleyrand trusted, betrayed his secrets, they would not even then have succeeded. Among others who interested themselves in behalf of the unfortunate mother, was the Duke of Penthièvre, who generously offered a reward of 3000 livres to any person who should discover the lost child. This sum was too strong a temptation for the woman, in whose house, and under whose care, the girl had resided in the Rue St. Antoine, to resist; and poor Sophia Gauchier was taken in the arms of her seducer, being in a fair way to become a mother. In her room was a box containing pills, which were intended for the same purpose as those which had proved so fatal to her sisters. These, after being examined and compared with the drugs found in the corpse of the poisoned Amy, left but little doubt of the guilt of Talleyrand. At the recommendation of the Duke of Penthièvre, Sophia was received in the convent of the Urselines, near Paris, where, notwithstanding the tenderness and consolation of the abbess, she shortly expired, in consequence of a premature delivery. Her death was, in two days afterwards, followed by that of her mother, from a broken heart; and the same tomb contained them both. Such was the end of this unfortunate family.

When Count de Perigord was informed of his nephew's consummate infamy, a family council was convoked. Some proposed to have the young monster exiled to the colonies for life; whilst others, wishing to prevent a recurrence of like crimes and atrocities in other climates, proposed to petition the King for a *lettre-de-cachet*. This proposition was adopted; and, in October 1770, Talleyrand was

was seized in a gaming-house in the Palais Royal, and confined in the Bastile, under the assumed name of Abbé Boiteux. From this state-prison he was, in the following December, removed to the Castle of Vincennes, where he continued in solitary confinement for twelve months.

While in prison, Talleyrand was incessantly employed in contriving means of escape. The chaplain of the Castle of Vincennes visited him in the double capacity of a comforter and instructor, and was the only person permitted to visit him. With this priest he regularly read, prayed, sighed, and wept. He often inflicted severe penances upon himself; and even expressed a desire of entering the order of La Trap, the most rigid of all monastic institutions. By these hypocritical means, he so imposed on the chaplain, that he represented to the Count de Perigord, that the life of the Abbé Boiteux was not only that of repentance, but of edification. Upon this assurance, Talleyrand was sent to finish his studies with the Jesuits of Toulouse; where, in 1773, he was received a member of the Gallican clergy by the famous Bishop Lomenie de Brienne, afterwards so notorious in the French revolution for his religious and political apostacy, under the title of Cardinal de Brienne, Bishop of Sens.

Talleyrand was now a great favourite with Madame du Barry, the mistress of Louis XV. and, with other debauchees, he was the constant attendant at her toilette in the morning, and her boudoirs in the evening. Through her recommendation, he obtained from Louis XV. two abbeys, worth 24,000 livres a year, and the survivance of the bishopric of Autun, or the King's letters patent to succeed to that see at the first vacancy. The favour of Madame du Barry was a sure letter of introduction to all other gay and fashionable companies in the French capital. He therefore no longer found it necessary, to gratify his inclination for the fair sex, to stoop to intrigues with obscure mantua-makers: Duchesses, Marchionesses, Countesses, and Baronesses, were, as he said, dying by scores in love for him, or quarrelling with emulation to be the happy mortal that could fix their accomplished but volatile beau. "During five years," says he, "six husbands from jealousy, on his account, had blown out their brains; and eighteen lovers had perished in duels for ladies who were his mistresses; ten wives, deserted

deserted by him, had retired in despair to convents; twelve unmarried ladies, from doubt of his fidelity or constancy, had either broken their hearts, or poisoned themselves in desperation. He had, besides, during the same short period, made twenty-four husbands happy fathers, and forty maids solitary and miserable mothers." Such is the enumeration of his shocking debaucheries, of which he so openly boasted. In some houses his dignity in the church, and in others his wit, procured him admission; but, wherever he visited, some females or other became the victims of his artifice.

Having retired to his bishopric at Autun, "in order," as he said, "that the regret occasioned by his absence might at his return procure him fresh laurels in his campaigns in the Parisian boudoirs," he was followed by the Marchioness de C——, who, under pretence of visiting an estate of her husband's, expected to give an agreeable surprise to the Bishop. At the time that this lady made her appearance, a rival in the Bishop's affections also appeared. Madame de M——, who had been separated from her husband in consequence of her intrigue with Talleyrand, presented herself. Her sufferings for his sake were claims her seducer seemed to acknowledge, by receiving her with open arms. The Marchioness, instead of combating this new rival, entered into a negotiation with her. They agreed to absent themselves at fixed periods from the episcopal palace at Autun. The night before this agreement was put into execution, an occurrence took place, which changed their compact into an offensive and defensive league against their common but faithless lover. The Marchioness, it seems, had placed spies about her friend as well as her rival; by which means she discovered one evening, after she had retired to rest, that a stranger had slipped into Talleyrand's bed-room. She immediately sounded the alarm; and, accompanied by Madame de M——, passed through a secret staircase, and surprised by his side the landlady of an inn at Autun. The two ladies thought it prudent to suppress their indignation; but he soon found that he was no longer regarded as their agreeable companion.

The Marchioness, in order to be revenged, had heard from himself his conduct towards the family of Gauchier;
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and, after a number of inquiries, found that their elder brother was an adjutant in a Swiss regiment, quartered at Nancy. By a confidential person, she informed him of the outrages committed on his family by Talleyrand, instigating him to revenge, and promising all the support in the power of herself and friends. She advanced him money to proceed to Paris, where she procured him lodgings in her neighbourhood. She instructed him how to conduct himself with caution, yet with efficacy, and to punish the offender without endangering his own safety. He accordingly went to Talleyrand; and, after coolly relating his complaints, demanded 100,000 livres for not proceeding against him before the tribunals, or petitioning to his temporal and spiritual sovereigns, the King of France and the Pope of Rome. Talleyrand, after exculpating himself as well as he could, offered Gauchier a present of twenty-five louis d'ors, on condition that he would return to his regiment, and never more mention this *bagatelle*, as he termed it. This offer was of course rejected with disdain and indignation. From the determined conduct of the young man, he suspected he was backed by some secret instructor. To disappoint them both, he went to the war-office; and, under some specious pretext, he obtained an order for Gauchier, enjoining him to quit Paris in five hours, and to be with his regiment within six days. The Marchioness, with the assistance of her friends, got this order revoked; and, the next day, Gauchier delivered a petition to the Pope's nuncio, informing him that another to the same purport would be presented to the King. The King was not entirely ignorant of the vicious life of Talleyrand; and it had required all the influence of his family to obtain from the court his appointment to the see of Autun: they would probably never have succeeded in their efforts, had not Louis considered it a duty to do honour to the presentation of his grandfather, Louis XV. by giving it his approbation. Talleyrand knew that if the crimes with which he was charged could be proved against him, neither his dignity in the church nor his noble birth could avert public justice. The communication of Gauchier's memorial, therefore, both humbled and alarmed him. By pecuniary sacrifices he might have hushed this disagreeable affair; but his extravagance

gance with women, his profusion with men, want of order in his domestic concerns, and losses at the gaming-tables, had exhausted all his resources. He sent, however, for Gauchier, who was with much difficulty persuaded to withdraw the petition from the Nuncio, and to sign a promise of secrecy and oblivion; and he received a bond for the sum demanded. Two days afterwards, this young man was taken up dead, from the nets of St. Cloud, having been robbed, stabbed, and thrown into the Seine.

The Marchioness, in advising Gauchier to ask for a sum of money, well knew the deranged circumstances of Talleyrand; and, as his ruin was her only object, a bond which he would be unable to pay was the most useful instrument in her hands, where it had been deposited as a security for 12,000 livres, which she lent young Gauchier to purchase a commission in the dragoon regiment of Schomberg, to the Colonel of which, her relation, she had given him strong letters of recommendation. All this money, and all these papers, were probably in Gauchier's pocket when he was robbed and murdered, as they were searched for in his lodgings without success. His death was first announced to her in a note from Talleyrand, requesting an interview, and stating that his information came from the police. She agreed to his request, in hopes of finding some evidence to implicate him in the murder of Gauchier. To effect this, she concealed two persons in a closet adjoining her saloon, where they could see and hear every thing that passed. But Talleyrand was on his guard. At the three first interviews, nothing was expressed on his part but apologies, and regret for the misfortune he deplored of giving her offence: not a word of Gauchier, but what was contained in his note. Observing that her reserve decreased as his visits were repeated, Talleyrand affected more tenderness than ever. Deceived by his duplicity, a perfect reconciliation took place on her part; and, to convince him of her sincerity, she even went so far as to burn the bond given to Gauchier, which she did before his face. This imprudence, by discovering her connexion with Gauchier, only added fresh fuel to his former hatred. But, though he had determined upon her exposure and destruction, he continued to visit her
with

with seemingly increased affection. The Marquis, her husband, was twenty-five years older than herself, and had married her not from love and esteem, but because her fortune was sufficient to pay off the mortgages on his estates. He was not apt to be jealous, nor did he care about her intrigues; but he hated publicity, and feared the ridicule resulting from it. Talleyrand, the better to conceal his numerous intrigues, had taken six apartments in different parts of Paris. His usual place of appointment with the Marchioness was a first floor in the Fauxbourg St. Honore. Knowing one night that her husband supped in the vicinity, he carried her there from the Opera: after a short supper, on some pretext or other, he made an excuse to absent himself for an hour. The Marchioness went to bed, and extinguished her taper. As soon as she was asleep, a person laid himself down by her side. Immediately she was awakened by a noise in the street, where some persons were fighting. The assailant, after being accused of having wounded his opponent, sought refuge in this house, where he was followed by both the police-guards and the mob. Under an idea that the assassin had entered the room where the Marchioness lay, the door was forced open; and she, together with her bedfellow, who was no other than Talleyrand's valet, was arrested. Her surprise, her protestations, her tears, and her indignation, availed nothing. She was on the point of being dragged, half-naked, to prison; when her husband, informed by an *unknown hand* of her perilous situation, made his appearance, just a-propos to prevent all further disgrace and *éclat*. The next day, a deed of separation was signed between the Marquis and his lady, wherein it was agreed she should receive an annual pension, and bind herself to travel abroad, and not to re-visit France during her husband's life.

The scandal of this plot and treachery became too notorious not to reach the ears of Louis XVI. By the King's command, Talleyrand, after being reprimanded by the Pope's nuncio in the presence of the Archbishop of Paris, was put under the escort of two *gardes-de-corps*, carried back to Autun, and ordered, under pain of having his episcopal gown torn off, not to leave the diocese without the King's permission. La Flamand, his

tool and accomplice, was shut up in the house of correction, called *Bicetre*, after signing a confession of his guilt, in which he implicated his master.

During his exile at Autun, Talleyrand wrote a memorial against Necker's financial arrangements, which he dedicated and sent to M. Calonne; who, in return, procured the King's permission, with great difficulty, for him to pass a few months in the capital. No sooner, however, did M. de Calonne's favour at court decline, than Talleyrand published a refutation of his own memorial, in which he libelled the minister. This refutation, as well as the memorial, was anonymous.

At the period of assembling the States-General, in 1789, Talleyrand was very assiduous in cultivating the favour of Louis XVIII. who was then styled *Monsieur*; but, by those who had a knowledge of his character, and who observed his conduct, he was suspected, after the resignation and retreat of M. de Calonne, of having been paid by the prime-minister Cardinal de Brienne to watch the parliament, by the parliament to watch the court, and by the court to watch both the parliament and the prime-minister. He is said to have professed friendship to the Cardinal, and received bribes from him; at the same time he was selling his secrets to his rivals, betraying his plans, and plotting to supplant him with his friends. The confidence reposed in him by parliament he employed to involve it in disputes with the court; and the knowledge he had of the views of the court was communicated to the leading members of the parliament to make reconciliation impossible, that their mutual animosity might finally precipitate both in the same gulf. These intrigues created a general mistrust, and obliged, after two years of agitation, confusion, and disgust, the King to convoke the States-general, which was the first step to the accomplishment of that revolution which swept away the monarchy and every ancient institution in France.

Many are supposed to be the causes of a revolution, in which Talleyrand has played such a deep and conspicuous part; but its origin, crimes, and progress, may, with most colour of probability, be ascribed to a secret sophistical and anti-religious sect, long nourished in the academies and cities of France, connected with numerous societies

societies through all parts of Europe, meditating a total or partial abolition of the existing laws, customs, and modes of public worship, and projecting an entirely new distribution of power among nations, an universal change of dynasties, with a general overthrow of all established authorities. The existence and machinations of such a sect are rendered indisputable by the researches of the Abbé Barruel, Professor Robison, and other modern writers. The writers and reasoners attached to this sect succeeded in rendering religion ridiculous, and afterwards odious. From the abuses of popery, and the vices of the priests, they proceeded to a systematical assault on mysteries and miracles, and from these to the very existence of a God. The attack on governments was managed with more caution: they were covertly and cautiously assailed by general declamations in favour of liberty, and on the necessity of reform; by the ostentatious exposure of the offensive parts of modern history, and by continual contrasts of the present with times past, or the system under which these writers lived with that of other nations possessed of greater freedom and less burdens. In France, the numerous publications of a band who assumed the title of Economists spread general discontent, and inspired a great eagerness to increase the wealth and diminish the burdens of the nation by a rigid and indiscriminate saving. Talleyrand was one of the most subtle and active members of this sect. All exemptions from participation in the expences of the state were loudly descried, and the maintenance of the clergy was considered as a great political evil; seignorial rights were reprobated, no less as indications of slavery, than as impediments to good husbandry; and the expences of the court were regarded with peculiar malignity, as an ostentatious and useless mode of squandering away the treasure of the people. When, therefore, the King convoked the States-General in 1789, every thing was in a ferment, and all the materials were ready for a general overthrow of the church and monarchy: a centre and supplies, the great requisites of a political faction aiming at important plans, were only wanting; and these were found in Paris in the wealth, rank, profligacy, and turbulence, of the Duke of Orleans. This Prince, a member of the Royal Family, nourished in his heart an unnatural

rancorous antipathy against the reigning branch of his family. Regardless of character, but yet ambitious of fame, he was surrounded by Talleyrand, Mirabeau, Sillery, Sieyes, &c. who led him with rapid steps to promote the aims of the anti-religious and anti-social innovators. To the Orleans faction Talleyrand owed his nomination as a deputy to the States-General.

After a lapse of 175 years, the States-General met at Versailles on the 5th of May 1789. The ceremony commenced with an act of devotion. The deputies, preceded by the ministers of the altar, and followed by the King, repaired to the temple of the Deity amidst an immense crowd, who offered up vows for the success of their endeavours to reform and regenerate the state. Having returned to the hall, the King, who was seated in a magnificent alcove, with the Queen on his left hand, and the Princes and Princesses of the Blood around him, delivered an appropriate discourse in a loud and distinct voice, with all the confidence of an orator accustomed to address a numerous assembly. "The day," said his Majesty, "is at length arrived, which my heart has so long panted to behold; and now I find myself surrounded by the representatives of a nation, which it is my glory to command. A long interval has elapsed since the last convocation of the States-General; but, although their assemblies have not been for some time held, I have not been dissuaded, by the example of my late predecessors, from re-establishing a custom by which the nation may earnestly hope to acquire new vigour, and which may be the means of opening to it an additional source of happiness. A very general discontent, and a too eager desire for innovation have taken hold of the minds of the people, and will end in misleading their judgment if they do not hasten to fix it by wise and moderate counsels. It is in this confidence, Gentlemen, that I now assemble you; and I rejoice to think that the measure has been justified by those dispositions which the two first orders of the state have shewn to renounce their own pecuniary privileges. The hope which I have cherished to see all the orders unite and concur with me in wishes for the public good, will, I am certain, not be deceived. I have already ordered very considerable retrenchments in respect to my own expences; you will moreover furnish me

me with your sentiments on the subject, which I shall receive most gladly: but, in spite of the resources which the strictest economy can suggest, I fear, Gentlemen, that I shall not be able to relieve my subjects so soon as I could wish. The public spirit is in a ferment; but an assembly of the representatives of the people will certainly hearken to no other counsels than those founded on wisdom and prudence. You yourselves, Gentlemen, have been able to judge, on many recent occasions, that the people have been misguided; but the spirit which will animate your deliberations, will also evince the true sentiments of a generous nation, whose distinguished character has been their love of their prince. I shall banish from me every other sentiment. I know the authority and power of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people at all times attached to the principles of the monarchy. These have occasioned the glory and splendour of France. I ought, and I ever shall support them. But whatever may be expected from the most tender solicitude for the public good; whatever can be asked from a sovereign, the sincerest friend of his people, you may, you ought to hope from me. May a happy union reign in this assembly; and may this epocha become ever memorable by the felicity and prosperity of the country. It is the wish of my heart; it is the most ardent desire of my prayers; it is, in short, the price which I expect for the sincerity of my intentions and my love for my people."

When the King had ended his speech, the keeper of the seals, M. Barentin, arose, and paid many just compliments to the monarch, who had listened to the public voice in convoking the States-General. He also enlarged on the advantage of a limited government, equally removed from absolute monarchy on one hand, and anarchy and absolute republicanism on the other. The comptroller-general of the finances, Necker, succeeded M. Barentin; and, in a speech of great length, insisted on the necessity of directing the principal attention of the assembly to the state of the finances, which he allowed to be deranged: but he, at the same time, reduced the deficit to fifty-six millions of livres, which he affected to consider as a trifle to a great and opulent nation. His harrangue, however, gave satisfaction to no party. The two first orders deemed it alike unfavourable to their rank

rank and privileges; and the third estate was astonished that nothing was said of liberty, reform, and a new constitution: and all were surprised, that, in respect to the great and important question of deliberation by poll, or by chambers, the speech of Necker was dark and ambiguous.

Although Mirabeau and Necker were irreconcilable enemies, Talleyrand had the art to remain upon intimate terms with them both. He was the confident of the latter, and the friend of the former. It was according to his ideas and advice that the speech of the comptroller-general had been worded and composed. As this official discourse was the first blow aimed at the popularity of this purse-proud man, many believed, at this time, that Talleyrand had previously planned with Mirabeau his disgrace and removal from the head of the financial department, in hopes to succeed to his place; as, when once a member of the King's council, he could oblige, by his intrigues, M. de Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs, to resign an office, the aim and ambition of Mirabeau ever since his nomination as a deputy to the states-general, it might easily induce him to expect that the court, from dread of his eloquence and immorality, would purchase his talents or quiet his turbulence by a place or a pension.

Never did any people, either ancient or modern, when at perfect liberty to nominate their representatives, select such a set of profligate men, as those who represented the French nation in its several assemblies. Even many of those who were of respectable families, and had some property, could otherwise claim no regard for their religious and moral principles. The most impertinent, and at the same time the most ridiculous pretensions to dignity and wealth, to authority and advancement, were the *primum mobile* of all their actions, and the sole aim of all their machinations. As the King had it not in his power to exalt them all to the rank and grandeur of princes, ministers, governors, generals, admirals, bishops, judges, presidents, &c. &c. they determined to reduce rank, eminence, and merit, to a level with themselves. Accordingly, the third estate began, on the very day the States-General met, to plan the degradation of the two first orders, by forcing them, contrary to
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former ancient and invariable customs, to unite and deliberate with them in the same hall, or, which was the same thing, to be governed and dictated to by their vast majority. Had they not been aware their cause would be supported by many accomplices both among the clergy and nobility, whom the Orleans faction had brought over to their interest, the party would not at so early a stage of their proceedings have ventured upon so bold an undertaking. But Talleyrand, Sieyes, Gregoire, and others, among the clergy—and Orleans, La Fayette, the brothers La Methes, Montesquieu, with their partisans, among the nobles—either betrayed the confidential discussions of their orders, or publicly opposed the wish and resolution of the majority, by joining the seditious commons. At last, on the 27th of June, both the clergy and the nobles, at the express recommendation of the King, repaired to the hall of the States-General, which was thenceforward called the National Assembly.

The revolution now began to take a turn, which neither its promoters nor opposers expected. Talleyrand considered a total subversion and anarchy as the only means to retrieve his affairs, and to acquire notice and consideration: this made him declare early in favour of the popular party. His name and dignity procured him a certain influence over some members of his order; and his example seduced a great number of the inferior clergy. Though possessing talents of the first order, his excessive immorality made him forget that his continual fluctuation and inconsistency would finally convince every body, that he knew no other laws than those of self-interest, and had no other principles than those that led to make his fortune or to obtain advancement.

On the 6th and 7th of July 1789, he proposed to the National Assembly, to declare void the contents of the instructions which the members had received from their constituents. Some few days afterwards, he spoke in favour of comedians, of Jews, and of the public executioners, to all of whom he proposed, by a formal decree, to give the rights of active citizens. On the 20th of August, he proposed a decree, which was adopted by the National Assembly, which declared all citizens, without distinction or exception, admissible to public employments. Three days after, he opposed any mention being made of divine worship

worship in the Declaration of the Rights of Man; and insisted, it was only in the constitutional code where any thing concerning the sacred and holy Roman Catholic religion should be inserted. On the 27th of the same month, and on the 10th of October, he spoke on the finances of France. He acknowledged the necessity of a new loan; but urged also the spoliation of the estates and lands of the clergy, which he insisted was both just and expedient.

In the *conciliabula* of the Orleans faction, Mirabeau proposed, that Talleyrand should be fixed upon to bring forward in the National Assembly a motion of confiscation, or to declare the possessions of the church national property. The motive which actuated Mirabeau in this instance was twofold: by means of this apostate prelate, he intended to humble the whole body of the French clergy; and, by making Talleyrand the mover of the question, to silence, if not to remove, the scruples of a great majority of the nation, who, he well knew, even in the then perverted state of France, would look upon such an unheard-of pillage as nothing less than a sacrilege. Accordingly, on the 2d of November, Talleyrand ascended the tribune, and produced his motion. After a debate of ten hours, it was carried by a large majority; and the National Assembly decreed the confiscation and sale of the property of the French clergy, notwithstanding their offer to advance four hundred million of livres, a sum more than sufficient to restore the balance and establish the credit of the royal treasury.

About this period, Talleyrand was particularly attentive to the financial affairs of his country; but he declared himself strongly against the plans presented by Necker to the National Assembly: instead of which he recommended state bills. This recommendation, notwithstanding the assembly's previous and solemn declaration, "that the creditors of the state were placed under the protection of the honour and loyalty of the French nation," was not listened to.

Towards the latter end of November, Talleyrand was appointed by the National Assembly, one of its commissioners to examine into the real situation of the *Caisse d'Escompte*, or Discount Bank, established by Necker during the American war, and exclusively favoured by
that

this minister; and in January 1790 he became a member of the Committee of Imposts. It was he who digested the famous Address to the French Nation, which the National Assembly ordered to be published. During the same month, he was elected President of the National Assembly. The mobs rising every where and on every occasion, and threatening the most fatal consequences—the tumultuous proceedings of the National Assembly—the seduction of the soldiery—and the manœuvres, clamours, and calumnies, against the King and Queen—may be truly ascribed to the Duke of Orleans, to Mirabeau, Talleyrand, and other subordinate agents, or venal mercenaries, of the same faction.

At the grand national confederation, on the 14th of July, Talleyrand was entrusted by the municipality of Paris to officiate pontifically in the splendid ceremony on the occasion, in the Champ de Mars. He appeared at the head of more than two hundred priests, all dressed in white linen, and adorned with the tri-coloured ribbands. When about to officiate, a storm of wind took place, followed by a deluge of rain. Without any regard to this event, which many would have thought extremely ominous, he proceeded in the celebration of the mass; after which he pronounced a benediction and consecration on the royal standard of France, and on the eighty-three banners of the departments which waved around it before the altar of the country. Among other ceremonies of this celebrated confederation, Talleyrand administered to the representatives of the people, and to the federal deputies sent by the departments, a new oath (the fourth within twelve months) of fidelity to the Nation, to the King, and to the Law. In this solemn oath, by which the French bound themselves, it was anticipated that domestic tranquillity would return; but those who looked closer into events only anticipated a vast scene of unqualified perjury, and it was with reason dreaded that the people would not be satisfied with the advantages they had acquired. The people heard with distrust the assurances of Louis; and, while he was anxious only to preserve the power that was left him, the multitude were taught to consider the right they had asserted as precarious, unless fortified with the ruins of the throne and the altar.

The labours of Talleyrand in the several Committees were not without their profit. They were particularly well rewarded when a member of the Diplomatic Committee, that proposed the decree agreed to by the National Assembly, which changed the family compact between the French and Spanish Bourbons into a national alliance between the French and Spanish nations. England was then arming to defend her just right to Nootka Sound, and demanded satisfaction for the violence committed there on British navigators and traders. Unable, with any prospect of success, to combat this country without the succours of an ally, the Spanish ambassador at Paris was instructed to distribute 2,000,000 of dollars among the members of the diplomatic committee, for the renewal and confirmation of former treaties with France by the National Assembly. Of this sum, it is said that Talleyrand shared 100,000 dollars.

In August, Talleyrand was elected one of the secretaries to the famous Jacobin club, of which he was one of the founders. The origin of this club was as follows:—In the spring of the year 1789, the rage for political discussion had induced some factious members to form a society, which they called *Le Club Breton*. When the assembly, in the autumn of the same year, removed to Paris, it was augmented by all the opposition bodies in that city, and by a great number of political adventurers, speculatists, and economists. They hired, as a place of meeting, a building formerly appropriated to the religious order of the Jacobins, which afterwards gave the name to the society. This club soon became the centre of intrigue and all manner of plots. It maintained extensive correspondence with affiliated societies throughout the kingdom, amounting at first to 2000, but afterwards augmented under Robespierre to 44,000. All the provincial and affiliated societies received an impulse from the parent club; by which means insurrections and discontent were with great facility propagated throughout all parts of the kingdom. By this club every measure of the legislature was either prepared or resisted—its way smoothed by petitions and acclamations, or impeded by clamours, menaces, and riots. It maintained a correspondence with various foreign countries all over Europe; and, by the secret influence of its members, exercised

cised in a great variety of ways, it threatened to spread among all classes the contagion of its principles. Every principal town, and almost every considerable village, in France, furnished an association, with which the club at Paris held a correspondence. It encouraged denunciation, and offered support. It listened to complaints, and suggested means of redress. It affected to console, and promised to chastise; but its language of consolation was reserved for those who violated, and its chastisements directed against those who supported the laws.

During the whole of 1790, and until September 1791, Talleyrand continued a perpetual member of the Jacobin committee for propagating the Rights of Man, and inspected and directed all the secret correspondence carried on in every part of Europe and America. Several reports respecting the finances were presented by him to the National Assembly, during the months of August and September 1790, in all of which he strongly recommended the issuing of assignats, as the only means of relieving the people, and of satisfying the creditors of the state. Assignats were accordingly decreed; and the confiscated estates and lands were ordered to be disposed of, and paid for in assignats.

The decrees of the National Assembly, instigated principally by Talleyrand, were so replete with tyranny against the clergy, that the intention of reducing them to misery, or instigating them to resistance, could not be disguised. After confiscating their established revenues, laws were made declaring all benefices elective; admitting all persons of every sect, even those who were not Christians, to vote in these elections; and totally altering the extent and limits of dioceses. The clergy respectfully contended, that, whatever right the Assembly might claim to their endowments, they could not assume a dominion over the discipline and spiritual government of the church; and they therefore demanded a national council, to decide the points involved in these decrees. This proposition excited the indignation of the National Assembly; and, on the 26th of November, after the discussion of a long complaint preferred by Talleyrand against the Bishop of Nantes, the Deputy Voidel made a report from four committees, inveighing against the supposed crimes of the clergy, proposing a decree by

which all members of the church should be compelled to swear adherence and submission to the civil constitution of the clergy on pain of forfeiting their livings, and denouncing public and criminal prosecutions against those who, after refusing the oaths, should retain their benefices or exercise their functions. This decree, which was strongly supported by Talleyrand, was ably combated by the Abbé Maury, the Abbé Montesquieu, and the Bishop of Clermont: but their arguments were of little avail against the previous determination of the Assembly; and the decree, with another still more rigorous proposed by Mirabeau, was adopted.

The King had already received from the Pope a brief, expressing his Holiness's disapprobation of the civil constitution of the clergy; and the King was too sincerely attached to the forms of church government to approve of any innovation which the Roman pontiff declared repugnant to the ecclesiastical constitution. The Assembly having pressed Louis to sanction their decree, he for some time refused, until threats and clamour obtained what the force of reason was unable to do: on the 26th of December, he reluctantly wrote a long letter to the Assembly, announcing his acceptance of it. To enforce its execution with greater certainty, the National Assembly fixed the 4th of January 1791 as the day on which every ecclesiastical member of their Body must peremptorily take the oath or resign their benefices. To inspire them at the same time with apprehension for their personal safety, on the Sunday preceding, according to a plan of Talleyrand, the Orleans faction caused a false copy of the decree to be posted up at Paris, declaring those ecclesiastics not complying with its terms disturbers of the public tranquillity, and as such deserving the punishment of death. The Bishop of Clermont, desirous, by a last effort, to convince the people of the pure and disinterested motives of the clergy, proposed a modification of the test; but it was peremptorily refused.

On the 4th of January, in expectation of the great event, the galleries were early filled, and the hall surrounded by an outrageous mob. The clergy attended in their places; and some time was passed in attempting to modify the requisition of the Assembly, but without effect.

effect. At length, the president informed the ecclesiastical members that he would proceed to call their names, and that they were bound to answer. The silence which now ensued lasted for some minutes, and was only interrupted by the clamours of the galleries, who exclaimed that the non-jurors should immediately be hung to the lamp-post. When these clamours were with difficulty appeased, the president began his list with the Bishop of Agen; and this venerable prelate having, with difficulty, obtained permission to speak, expressed himself as follows:—"I feel no regret at the loss of my preferment—I feel none for my fortune; but I should regret the loss of your esteem, which I am determined to deserve: I beg you, then, to believe that it is extremely painful to me not to be able to take the oath you require." Several other members of the church returned similar answers; when their enemies, fearful that so many heroic examples would convert the triumph they had expected into a disgrace, made the president desist from calling the names, and confine himself to a general summons to the ecclesiastics to take the oath or renounce their benefices. After much delay, this definitive appeal produced only one instance of compliance, in the person of a curate named Laudrin. All the rest heard the decree with singular resignation, and were ejected from their livings. All the bishops, except Talleyrand and two others, were thus suddenly displaced, and their benefices supplied by others. Talleyrand, to palliate his apostacy, had, under date of the 29th December 1790, published an address to the French clergy; and, in relating his motives for subscribing the constitutional oath, he invited all ecclesiastics to follow his example: but this, instead of having the desired effect, only tended to render his conduct more culpable, and his apostacy more glaring.

The decrees for altering the establishment of the church had already been put in force; and the election of new bishops and pastors, in lieu of those who refused to take the oaths, was carried on with great activity throughout the kingdom; and the Pope's decision against the new constitution of the clergy was publicly known. Considerable difficulties, however, arose in obtaining consecration from a constitutional prelate for those who had

had been newly raised to episcopal sees: even the apostate Bishops of Sens and Orleans refused the office; but Talleyrand, the Bishop of Autun, was not so delicate or scrupulous. The bishopric of Paris was not at first declared vacant, because the incumbent, M. de Juigné, was out of France: but his resolution not to take the constitutional oath being made known, his see was conferred on a priest of the name of Gobel*; who was installed with great pomp, receiving canonical institution at the same time from Bishop Talleyrand and from the Jacobins of the municipality of Paris.

Notwithstanding these measures against the French clergy, the triumph of the anti-religious party was not complete. They saw, with regret and indignation, that the constitutional clergy were viewed with general contempt, whilst the ejected and nonjuring priests were every where treated with the utmost regard. The municipality of Paris forbade the reading of prayers in any parish-church, except by the new priests; and they enjoined the convents and hospitals not to permit the public to attend divine service in their chapels.

On the 13th of April 1791, the Pope published a monitory against the civil constitution of the French clergy, in which his Holiness complained loudly against the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand), as "an impious wretch, who had imposed his sacrilegious hands on intruding clergymen; and suspended him from all his episcopal functions, declaring him excommunicated unless he recanted his errors in forty days." In return, Talleyrand encouraged the Parisians to burn the sovereign Pontiff in effigy; and, on the 10th of June, the National Convention passed a decree, declaring all briefs, bulls, and rescripts from the court of Rome, void in France, unless sanctioned and formally adopted by the National Assembly. Pursuant to a motion of Talleyrand, the church plate was ordered to be coined into money.

* In order that the reader may form an estimate of this prelate's character, and of the new French clergy, we insert the following. On the 7th of November 1793, at the age of seventy, he declared at the bar of the National Convention, "That he had, during sixty years of his life, been an hypocrite and impostor, in professing the Christian religion, which he knew had no other basis than falsehood and error." Such were the sentiments of this metropolitan bishop.

After

After the death of Mirabeau, with whom Talleyrand had been intimately connected, the latter united himself more closely with La Fayette, the two brothers La Methe, and other partisans of the constitutional faction. Their principal object was directed to the compelling the King to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament from the hands of one of the new priests. For this purpose the assembly, the clubs, and the populace, were assailed with perpetual declamations, and the Jacobin journals were filled with seditious addresses, and profane paragraphs. La Fayette and Talleyrand carried their insults even into the royal cabinet; while the mob and National Guard, without, made the palace re-echo with their threats and execrations. Elated by their triumphs, boldness, and numbers, the faction continued their violences against the nonjuring clergy; and the King, feeling for their situation, accepted, in an evil hour, the tender of counsel and assistance which was offered to him by the two brothers La Methe, secretly prompted by Talleyrand, who as yet was not allowed a personal interview with his sovereign. Accordingly, to save the unfortunate ecclesiastics, who were exposed to every danger, he was persuaded to dismiss them from his presence, and even to do violence to his own conscience by hearing mass performed on Easter-day, at the church of St. Germain Auxerre, by an apostate priest. In compliance with another piece of advice from the same persons, he adopted the fatal and impolitic measure of writing, on the 23d of April, to all his ministers, at foreign courts, a letter of instructions from the pen of Talleyrand, enabling them to declare his entire approbation of the revolution, his desire to maintain the constitution, and an avowal that he considered himself entirely free and happy. The National Assembly heard this document read with expressions of rapture; and sent, pursuant to a motion of Talleyrand, a deputation to congratulate the King upon it. The royalists, more clear-sighted and more sincere, took no share in these transports; and the King had the mortification, the next day, to find the enthusiasm of the moment subsided, and a party gaining ground by declaring that his professions were too extensive to be sincere.

The influence which the La Methes, Talleyrand, and
other

other persons of the ruling faction, had acquired at court, began to alarm the Jacobins, who, in consequence, caused a decree to be passed importing that no member of the existing legislature should be eligible to a seat in the next; a necessary consequence of which was, that those who framed the constitution would have no power of explaining or enforcing its laws, and all the experience which they had acquired in the transaction of business was thrown aside in order to make way for fresh innovators, new speculatists, and new systems. They also decreed, that no member of any legislative body should accept a place in administration till four years after its dissolution. This greatly disappointed Talleyrand, who was now in a fair way of seeing his ambition gratified, and his wishes realized, in becoming the superintendant of the finances, a place which in France was always united with that of prime-minister.

After the flight of the Royal Family, Talleyrand had the offer of being one of the deputies to escort them to Paris; but, for reasons best known to himself, he declined the office: and it has been pretty strongly alleged, that he was the principal promoter of their flight. After their arrival at Paris, the National Assembly, upon the motion of Talleyrand, decreed that the examinations of the King and Queen should be taken by commissioners from their body, but those of the other persons arrested by the commissions of the sections of the Thuilleries. The King would not submit to an examination, but consented to explain the facts referred to in the decree. He assigned, as motives of his departure, the insults he had been exposed to on the 18th of April, and the pamphlets published to excite violence against himself and family. As these insults remained unpunished, and he expected neither safety nor common decency while he remained at Paris, he wished to leave it, but was obliged to quit the palace privately and without attendants, because it would have been impossible to do it publicly. He did not intend to fly the kingdom, nor had he concerted his plans with foreign powers, or with his relations, or any other Frenchman who had quitted the kingdom. As a proof that he did not mean to leave France, he observed, that apartments were prepared for him at at Montmedy, a place which was fortified and near the
frontiers,

frontiers, and where he could repel any invasion, if attempted. He explained these complaints in a memorial which he had left behind him, referring to the manner in which the constitutional decree had been separately presented to him; but declared that, having in the course of his journey found the public opinion decidedly in favour of the constitution, he had become convinced how necessary it was for this constitution to give force to the powers established to maintain public order. The moment he was acquainted with the public will, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his own individual feelings and interests to the happiness of the people; and he would willingly forget his own sufferings to restore tranquillity to the people. The declaration of the Queen, which was short, corroborated in some points what had been explained by the King; and it expressed her firm resolution to accompany him on every occasion—but, had he designed to quit the kingdom, she would have used all her influence in dissuading him. The declarations of the King and Queen were composed by Talleyrand, for which he received 60,000 livres; and he was promised an equal sum for causing these declarations not only to be approved by the other leaders of the constitutional party; but for persuading them to accompany their approbation with a threat, as the only means of averting a design which was openly professed of bringing the King and Queen to trial.

The task of framing a report on the events of the 21st of June, was referred, on the motion of Talleyrand, to the united committees; and the 13th of July was appointed for hearing the report. Muguet de Nanthou recited all the facts drawn from the declarations of the King and Queen, and the examinations of the other persons. He discussed at length the question, whether the King should be brought to trial. The report was debated with great fierceness, during two days. A decree was at length adopted on the 16th, enacting that, if the King, after having sworn to the constitution, should retract, or if he should put himself at the head of a military force, or direct his generals to act against the nation, or forbear to oppose any such attempt by an authentic act, he should be judged to have abdicated the throne; and should then be considered as a simple citizen, and

subject to impeachment in the ordinary way, for all crimes committed after his abdication. This decree was penned by Talleyrand; and, immediately after, the assembly proceeded to the vote on that relative to the events of the 21st of June, and decided exactly in the mode prescribed by the report of the committees.

The National Assembly having proceeded in the completion of the constitution, its revision produced long debates; Talleyrand spoke after, and always in favour of the court, for which he was handsomely paid: but neither he nor his party had sufficient virtue or magnanimity to procure the King the requisite authority for preserving the monarchy. The mode in which the constitution was to be presented to the King for his acceptance, occasioned warm debates, in which Talleyrand took an active part: it was at length determined that the new code should be presented for his simple acceptance or rejection. A deputation of sixty members, one of whom was Talleyrand, waited on him for this purpose. All comment and explanation was forbidden; and, on the 13th of September, he accepted it in writing, and two days afterwards he bound himself to maintain it by oath.

With regard to this constitution, the first-born of La Fayette, Talleyrand, &c. it has been observed by a popular French writer, that “ never did the union of folly and madness beget a more monstrous offspring. This pretended constitution presented to the eye a mishapen machine, whimsically composed of an infinity of wheels without any mutual relation or dependence. Experience has shewn that it was not in the power of man to put its grotesque springs in motion. The government framed by these presumptuous legislators was neither monarchical, aristocratical, nor popular. Their constitutional act might at best be considered as the basis of an anarchical monarchy, that is, a real chimera—for death and life cannot subsist in the same body. Had that monster been able to live, those who begot it took great precautions that it might be strangled in the cradle. They had taken from the kingdom its religion; they had annihilated the public force, disorganized the military, and armed those who ought to contribute to the exigencies of the state; and, that nothing might be wanting to the deformity of
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their work, they carefully destroyed every barrier which could prevent the attacks of usurpation or despotism." Immediately after his acceptance of the constitution, Louis, by the advice of Talleyrand, informed foreign states of the event.

During the remaining part of the autumn, Talleyrand continued secretly to influence the King's councils. It appears he took every means to involve France in a foreign war, being convinced that that alone could prevent a civil one; and that hostilities would preserve and extend, and a long peace destroy, the revolution and its promoters, together with their plans and prospects. Under the disguise of candour and concord, he did every thing at court to mislead and embroil the nation, though contrary to the wishes and interests of the King. The place of a French ambassador in England had been vacant since the death of the Marquis de la Lucerne, in the summer of 1791; but the secretary of the embassy, M. de Barthelemy, acted as a *chargé-d'affaires*. His known moderation, however, did not suit the views of the French republicans. He received, therefore, as a kind of assistant, or rather spy, an apostate Abbé Noel, who had been for some time a Jacobin emissary in Holland. Talleyrand was, however, considered as the fittest person for the office, by those who had revolutionary views to promote; his talents and principles were both known and avowed: but the constitution presented an insurmountable obstacle against his employment in a public character; it was therefore resolved to appoint M. Chauvelin minister, and Talleyrand his assistant; and this appointment was made on the 1st of May.

In their private instructions from the King, in professing an alliance with England, Talleyrand and Chauvelin were ordered not to listen to any proposals, accept of any plan, or enter into any plots, of the factious and seditious in Great Britain, that could there bring about those scenes of horror witnessed in France. They were to decline all communication concerning the state, except with persons in official situations. Even if overtures should be made by any members of the opposition, they should prudently, and, without giving offence, signify, that, without farther orders from France, they were not prepared or permitted to hear any suggestions unsan-

tioned by, or offensive to the British administration. They had credit for 400,000 livres to pay the salaries due to the secret agents employed by the late French ambassador, and for other occasional and unavoidable occurrences. They could engage no new agents at any higher salary than 6000 livres, without first obtaining the permission of the minister of the foreign department. The strictest economy was enjoined.

Besides these secret instructions from the French government, Talleyrand had also his private instructions from the different leading factions which divided that unhappy country. Those from the Duke of Orleans recommended him to maintain a good understanding with the P— of — and the members of the opposition, and the Whig Club. He was to insinuate to them the probability of the Duke being declared Regent, or even proclaimed a Constitutional King of the French, in consequence of the incapacity or perfidy of Louis XVI. In that event the Duke promised to assist them with all his political influence, military forces, or pecuniary resources, in order to bring about a change in the English constitution, congenial with, and favourable to their wishes, wants, and ambition. Should he find them backward, he was, through his inferior agents, to address himself to the popular leaders of the different clubs and societies; inform them that the Duke would accept of no other place in the French commonwealth than that of an elective President, as in America; and that they might depend upon his succours to establish a republic in England, formed, as in France, on liberty and equality. The Duke gave him credit for 600,000 livres, to be used according to his own discretion. He was desired to distribute among the popular favourites, money for celebrating with splendour the glorious epochs of the French revolution, and other patriotic feasts. He was to pay the expences of the journeys of those men, or their agents, made as propagators for information, or from policy.

His instructions from Petion, which were digested by Brissot and Roland, were in substance—That he was to be furnished with 3,000,000 of livres; which sum was to be employed in a manner best suited to the views and attempts of the English patriots, either in providing depôts of arms and ammunition, or in rewarding authors for

for composing works, sermons, addresses, pamphlets, speeches, songs, plays, ballads, &c. in favour of liberty and equality. He was to pay all the expences of the popular leaders, at their meetings, in taverns, clubs, or in committees, and what they laid out for their traveling agents, their correspondents, &c. He was to encourage the British patriots to enter into a subscription for the expences the war of liberty caused the French patriots in their resistance against despotism; and, on that account, advance the principal ones a certain sum, to be subscribed in their name, as an example for others. The most popular men, who possessed talent, he was to send over to Paris, before the 14th of July 1792, to deliberate in the united Gallo-Britannic convention with the French, as the representatives of the British, Scotch, and Irish republics, on the best means to crush every where the triple aristocracy of the nobility, clergy, and the capitalists; and to find out the safest and most expeditious way to plant the trees of liberty through the universe, and to erect the cap of equality upon the ruins of thrones and altars. He was ordered to reward with liberality all agents in the British army and navy who preached the doctrine of the Rights of Man. He was to spare no expence in having translated and circulated in all quarters, barracks, on board men of war, and houses of rendezvous, copies of those popular addresses and songs that in 1789 electrified the French military. He should try to find out and to instruct some female patriots, who, from their personal charms, amiable zeal, or natural capacity, could possibly make the greatest impression among the soldiers and sailors. He was to employ them constantly, and always to pay them liberally, either as secret propagators, literary pedlars, ballad-singers, or under any other suitable, unsuspected, and useful avocation. Even those most distinguished he might establish, in purchasing for them those public houses chiefly resorted to by the military, not only in London, but in all sea-ports or towns where the garrisons were numerous. Besides the *Argus*, already in the service and pay of the French patriots, he was to purchase or set up other newspapers in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Glasgow, Nottingham, Leeds, Norwich, and other manufacturing towns or populous cities. These papers might,

might, to a certain extent, and when containing any thing particularly striking, be distributed *gratis* among the lower classes, and in public-houses frequented by them. These papers were instructed to palliate the mistaken or exaggerated zeal of some patriots, and to exculpate the bloody scenes of well-meaning but misled patriotism. They were to contradict every thing published by aristocrats against liberty, and the sovereignty of the people. At all times, and on all occasions, the example of France was to be held up to admiration and imitation. In this, as well as in every thing else, especially if any dépôts of arms and ammunition were formed, Beaumarchais would be of great utility to him. As, however, during the existence of Capet (Louis XVI.), Talleyrand was to avoid giving umbrage to the English aristocrats, he was, besides Beaumarchais, Noel, Chaubert, Audibert, and Danoux, to employ and direct in the most perilous enterprises, other inferior English, Scotch, or Irish agents, recommended to him by the patriots of those countries. Should he, nevertheless, be discovered or disgraced before the great blow was struck, he might depend upon the powerful protection of the patriots in France. Should the credit he possessed be insufficient for all expences, he was to call on those French patriots in England or Holland, who, with the permission of the republican executive council at Paris, had established manufactories of forged assignats in those countries, and they would remit him good bills to any amount.

Such were the secret and private instructions that Talleyrand was furnished with by the different French factions. But he had not been in England more than a fortnight, when, in one of his letters written on the 24th of May to his mistress, he complained both of the English democrats and aristocrats; the former for their avarice and want of principle, and the latter for their haughtiness and want of good behaviour. His reception in England he found very different from what he expected from Petion's boasting and exertions. Though formerly acquainted with several English gentlemen of rank and fortune, he was, on presenting himself, either received with coolness, neglect, or contempt. "Either," he writes, "Petion is imposed upon, or has imposed upon

upon me. By men of birth and eminence, the French revolution is far from being approved of, or its chief actors applauded, in England: it is not *comprehended* by them; they see nothing but its inevitable crimes, and forget its certain and innumerable future benefits. Was it not known to me, that the English nobility and gentry are as forgetful and insolent against foreigners visiting their country, as they are presumptuous and full of impertinent pretensions to civilities abroad, I should suppose that the part I have acted these last three years deserved the disrespect and *hauteur* (to say no worse) experienced by me in calling on persons to whom I behaved very differently when in France. I am very sorry to say—but so it is—that the friends of liberty here are of the same description with most of our own: pursued by creditors they are unable to pay—tormented by an ambition they cannot gratify—or trembling for the laws of their country which they have violated—they cover themselves, their passions, their fears, and their sins, with the cloak of patriotism, and speak of reducing a rank they can never approach, to dispose of a property to which they have no right, and to protect a constitution, with the ruins of which they intend to elevate and enrich themselves. Of fifty of the most popular patriots, the oracles of newspapers, the toasts of taverns, and the heroes of clubs, who have waited on me, or whom I have met elsewhere, there was not one who did not begin his conversation with relating his disinterestedness, praising his great zeal, and extolling his great services in the cause of liberty, but who did not also finish by announcing his great distress, complaining of his great losses, and demanding great sums of money. As to the English ministers, they are reserved, stiff, and distant; either from fear, of discovering their own weakness or ignorance, or from dreading my penetration, or disliking my principles. Of the opposition members, I have not yet seen many, and none without a witness. The only consolation I have for these and other unpleasant occurrences, is, that, from my situation and information, I am enabled to speculate in the public funds with advantage, and, at the expence of this covetous nation, enrich myself and friends.” On the 7th of July, Talleyrand left London for Paris, where he arrived on the 11th.

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The second confederation was now approaching; and it was rendered additionally alarming by the arrival of large bands of the *Fédérés* from the departments, who were selected from the most furious or fanatical members of clubs, and who presented petitions of the most inflammatory tendency, openly avowing their determination of dethroning the King, and demanding his immediate trial and death. Among these men, those called the *Marseillois Fédérés* particularly distinguished themselves by their violent and sanguinary threats: they were headed by some revolutionists from that city; and they consisted chiefly of Piedmontese vagabonds, or brigands, engaged in the service of some of the faction, by the promise of pillage. A plot formed by the inhuman Santerre to murder the Queen was also betrayed; and the public were kept in continual alarm by reports of conspiracies to be executed on the day of the confederation. The barracks of the Military School were searched on account of this suspicion, and the troops of the line compelled to leave Paris. The people were even agitated by a report that gunpowder was deposited under the altar to blow up the National Assembly in the act of taking the oath, and were only undeceived by an examination on the spot. Talleyrand was present, but did not officiate at this confederation. The Royal Family were placed in a balcony covered with crimson velvet, which gave rise to some petulant exclamations from the mob; and the cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" were drowned with "*Vive Petion!*" "*Vivent les Jacobins!*" "*A bas le Veto!*" The King, however, taking the oath on the altar, instead of remaining in his place as on the former occasion, completely gratified the people; and he quitted the Champ de Mars amidst loud and general acclamations. But, the very next day, the *Fédérés* again petitioned for the deposition of the King; and declared their fixed determination to adopt no part of the constitution but the Rights of Man. They also required the convocation of the primary assemblies, at which all but mendicants and vagrants should vote, for the purpose of fixing the number of representatives competent to form a National Assembly, and of confirming the deposition of the King.

Talleyrand, of all the leading men of the French revolution, had the least to fear from a new convulsion. If the

the Royalists were victorious, he was perfectly safe; and if the Orleanists or Republicans got the better, the services he had rendered them promised him a reward instead of proscription: besides which, his known talents, and the services he could render to any party, were sure safeguards to his person.

After the ceremony of the confederation, he hastened back to England, and landed at Dover on the 21st of July; and, from a letter which he wrote to his mistress on the same day, his sentiments of the recent event which had taken place may be gathered. "Though labouring," says he, "under a severe indisposition, in consequence of a boisterous passage, I shall endeavour to forget the pains of my body, in confiding to my friends the troubles of my mind. I have certainly seen the last king of the French for the last time. This event, you will say, is what I have long wished for. True: but I expected some sort of government, either a dictatorship or a republic, to be prepared to succeed immediately; whilst I have found no plans for the establishment of a new system, though I have been so long plotting the destruction of the old one. Of this improvidence, anarchists, destitute of virtue and patriotism, will take advantage: they will wade through seas of blood, and through ruins of cities and towns, of trade and agriculture, to a tyranny which must necessarily cause the dissolution of civilized society. In that vortex of confusion and crimes, what patriotism can be safe, and what innocence respected? Who can prevent our countrymen from butchering each other in civil wars? or what means have we to oppose to foreign enemies, who, after vanquishing our divided forces, will partition our country, and dispose of Frenchmen like the unfortunate Poles to proud, unmerciful, and tyrannical neighbours? These ideas are gloomy, and I sincerely wish they may prove erroneous; but, for my part, I would this moment rather live in the forests of Africa and America, than in France. On one hand we see the King deserted by those who ought to be his friends, and deprived of his authority, a willing sacrifice to his earnest endeavours to preserve the constitution; the Duke of Orleans determined to annihilate the throne, without the means to raise a new fabric on its ruins: whilst Petion, Brissot,

and their partisans, are without any other union of views than the removal of Louis XVI. But they all mistrust each other; and, as far as they have let me into the secret, these republicans have not yet agreed to declare France a republic. Have I not therefore reason to be alarmed, whilst every thing is left to chance, and nothing is fixed? The destiny of France (compared with other states) has hitherto been singularly prosperous. This is my only consolation for her present critical situation, and my sole hope that she will escape the present numerous internal and external dangers, which now threaten an almost inevitable ruin. I think myself, however, extremely fortunate in having a plausible pretext for being absent; and I conjure you, should any proposal for recalling me come to your knowledge, to endeavour to dissuade it, or let me know it in time that I may prepare some excuse for not obeying, which I am resolved to do, let the consequences be what they will. The contents of this letter I intended to communicate to you, in person, before I left Paris; but, on the day of my departure, when I promised to call upon you, Petion remained with me until eleven o'clock at night, nor did he quit me before he saw me into my carriage on my return; whether he thus acted from suspicion, or merely from attention, I am at a loss to divine, but I trust, through my friends' ingenuity, to be able to solve this mystery. You must be more regular and more particular in your letters than formerly: the times are much altered for the worse. Spare no expences in couriers, or for private information. From the great fermentation among the people, at this momentous crisis, something terrible may be expected; you will therefore easily judge of my impatience and anxiety to hear from you. I have now brought over with me (with the exception of the 120,000 livres laid out in national property) my whole fortune. As I employed a man in whom I do not much confide to procure me bills on London, this precaution may come to the ears of the patriots, and incur their censure. Should this be the case, you may say, that this operation was merely a financial speculation, in consequence of the lowness of the exchange; and that I intend to remit my money over again, and deposit it in our funds, when the exchange becomes more in our favour, which must happen when the patriots

patriots have seized on the government, and begin to display their usual energy."

In the month of October 1792, it being known that Dumourier had successfully intimidated the King of Prussia from pursuing his offensive operations in Champagne, Talleyrand sent Le Brune, the minister for the foreign department in the French Executive Council, a confidential letter extremely interesting, as it shews the reality and the activity of those plots and conspiracies which were carrying on in this country at the commencement of the French revolution. Considering the unprepared and secure state in which the government stood, the numerous revolutionary incendiaries that disseminated every where their pernicious doctrines, the tumultuous conduct of the lower orders, and the agitation which prevailed in Great Britain as well as in other countries, it was truly fortunate that the treacherous and insidious counsels of Talleyrand were not adopted by the National Convention. He begins—

"CITIZEN MINISTER—Permit me to request the favour of you to communicate to the other members of the Executive Council some remarks concerning the real and relative situation of Great Britain and Ireland. I am well aware, that many of them have not escaped your wisdom and penetration, or their's; but, knowing also the numerous and various occupations which must divert and divide your attentions, and being upon the spot, I think it my duty to enter into some details, though my capacity is far from being equal to my patriotism and zeal to serve the cause of liberty and equality. That, in the British nation, the far greater part of the inhabitants call loudly for a reform, and desire a revolution, is undeniable: but the British patriots possess neither our activity, our disinterestedness, nor our energy, philosophy, or elevated views; and they have not yet been able to acquire, for a support and rallying point, *a majority in the legislature*. They may, however, and they certainly do intend to resort to arms, in supporting their petitions for reform, and their attempt to recover their lost liberties: but, as long as the strength and resources of the present government continue unimpaired, they may distress it, and even shake it; but I fear, without aid from France, they will be unable to change or to

crush it. The ministers even expect to be reinforced with the interest and talents of all those violent alarmists, terrified by the eloquent sophistry of the fanatic Burke, who will add additional weight to the scale of the English aristocracy. Every thing indicates that the King of England will not long continue his present neutrality. All the colonels have lately received orders to hasten the complement of their regiments. A report is prevalent of the militia being immediately called out. Societies against republicans and levellers are talked of as encouraged by government; and the ministerial papers are instructed to hold a language insulting to the French republic, and hostile to our present government. I have also obtained information from a most authentic source, that, immediately after the arrival here of a courier from Lord Elgin at Brussels, with the information of the Duke of Brunswick's retreat from Champagne, fast-sailing cutters were sent to the East and West Indies, with instructions for their respective governors to prepare for hostilities, and, in the mean time, to intrigue with the disaffected in our colonial possessions, for their surrender to Great Britain the instant of a rupture being announced. Is it, besides, probable that England will remain neutral, should the efforts and valour of our armies be crowned with success; or, if encountering defeats, will she not take advantage of our disasters by dividing our spoils with our foes. We have it this moment in our power to command, not only the neutrality of Great Britain and Ireland, but, if it be thought politic, to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the English, Scotch, and Irish commonwealths, established by our arms, and therefore naturally connected with the French republic by the strongest of all ties—a common interest, a common danger, or a common safety. According to the inclosed extracts of the last returns sent to the war-office, the regular troops in England do not amount to 20,000 men complete. Of these, 8000 are in or near London; 1500 at Portsmouth; 1800 at Plymouth; 1100 at Dover; 900 at Chatham; 1800 at Tilbury Fort, Sheerness, and other places on the banks of the Thames. The remainder are quartered either in some manufacturing towns, where insurrections are apprehended, or in the several sea-ports, so dispersed, that in no parts do 1000 men garrison
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the same place. By the last official return from the Executive Committee, you see that England alone contains 166,000 registered patriots, of whom 33,600 may be provided with fire-arms from our depôts, and the remainder in four days armed with pikes. Our travelling agents assure us, that, besides these, as many more are ready to declare themselves in our favour, were we once landed, and able to support them effectually. In Scotland, there are no more than 9500 regular troops, of whom, 5000 garrison Edinburgh, where government apprehend an insurrection during an approaching fair at the latter end of this month; 2200 are quartered at or near Glasgow; and the rest form the garrisons in some small forts or sea-ports. In the same country, the last official return makes the patriots amount to 44,200 registered, and double that number, who, from different motives, have not yet dared to declare themselves. In Ireland, the regular troops amount to 10,400 men; and the registered patriots to 131,500, who expect to be joined by almost every Roman Catholic in the island, should any thing be undertaken by us for their deliverance from their present oppressive yoke.

“ All these encouraging circumstances duly considered, my humble proposal is, that our fleet at Toulon, now nearly ready for sea, on an expedition in the Mediterranean, after taking on board 20 or 25,000 men, and arms for 100,000 more, change its destination, pass the Straits of Gibraltar, and land in Ireland, as an ally of the numerous oppressed patriots in that country. These forces are more than sufficient to deprive Great Britain for ever of that important island, or at least to enable us to keep it as a depôt during the war, and a security for her neutrality in case our attempts to revolutionize England should not meet with an equal success. I am, however, not too sanguine in my expressions or expectations, when I assert that, at this period, even in England and Scotland, we shall meet with less resistance, and fewer obstacles, than many may suppose, if we are only discreet and prudent, but above all *expeditious*. At three times, in forty-eight hours, we may without opposition land 50 or 60,000 men, in twenty or thirty different points, under the name of emigrants, and seize on the principal dock-yards, arsenals, and naval stations. With the assistance

sistance of our numerous secret adherents, we may even occupy London itself; and, what is certain, and may be depended upon, our landing will be the signal for a general revolt. The government, terrified by invaders from abroad, and harassed by insurgents in the bosom of the country—without confidence in its troops, or reliance on the fidelity of the people—would never, with its trifling forces, be able at the same time to repel an enemy and crush rebellion. Once masters of the principal sea-ports, with the British navy in our power, we may easily obtain from France what succours we judge necessary. As proclamations in the name of the Sovereign People in France, as an ally of the Sovereign People in Great Britain and Ireland, will precede our marches, after being dispersed at our landing, I cannot be mistaken in my hope of a revolution being effected now in this country much quicker than in 1688. Nay, I am positive, that not so many weeks will be required to change this monarchy into a republic, as it has required years since the revolution to produce the same change in France. Even in those regiments on which government most depend, disaffection has crept in. In the Guards, some officers of rank have already openly avowed their attachment to our cause; and among the men, a fermentation has been created that must be useful to our views. Great Britain has, at this time, no other continental allies than Prussia and Holland. From the spirit and patriotism of our troops, and the abilities of our generals, the bondage of the latter country must soon cease; and its resources, with those we already command, will enable us to prevent the King of Prussia, and all other despots, from assisting the King of England.

“Should, Citizen Minister, this plan obtain the approbation of the Executive Council, no time is to be lost in carrying it into execution, and in informing me of its determination, that the English patriots may be prepared to rise at a moment’s warning, and unite with us in our glorious undertaking of delivering the world from the double tyranny of religion and monarchy. But if, unfortunately, any unforeseen, or to me unknown reasons, or impediments, prevail to prevent it from being carried into effect, pardon me when I fear that centuries will elapse before another such an opportunity offers for
France

France to seize on Ireland, to invade England and Scotland, and, with their riches and power, maintain an undisturbed sway over the universe, in proclaiming an universal republic.

“ Health and fraternity.

“ CHARLES M. TALLEYRAND.”

This confidential letter, according to Talleyrand's desire, was laid before the Executive Council by Le Brune. After a long discussion, it was communicated to the Diplomatic and Military Committees, together with the opinions of each minister. Paine, and the other English patriots then at Paris, were consulted by the members of the committees: but they were against all foreign succours to establish liberty and equality in Great Britain and Ireland; the native friends of freedom being very numerous there, and more than sufficiently strong of themselves to erect a republic on the ruins of monarchy. Carnot, then a member of the military committee, and now a confidential adviser of Napoleon, warmly recommended the adoption of Talleyrand's proposal, and even drew a plan for the intended invasion of these islands. He was, however, overruled by the majority, upon a declaration of the Diplomatic Committee, that it was so certain of a revolution in this country within six months, that it was then negotiating a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the leading patriots of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In another letter to Le Brune, of the 15th of November, Talleyrand deplores that his proposal had not been accepted. He suspects some of the English patriots of infidelity, and others of being lukewarm and terrified, as the English government had caught the alarm, and were preparing extensive defensive measures against the friends of liberty. He declines the offer of being accredited abroad, as a public diplomatic agent of the French commonwealth, being convinced he could be of more service were his name on the list of proscribed emigrants, than were he to appear officially as employed and trusted by the government of his country. No where could he be of greater utility than in Great Britain; but then he must reside there as an emigrant, and as a person disaffected and disgraced, who neither could nor would return to France during a republic. He desires,

sires, therefore, that a decree of banishment may, under some pretext or other, be pronounced against him by the National Convention. He finishes with declaring, that if the English patriots continued their present inactivity for a month to come, all their future efforts will be in vain; the aristocrats of rank, as well as of property, beginning to rally with cordiality round the throne.

In the following month, according to his desire, an act of accusation was decreed against him by the National Convention, and his name was placed amongst those of the loyal emigrants. When the execution of Louis XVI. was known in London, so great was the dissimulation of Talleyrand, that he, as well as the loyal adherents of the unfortunate Louis, put on mourning, and endeavoured to display, by his outward conduct, his grief at the fatal and tragical event. How sincere his affliction was, his letter to Le Brune, written on the 23d of January (the very day that intelligence of the event was received in London), shews. "The death of Capet," says he, "has overwhelmed George with terror, his ministers with fear, and the aristocrats with consternation; whilst the patriots rejoice that the world is plagued with one tyrant less. According to your desire, Citizen Minister, I shall cause to be inserted in the *Argus* and *Courier* those articles which you sent me; and my agents are already ordered to disseminate, that the tyrant's artificial firmness in his last moments was the consequence of hopes being held out to him of being respited on the scaffold, or that the people would not suffer his execution. A grand council of state is convoked for to-morrow; and I am informed that the question of peace or war will then be decided. I am glad you approve of Chauvelin's official correspondence. If we can only cause the British government to be regarded as aggressors, we have left a door open for the opposition to perplex ministers with their attacks and reproaches, and for the patriots to keep up the spirit of disaffection and mutiny among the people, and even to increase it, on account of the new burdens which new expences must require. It was, however, fortunate for us that we have been able to embroil the cards so far, that it will be a difficult task, even for the most profound and able statesman, to find out on which part of the laws of nations these

these acts were equivalent to a declaration of war. I was more than once afraid that, in answer to our protest against the alien bill, ministers would have said, that such a bill existed *de facto* in France these last four years, as since the revolution no British subject was safe in travelling in France, were he not provided with a pass, contrary to the treaty of commerce of 1786. Fortunately, they either did not know, or else they forgot this circumstance. Thanks to the decree against me! I am now well received every where, even among those who would hardly speak to me. With all *other defenders and avengers of the throne and the altar*, I intend to put on mourning, to pray, to sigh, and even to weep with them, should it be necessary and possible. This pantomime, my enemies in France, who are not in our secrets, will, no doubt, regard as a real and natural performance. I trust, therefore, to your friendship and patriotism, to explain to the members of the Executive Council, and of the committees, my behaviour, that I may not fall a victim to my endeavours to serve the friends of liberty and equality. Were Chauvelin forced to quit this country, depend upon it, my zeal and patriotism shall always remain the same, and uninterrupted. As, however, he is rather indiscreet, I should wish, Citizen Minister, you would seriously inform him of the consequences; and, if you mistrust him, even cause him to be shut up in solitary confinement, at least as long as I am to reside in this country. I continue always in the same opinion: without any signal defeat of their countrymen, the patriots here will have a better chance of succeeding during a peace, than during a war. Should, therefore, the latter at present be inevitable, let us make it as short as possible. This letter is private and confidential, from a friend to his friend, not from a secret agent to a minister in his place. Have, therefore, the goodness to destroy it after its perusal. Health and fraternity!

“ CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

“ P.S. Late last night we received some intelligence, which made us detain the messenger twenty-four hours. You will now see, by Chauvelin's official dispatch, that he is ordered to depart from England before the 1st of next month. This decisive step evinces, that the English cabinet is determined upon war, and that ministers

are acquainted with the danger of a longer peace. May we not still contrive some means to prevent hostilities, and at least to gain time. Command me at all times, and on all occasions."

On the 29th of January, Talleyrand again wrote to Le Brune:—

This, CITIZEN MINISTER, will in all probability be the last letter you can receive from me in a direct way, as I am informed, by one of our agents, that, notwithstanding my mourning, the English ministers both watch and suspect me. In the privy council, which determined the order for Chauvelin's leaving this country, it was discussed whether this order was not to extend even to me, as moved by the privy counsellors of the Alarmists' party, who continue the fanatical and irreconcilable foes of all French patriots. Fortunately, Pitt and Grenville declared for an adjournment, on account of my proscription in France, and from being informed, by several respectable emigrants, that I *sincerely repented* of the part I had taken in the revolution. Yet my situation is critical, and you cannot be too careful in writing to me. I do not think it safe, as you propose, to trust any longer to the Countess of F—hault; nor do I wish you to go on with our correspondence under her cover, she being at this moment jealous of some other connexions I have formed, and the British government cannot be unacquainted with our mutual attachment at Paris. I shall always write to you under the name you have mentioned, to the care of the house of Maetzlers, at Frankfort, or to Madame La Roche, in Switzerland. You may, at least once in the month, send me your orders, addressed to Madame Grand, whose friendship I possess, and who is too stupid to suspect any thing. Besides this, and the four addresses which Chauvelin and I have agreed to, and which he will communicate to you, you may direct letters to Thomas Smith, Esq. Cannon Coffee-House, Jernyn Street, St. James's, or to Signor Sellini, Orange Coffee-House, Haymarket. I have now changed all the houses and places of rendezvous, where I hitherto saw the English patriots, and heard the reports of my agents. Among the former, I continue to see and correspond only with three, their principal leaders, one for England, one for Scotland, and one for Ireland; of the latter, Audibert,

bert, and several others, have, since the alien bill, already been ordered out of this country: and I employ now no more than five, of whom three are natives, besides the Prussian counsellor of legation, who is sincerely a friend to France, and an enemy to Great Britain. Reduced as you find the establishment, the expences are increased; being obliged to take so many precautions, to pay largely, and at a higher rate than before; having also, to avoid suspicion, taken a house at Kensington; but where, at the same time, my actions may, as I desire, be more easily inspected by the spies set about me. These are the principal causes of the great credit I have asked for on bankers at Hamburgh, Frankfort, and Basle. But, Citizen Minister, you may rest assured that the strictest economy shall on my part be observed with the money of the nation, and nothing be squandered away unnecessarily. Beaumarchais has refused me any further advances until his accounts are settled by the Executive Council; having, as he says, laid out, in the purchase of arms for the patriots and our troops, 600,000 livres more than he had credit for, and on which account he is much distressed by his creditors here. The zeal, though not the number of the patriots here, increases; and, almost every day, the press evinces their activity. They suppose still that they may produce a revolution without foreign assistance; but they are also convinced of their error in not pressing, last October, the acceptance of the plan I then had the honour of presenting to you. As I suggested, they have now agreed, to unite the cry for peace with that of liberty, and to inspire every where, and by all means in their power, a wish to see an end of this unnatural war. In this they are ably supported by some members of the opposition, who, perhaps, from different motives, try to make the war unpopular, in hopes of turning out the ministers, and of succeeding them. The spirit among the troops is not quite so favourable to our designs as three months ago; but some severe defeats will soon change it, although the removal of several patriotic officers has certainly hurt the cause of liberty in the army."

Talleyrand continued to correspond with Le Brune, and to inform him of the success of his intrigues and plots in this country, until this minister shared the fate

of the other members of the Brissot faction. The credit on several foreign houses was then withdrawn, and the Committee of Public Safety considered him in no other light than as an emigrant. His correspondence with the Countess of F—hault was then published; and even his confidential letters to Le Brune were shewn in the National Convention, and were permitted to be copied by several persons, who have subsequently printed them. This impolitic behaviour of the members of the committee originated from the enmity of one of them, Collot D'Herbois (formerly a strolling player), who suspected Talleyrand of having prevented Louis XVI. from appointing him a minister of justice in 1791, a place for which he was then a candidate. That the English government had no knowledge of the perfidy and intrigues of Talleyrand, may be inferred from their permitting him to reside in London. The accusations and denunciations of the French Jacobins against pretended agents of Pitt, at Paris, were therefore either false, or the British ministry were not faithfully served by them. The female intriguer Madame La Roche, who was then at Lausanne, obtained, however, regularly from Talleyrand, some gratuitous intelligence, which she communicated to Carnot, who afterwards favoured his return to France, and his promotion by the Directory. Even when, in 1794, he was ordered from England, and went to America, he did not cease writing to her. When Talleyrand heard of the arrest of Le Brune, he immediately employed, out of the secret service money, a sum sufficient to purchase, at Amsterdam, American stock to the amount of 150,000 dollars. Fearing that the jealousy of the victorious faction would get the better of their policy, he took care to rob the plunderers in France sufficiently to live independent in America, should he be forced to leave Great Britain, from any discovery of his plots and intrigues.

After Talleyrand had been ordered to quit England, as his party in France had been subverted, he had no other place of asylum to fly to than America, where he found a number of his former associates. A treaty between England and America was at this time negotiating; and Talleyrand, indignant at being ordered to leave the former country, employed all his political talents to retard its progress, and all his art and machiavelism

chiavelism to prevent a fortunate issue. He had frequent interviews with Mr. Jefferson and several other Americans, who occupied situations under the government, or who were members of the two houses of state; men either attached to the French republic from principle, or whose enmity towards England was such as to induce them to prefer risking the ruin and destruction of the honour and prosperity of their country, by adopting the revolutionary policy of France, to its glory, advantage, preservation, and safety, in concluding a treaty with England. As he announced and presented himself every where as the bosom friend of La Fayette, who was extremely popular in America, he succeeded in his intrigues to a considerable extent. If he failed in his wishes by the treaty being signed and ratified, he, however, created considerable opposition to it in its different stages, and threatened that, whenever he should have any influence in the French councils, the Americans should repent of their imprudence and obstinacy, as he could prove that this act was contrary to treaties already subsisting with France, a threat which he afterwards took care to carry into effect by the seizure of American vessels and property to a considerable amount.

After the death of Robespierre, the surviving members of the Constitutional and Orleans faction, who mostly resided in or near Hamburgh, united themselves for the purpose of changing the French republic into a constitutional monarchy. They invited Talleyrand to join them in their labours; which he did the more willingly, as he disliked the Americans as much as he hated the English. In July 1795, he landed on the banks of the Elbe where he found, and was hailed by the brothers La Methes, the Duke of Aiguillon, General Valence, Madame Genlis, and some other of his early associates in the revolution. They instituted a revolutionary committee, with a view of extending the baneful effects of French anarchy to England, Ireland, and the north of Europe, in order that, when they returned to France, where they hoped to establish a constitutional king of their own making, the convulsed state of other nations would prevent their tranquillity from being interrupted by domestic rivals, and their usurped authority from being attacked by enemies from abroad. Talleyrand
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seemed sincerely to enter into all their views, and was entrusted by them to correspond with Barras and other leading members of the National Convention. But, while pretending to act cordially with them, he was secretly paving the way for his own return to France.

On the 2d of September, a memorial was presented to the Convention, in which he enumerates "his great achievements in the cause of liberty and equality, and demands, therefore, to have the decree of accusation against him cancelled, and his name struck off the list of emigrants, as both these acts took place according to his own desire, to be so much the more useful in his secret mission in London." His petition was taken into consideration on the 4th following; but he was the only member of the revolutionary committee of the north, to whom this assembly conceded such a favour.

The passion for the fair sex has always been a predominant feature in the life of Talleyrand; and he scrupled not to violate the most sacred ties, and every principle of morality, to gratify his lustful propensities. Among persons whom he had been introduced to during his residence in Germany, was the Baron de S——, married to a beautiful niece of the Prince de H——, who had sent her at the beginning of the French revolution to France, to be educated there under the inspection of Madame Genlis. Ambitious, not interested motives, guided her husband when he concluded this marriage. Possessing a princely fortune, his vanity was flattered in having to boast of a wife related to a prince of one of the first houses in Germany. Of this he informed his lady on her wedding-day; and added, that, as he desired not to be interrupted in his future connexions with persons of her sex, so he left her at perfect liberty to choose the company of those gentlemen who were most agreeable to her own inclinations. She was not quite eighteen when she heard such language from her husband, who the next day presented her, as a playfellow, a Prussian sub-lieutenant of her own age, the natural son of a nobleman in the vicinity. Thus circumstanced, if she fell a victim to seduction, she was previously the victim of imprudence, of neglect, and of indifference. Although her frailties are not to be commended, the conduct of her husband was unpardonable. Had he encouraged in her sentiments
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of virtue, she might have continued a life of chastity. His guilt is evident; her's, the moralist will deplore, and the Christian pity and forgive. Her intrigue with this young officer was no secret; and when delivered of a daughter, she ingenuously told every body that he was the father, even in the presence of her husband, who did not appear offended.

Before her acquaintance with Talleyrand, this was the only instance of any improper connexion. Her genius was as justly celebrated, as her beauty was admired; but her foible was, to prefer the praise conferred upon the eminence of the former, to the compliments bestowed on the perfection of the latter. This weak side was soon assailed by the crafty Talleyrand. She had a select library, where he requested and often obtained free admittance. He there wrote in her favourite book, Rousseau's *Eloisa*, some flattering verses, which she answered; and, as expected and intended, an amorous intrigue followed this literary correspondence. Not content with gaining her affections, he determined to tyrannize over her inclinations; and he prevailed on her to discard the handsome young officer, who was her first, and who had for three years been her only lover.

Not many weeks passed away before she repented of her sacrifices, and suffered for her inexperience. A relation of her's, some years older, of an amiable and irreproachable character, and married to a nobleman of an eminent station in that country, often saw Talleyrand at her house, but always with an undisguised aversion. He, in revenge, determined on the ruin of this lady; who no sooner perceived his assiduities, than she seemed to soften into submission. Her intent was, however, only to expose the infamy of the intriguer, and preserve her relative from his snares in future. She assented, therefore, to a surrender, as soon as he could prove he had no other mistress: this he found no great difficulty in accomplishing; and he immediately broke off all connexion with the young Cordelia, whose affections he had been too successful in rivetting. He began by quarrelling with her about her former lover, of whom he pretended to be jealous. This cause she removed by obtaining an order from his colonel to join his regiment immediately,

at

at a distance of nearly 400 miles; but an illness, the consequence of disappointed love, did not permit him to obey. In the mean time, the many pressing invitations of the neighbouring nobility and gentry gave an opportunity to Talleyrand to absent himself. His coolness towards her was already very visible; and he began to act the moralist, and to reprobate himself for what had passed, desiring her to restore the father of her daughter and the health of her lover with her affection. When at a distance, he repeated in his letters what he had thus expressed in conversation; her letters to him, in reply, plainly exhibited the pangs of a slighted attachment, and shew the feelings of her mind, arising from injured pride and humbled vanity.

The husband of the lady whose seduction Talleyrand now meditated, was in all respects remarkable for exemplary conduct; and it could not be supposed he would patiently endure any attack upon his honour. Occupying, besides, an eminent situation in his own country, his resentment for any outrage offered to his bed could not fail to be certain as well as severe. To elude his vengeance, therefore, Talleyrand proposed to his new mistress to carry her to France, whither he himself had permission to go. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of poor Cordelia, who had imagined that the object of this journey was for no other purpose than to banish recollections of his attachment to her, had the strongest effect upon her mind; and she wrote him a letter, strongly expressive of her feelings and attachment to her base and cruel seducer.

“ The day of your departure from —— is then fixed; you are going to remove far away from me, and that without having seen me. Having received this news, it is time for me to write to you, for the *last time*, on a subject of such importance to *our* happiness. It will cost me great efforts to write to you as calmly as is necessary. In spite of all my endeavours to govern myself, my hand trembles, and my ideas are confused. Charles! I repeat it—it is *for the last time* I shall attempt to address myself to your heart: if it is in vain, I condemn myself to silence, I submit to *my destiny—deceived by you*. I beg you to read what I am going to tell you *with attention*; *read it often*, and do not pronounce your sentence hastily.

“ Yet

“ Yet, I hope nothing from this letter—no! no! I have nothing to hope; your resolution is, no doubt, not to be shaken. Yes, I perceive, more than ever, that you are resolved to break those affectionate ties which united us, which made so happy. I shall endeavour to examine with *sang froid* the reasons which have induced you to take that fatal determination. Were not the happiness and honour of Cordelia your first and principal motives? Yes, these were the tender, the honourable, and pure motives, that induced you to make a sacrifice, to which you will perceive that I also shall submit. I respect your intentions—but take care, Charles, that you have not made a wrong calculation; take care, in wishing my felicity, that you do not bring about my destruction; take care, in spite of your praiseworthy intentions, that one day you may not have the most cruel reflections preying on your mind; take care, when you might have made me both happy and respectable, that you *alone* are not the author of my misery, and, in desiring to restore me to the path of virtue, that you do not irremediably force me into the road of perdition; take care, that you do not hurry me into a most awful futurity! Your advices are excellent, your moral lessons are pure—but, alas! it is too late for me to follow them. Charles! Charles! a violent and invincible passion consumes me! You tell me, that I am to search for happiness by fulfilling the duties imposed on me as a wife, as a mistress, and as a mother! The last title I acknowledge, and shall try to observe its commands; but for those of a wife and a mistress, I acknowledge them no longer. I protest that it is totally impossible, that I should ever have any thing more to do with the young man. In a connexion between us, I see no advantages either for him or for me; and did they even exist, my heart revolts against them. Besides, I do not see that any duty urges me to keep up our acquaintance. Is it on his account? our characters are too opposite to assimilate and to agree. He will suffer for a moment, in resigning me for ever; but he will retrieve his happiness. As to Julia, my child has no interest that can oblige me to assent to a continuance of our connexion. God forbid that she should ever know him to be the author of her existence! With regard to myself, if all these reasons did not exist

to dissuade me, I should never more have any connexion with him. I cannot, therefore, as you conclude, find any comfort or consolation in an union founded upon duty; because I know no such union.

“ I must then remain afflicted and isolated, devoured by an incurable passion; reproaching myself that I might have been happy, tormented by unavailing regrets and desires—my youth, my health, my life, will fade away. But this is not the greatest evil to which you expose me. If, in order to extricate myself from an insupportable situation—if, to drive away consuming thoughts—if my soul, having lost that serenity it enjoyed in a prosperous state—if, in fine, I run the risk of becoming one day more despicable than ever—Charles! it will be entirely owing to you. But if, on the contrary, I could have lived with you—oh, I should have become so prudent, that you might, notwithstanding my past errors, have judged me worthy of you. Then—then first should I discharge the duty of a wife and a mistress with rapture, and to its full extent, because love would then have made the exercise of virtue easy. Oh, my God! Charles, will you not pity me? You fancy that what you are doing is for my welfare; but you deceive yourself, and I am the victim of this cruel mistake. But, perhaps, it is on your own account that you wish to see an end of our connexion? Do you think me unworthy of thee? Or do you suspect that I partake of happiness with any body else? Oh, Charles, if I have been unworthy of thee, I will devote my whole life to repair my faults. Pardon me, generous man!—tender and sensible friend! Forgive what has past, and put me into a situation to efface it by a contrary conduct in future. Convince yourself, by never leaving me, that you have no partners in my favours. I promise you always to remain under your eyes whilst you are with me; and for any short journeys, I could undertake them with you. Pray do not refuse to convince yourself of every thing! Oh, make me not miserable!

“ Pray listen to me! If it is in vain to ask you to pass the winter with me—if you have absolutely condemned me to that sacrifice—then do not complete the measure of my sufferings, but remain in some place in the neighbourhood, not too distant from here. I solemnly swear,
that

that without your permission I shall not visit you. At least, in the first outset, do not remove too far; try to gain time to reflect on every thing more calmly. No, it is impossible that your mind can possess sufficient tranquillity to estimate exactly our mutual situation. If you act rashly—and, when my happiness was in your power, my ruin was the inevitable consequence of your resolve—could you ever forgive yourself?

“ Only for this winter; and afterwards you can carry me away with you far from here: then I know nothing that can prevent me. Only for this winter, and you may observe every thing yourself: or can you, for your satisfaction, invent any expedient to send the young man entirely away, when he is a little recovered? Find out that expedient to restore me Charles—to restore me felicity. No! I cannot *live* without you. In vain have I made every possible effort with myself. Take care, I repeat it, not to prepare for thyself *eternal* repentance. At least, as a last favour, do not travel too far from here; I could never support it.

“ You can hardly read this letter: but it informs you, better than any description of mine, how my health is; I can hardly hold the pen in my hand. You will, perhaps, even accuse me of being the cause of my own illness; you will tell me it is my duty to take care of myself. Alas! I wish nothing better: but God knows that I have done every thing that could be done; but, in spite of myself, I am in a most shocking state, from which you alone can relieve me.

“ Adieu, Charles! I shall not afflict you any more. I have *for ever* done speaking to you of my dreadful sufferings. Vain words will no longer inform you of them; but one day you will be acquainted with them, in consequence of the terrible effects they have produced with regard to me; but I promise you solemnly never to mention them more.

“ Adieu, Charles! adieu! You are then going to leave me! Be happy! Cordelia shall do every thing in the world not to interrupt your happiness. You shall hear no more of her sad sorrows. Adieu! my dear!—my best beloved!—my all! Adieu! adieu!”

Cordelia's husband had been informed of her intention to follow Talleyrand in his intended journey; and, indif-

ferent as he was about her or her connexions, he took the alarm, and endeavoured to prevent so rash an action: but this was rendered unnecessary by the cruel and unnatural conduct of Talleyrand, which had made a fatal impression upon her mind. Unable to endure the reflection of her conduct and the reproaches of Talleyrand, neither the vigour of her youth nor the strength of her constitution could overcome the power of her feelings, and a consequent illness confined her to her bed. For some days she refused the aid of medicine and every kind of sustenance; but, forty-eight hours before her death, she suddenly changed her obstinacy, and seemed recovering her health, as well as tranquillity.

On the last evening of her life, she invited her husband (who seldom visited her) to tea. She thanked him for his condescending behaviour towards her; but intreated him, should he ever marry again, not to allow his wife such an unrestrained freedom as she had been permitted, as it had shortened her days, and was the cause of all her misery. Bathed with her tears, she delivered to him her daughter, whom she implored him to send, after her death, to a noble convent, to be educated in such a manner as to become one of its future members. After pressing the child, almost to suffocation, to her bosom, she ordered her to be carried to the nursery, which was at a distance in one of the wings of the chateau. She recommended to his notice the young man, her first lover; bequeathing to him, besides all her jewels, a sum of money, her private property, sufficient to procure him an annuity of 1000 Frederic's d'or (£850). Embracing her husband for the last time, she deposited her will in his hands, and entreated its execution, particularly that part in which she had desired to be burnt after her death, and her ashes collected in an urn, and sent according to a sealed address. Upon his surprise at hearing her speak of a death, which, judging from her improved state of health, seemed yet distant, she answered, "No, my friend, you are mistaken; my death-warrant was signed yesterday, and I received it this morning." Saying this, she shewed him a letter from Talleyrand, which he demanded, in vain, to read. On leaving her, he ordered the physician to be called, supposing her conversation the effect of delirium, or derangement.

rangement. The physician found her reading—calm, and better than in the morning.

At ten o'clock she went to bed, and ordered one of her maids, who slept in the same room, and her nurse, and another maid, who had beds in an adjoining closet, to do the same. She had a table by her bed-side, and continued for some time to read and write alternately. Finding herself watched by her maid, she sent her to bed with the nurse, and bolted the door of the closet. This was about one o'clock in the morning. At six the nurse heard a scream; and, forcing open the door, she found the wretched and unfortunate Cordelia weltering in her blood, having stabbed herself through the heart with an American penknife of curious workmanship, and which had been presented to her by Talleyrand. She was already dead. Upon the table were found a sealed letter to her husband, and an open one, addressed to Talleyrand, containing these lines:—

“ Five o'clock in the morning.

“ I have burnt all your letters. They would neither do honour to my memory, nor to your heart. God forgive you! You are my assassin! I pardon you!

CORDELIA.”

By the side of this note and the letter, lay Rousseau's *Eloisa* and the *Sorrows of Werter*. The former of these works lay open: and, in the letter from St. Preaux to Lord Boston, these words were underlined—“ By making existence insupportable, God commands us to put an end to it. In putting an end to existence, therefore, we only obey the command of the divinity.”

The alarm which the fatal deed occasioned, soon assembled all the persons in the chateau round the body; among others, her young lover, who from illness had not been able for three weeks to leave his bed. His feelings, and the general consternation, may easily be conceived. In pressing the bleeding remains of Cordelia, he fainted away, and was carried senseless back to his apartment. Even her husband, whose want of feeling and apathy were so strongly displayed, shed tears at the sight.

The same night her remains were, according to her will, without pomp, consumed upon a funeral pile erected in the park, opposite the windows of the library,
from

from which she for the first time had seen her seducer. The sealed address contained these words, to be engraved on the urn :

“ The ashes of CORDELIA DE S.—
Born Princess de H———
Bequeathed to Citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand.
Memento Mori.”

Such were the fatal effects of this criminal intercourse, and such was the unmerited fate of a lady descended from a noble and illustrious family. It was from the lady whom he intended to seduce, that Talleyrand first obtained the intelligence of the fatal catastrophe occasioned by his unprincipled depravity. It was accompanied with an order never afterwards to appear in her sight; and with a threat, that if he did not quit the country immediately, her husband should be informed of the attempt against his honour, and a prison for life would be the least he could expect. Taking the alarm, therefore, he set out at a short notice for Berlin.

His journey to Berlin was not merely dictated by fear, but had been for some time meditated from policy. The King of Prussia had but lately concluded a peace with the French republicans, who, insincere themselves, supposed him equally so. When Talleyrand had procured his name to be struck off the list of French emigrants, he offered his services to the French Directory, in the Prussian capital, which they accepted. The campaign on the Rhine, as well as on the frontiers of Italy, had not produced events so important as might have been expected. The state of the French finances, the agitations and distractions which embarrassed the Directory, and the numerous uncertainties attending newly-acquired power, prevented vigorous exertions. France had, besides, a deeper game of policy to play. The governors affected a spirit of conciliation and a desire of peace, conforming their professions towards foreign nations with the pretended system of moderation and lenity which they had established at home, and thus deluded many persons into a belief that they had carried on war merely on principles of self-defence, and for purposes of security. The successes of the protracted campaign of 1794 had weakened their armies more than their opponents could believe. The necessity of keeping up such a force in
Holland

Holland as would enable them to effect their schemes of extortion to the fullest extent, weakened their disposable forces for the field; and they had no hopes until a peace with Prussia, Spain, and other powers, limited and condensed their operations, of being able to carry on effectual hostilities for another year. Their continental enemies, on the other hand, were equally weakened and fatigued by the length of the contest. The cabinet of Vienna was unfortunately divided by jarring and treacherous councils; and those who were most patriotic in their views for the good of the empire, were filled with consternation at the unexpected successes of the French, and the inglorious defection of the King of Prussia. In that situation of affairs a man of Talleyrand's abilities was more useful at Berlin, than he could possibly be any where else; but it is a remarkable fact, that, during his short stay in that city, he was only known by the name of Maurice, his passports being made out in that name.

When at Berlin, he was frequently in the company of the Prussian ministers, particularly of Count Haugwitz; and he associated familiarly with those favourites, both male and female, who had so much influence over the determinations of the King: and his dexterity was so great, that he found means to gain over and cajole every party in the Prussian capital. The result of this short political campaign was, the friendship of Count Haugwitz—a knowledge of the weakness of the Prussian cabinet—the promise of procuring the present King, Frederic-William, (at that time Prince-Royal) the election of King of the Romans—and a secret treaty, signed with the Prussian patriots, in the name of the French Directory, agreeing to establish, upon the ruins of monarchy, a Prussian republic, one and indivisible.

On his return to Paris, he wrote to Barras—That, short as the period of his late secret mission had been, he could take upon himself to affirm, that either the King of Prussia would continue neutral as long as it suited the plans and interest of France, or a Prussian commonwealth would unite its arms in the cause of liberty with those of the French republic.

Soon after his arrival at Paris he was elected first a member, and afterwards one of the secretaries, to the
National

National Institute: to which he presented a tract, written with great ability, entitled "*Des Travaux de la classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques*;" in which he shewed the advantages both of the sciences and liberty, and therefore strongly recommended the continuance of a republican government, with an elective executive as well as a legislative power. Hereditary authorities and dignities, he attempted to prove, were not only incompatible with the improvement and felicity of society, but reprobated by common sense, because the history of all times had evinced that eminent virtues and great talents had never continued hereditary even for two generations.

Before Talleyrand left the vicinity of Hamburgh, it is said that he had several conferences with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and other Irish conspirators, who had arrived there by appointment. With them he discussed the relative situation of his old friends, the English and Irish patriots, and the means of establishing the independence of Ireland, a revolution in Great Britain, and a republican government in both islands. He had communicated to Barras his revolutionary transactions with the Irish conspirators; and the Directory sanctioned them with their official approbation. Their minister at Hamburgh was ordered to make that city the sanctuary of fugitives from the British dominions, and to protect their committee, which conducted the intermediary correspondence with Paris, London, and Ireland, under the mask of commercial affairs, or information for newspapers. General Hoche was sent in disguise to meet Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, in Switzerland; and it was in consequence of an agreement with them that the expedition under Hoche to Bantry Bay, in December 1796, was undertaken. Its miscarriage was attended with one good result; as, afterwards, the French Directory mistrusted all the reports they received of the disaffection of the Irish. Though Talleyrand had never altered his opinion—"that the French republic will always be unable to make an impression upon the British empire, *but in time of peace*"—he was too well acquainted with the sentiments of the Directory, to publish what he thought on this subject. In order to obtain a place under them, he flattered their passions at the expence of his own conviction.

When

When it was known that Lord Malmsbury had been appointed to negotiate a treaty of peace, in 1796, with the Directory, Talleyrand inserted in the *Le Redacteur*, the then official paper, a libel on this nobleman, pretending to be a relation of supposed intrigues in Russia. Having prejudiced his countrymen against the negotiator, he endeavoured, by the most absurd calumnies, to excite their hatred against the English government. The correspondence of Lord Malmsbury disclosed the ignorance of La Croix, the minister of the foreign department in France; but his influence and connexion with the Director Rewbel was such, that Talleyrand despaired of being able to get him turned out. But Ramel, the minister of the finances, having embroiled himself with the Directory, opened a more favourable opportunity to his views. Talleyrand, therefore, from a politician, became a financier, and was determined at any rate to have his ambition gratified by the appointment to the rank of a minister. A long memorial, comparing the finances of France in 1796, with those of America in 1783, was presented by him to his friend Barras, who laid it before the Directory. It was found to contain so many just observations and pertinent remarks, that it was remitted to the Financial Committee of the Council of Five Hundred. There the state of the finances continued to be the subject of continual debates; and the most unjust schemes were daily presented for supplying the national treasury with money, although the government was entirely destitute of credit.

Shortly afterwards, at the desire of Barras, Talleyrand wrote, on this subject, a message from the Directory, in which, by an affecting, but not an over-charged picture of the public calamity, they solicited the attention of the Council of Five Hundred. "All parts of the public service," they said, "are in extreme distress. The pay of the troops is in arrear, and the defenders of the country given up to the horrors of nakedness; their courage is enervated by their grievous wants, and their disgust occasions desertions. The hospitals are without furniture, fire, or drugs; and the charitable institutions similarly unprovided. The state creditors and contractors, who contributed to supply the wants of the armies, can only obtain, by their utmost exertions, small parts of

the sums which are due to them; and the example of their distress deters others, who would perform the same services with more punctuality and less profit. The high roads are broken up, and the communication interrupted. The salaries of the public functionaries are unpaid; and, throughout the republic, we see judges and administrators reduced to the horrible alternative of dragging on a miserable existence, or disgracefully selling themselves to every intriguer. Malevolence is universally busy; in many places, assassination is reduced to a system; and the police, without activity or force, become destitute of pecuniary means, is unable to terminate disorders." As a remedy for these inconveniences, it was proposed, in the message—First, a compulsory advance, in money, from all purchasers of national domains; a project which only increased their embarrassments, by giving reason to expect a new circulation of paper, with no better guarantee than the credit of individuals. The minister of finance was next authorized to convoke an assembly of merchants from all the considerable trading towns of the republic, to meet at Paris. Some attended, others refused to obey the summons; but all concurred in rejecting four several plans which were offered for the establishment of a national bank, though enforced by all the persuasions which power and eloquence could lend to the ministers, Ramel and Benezeth. The merchants answered by a plain enumeration of facts. "All government paper," they said "has been discredited; and every scheme for giving circulation to such a symbol in France has been disgraced by an unprincipled seizure of the property which was to realize its value. The effects of anarchy depress the spirit of commerce; we trade only on the ruins of our former wealth. Capital is spent or buried; manufactures are shut up; correspondence is annihilated; a continual fluctuation in government checks the spirit of enterprise; and the best-combined speculations fail, because, between the period of projecting, and that of perfecting them, a total change takes place in the laws relating to their operation."

When such was the state of the French finances, a man must indeed have possessed great confidence in his own powers, to promise himself success in an attempt to repair derangement so universal, and to restore a ruined credit;

credit; but the intention of Talleyrand was rather to expose the want of talent in the minister, than to relieve the sufferings of the state.

In the year 1797, Talleyrand married Madame Grand, a lady of Danish extraction, who had formerly been married to an Englishman. In the spring of that year he presented a petition to the Directory in her favour, which was referred to Cochon, the then minister of police, whose approbation it obtained. She was permitted to return to France, where she arrived with a Danish pass, and continued to reside, under the protection of the Danish minister, until her marriage with Talleyrand. Her house at Montmorency, near Paris, soon became the rendezvous of all those foreign diplomatic agents, or directorial courtiers, whom he judged favourable to his designs, whose services he expected, whose influence he knew, and whose assistance he courted.

Another attempt of the English government to negotiate a peace, gave Talleyrand an opportunity of making his abilities known, and perhaps himself necessary. He composed an artful, but more eloquent than conclusive, memorial of the relative political situation of France and England, which he, as a friend, gave La Croix to read over, and improve with his observations. As he suspected, this minister immediately made use of it, and laid it before the Directory in his own name, recommending the adoption of the measures it suggested. Talleyrand was, however, beforehand with him, having, two days previously, presented Rewbel another memorial, exposing the fallacy of the conclusions drawn in the former, and the danger of France in negotiating upon the very principles La Croix had so strongly recommended. He manifested also such an inveteracy against the British empire, and such a rooted hatred against the British nation, that at last even Rewbel consented to his appointment to the ministry of foreign affairs, La Croix's incapacity being too apparent to allow his retaining that post any longer. Knowing the determination of the Directory to continue the war with England, which was very unpopular in France, and apprehensive that the odium of an unsuccessful issue of the negotiation would be cast on him, with a view to shelter himself as much as possible

from all connexion with it, Lisle in Flanders was fixed on as the place of meeting, and Le Tourneur the ex-director, Pleville, Lepelley, and Maret, were nominated the French negotiators. Lord Malmsbury was appointed plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain: but the negotiation came to nothing, owing principally to the intrigues of Talleyrand. It was humorously said by the Parisians, that, during the summer of 1797, Talleyrand had many severe battles to fight with the English guineas on one side, and the Spanish dollars, Prussian Frederics d'or, and Dutch ducats, on the other. Whether the English guineas got the better, or the offers of the British plenipotentiary were such as he deemed most advantageous to France, it is certain he proposed the acceptance of them to the Directory. When he made this proposition, Rewbel, one of the Directors, it is said, after reading over the plan, threw it in his face, exclaiming, "You rascally priest! you must either be a fool, or a rogue, gained over by the English, to dare to lay before us such an ill-digested and unacceptable plan. Call on me after our sitting is over, and I will convince you, that you are either an imbecile or a traitor." Talleyrand immediately recanted his opinions, acknowledged his ignorance, and the very next day he invented and produced some new and extravagant demand on Great Britain, to which he well knew she would never subscribe.

Whether Talleyrand published this scandalous affair to expose or to be revenged on Rewbel, or whether the latter did it to humiliate the former, whom he suspected of having pocketed a bribe without sharing it with him, is unknown; but certain it is, that within twenty-four hours its particulars were circulated, not only in the directorial circles, but they found their way into several newspapers, particularly into *Le Thé*, a daily evening paper. Barthelémy also, when in England, confirmed the truth of this singular circumstance.

On the 17th of September, Lord Malmsbury had been obliged to leave Lisle; and, on the 17th of October, peace between France and Austria was signed at Campo Formio. The public articles stipulated the cession of the Low Countries to France, and that France should retain the islands in the Archipelago, and in the Adriatic Sea, formerly belonging to Venice, and the establishment
of

of that republic in Albania. The Emperor was to possess the absolute sovereignty of the territories of Venice to the Adige. The Milanese and Mantuan territories were ceded to the Cisalpine republic, which was formally acknowledged; and an indemnity was to be granted to the Duke of Modena in the Brisgaw: a congress was also to be held at Rastadt to settle a plan of pacification between France and the German empire. The secret articles of this treaty were known within six days after its conclusion; for Talleyrand, in consideration of receiving 1,500,000 livres, which were divided between him, Barras, and Rewbel, informed the Turkish, Prussian, and Bavarian ministers, of their contents. They were, however, not given to the public till nearly the conclusion of the congress. These secret articles discovered in the Austrian plenipotentiaries a want of foresight difficult to be accounted for; for it is quite incomprehensible how they could be allured into Talleyrand's snare, how they could receive and make such presents, how they could bind themselves to so treacherous a government, by a stipulation, the nature and secret of which chained, in future, the Imperial cabinet to the usurping politics of revolutionary France. In perusing the articles we need look no farther for the cause of the distrust and division which afterwards broke out in the congress of Rastadt, for the alarms which still withheld several powers from a general confederacy, and for the unresisted tyranny of Buonaparte in Germany as well as in Italy, in Switzerland as well as in Holland, in Spain as well as in Portugal. The nature of the articles prove that they were composed by Talleyrand, with the approbation of Napoleon and the Directory.

No nation at war with France had less provoked her attacks, or had oftener negotiated with her for a peace, than Portugal. The weighty persuasions of Spain at last overcame Talleyrand's political nicety; and a passport for Chevalier D'Arango, as an acknowledged Portuguese envoy, was signed by him. But, after this plenipotentiary's arrival, his instructions were deemed too limited; he was therefore first dismissed, and then recalled. When signing the peace which he had purchased at the enormous sum of six millions of livres, divided between Talleyrand and the five Directors, he

was

was a second time turned away. He again, pocketing all affronts, returned to solicit peace, and offer his gold, but with an indiscretion for which, notwithstanding his privileged character, he was sent to the Temple by an order signed Talleyrand. This arrest, in violation of the law of nations, was made in consequence of a discovery having been made by the then minister of police, Sattin, of Talleyrand receiving two millions of livres, besides the millions shared with the Directory. Suspecting perfidy, and dreading evidences, he accused Chevalier D'Aranjo of intriguing for Great Britain. Confined in the republican state-prison, he had no opportunity of confounding his accusers, or to refute the calumny. Some further pecuniary sacrifices, advanced by the Spanish ambassador, Marquis del Campo, opened, however, the doors of his prison, and prevented him from being detained a prisoner until a general pacification, which was the wish of Talleyrand, and the first determination of the Directory.

The character and views of the leading men in France at this time may be gathered from the following account of a sitting of the Directory in December 1797, at which both Napoleon and Talleyrand were admitted. The author who has furnished us with it read the minutes of this sitting at Madame St. Hilaire's, who was then kept by La Garde, secretary of the Directory.

“ The map of the world was spread over the table, and each Director had a globe before him. The order of the day was to discuss in what manner liberty and equality would be propagated to the greatest honour of the French arms, to the greatest glory of the Great Nation, and to the greatest injury of the British empire.

“ The Director Francis Neufchateau opened the sitting with a long speech, in which he proposed to revolutionize India and China, as with these nations France had no binding treaties or stipulations, but among whom her warriors might at once both plunder riches and gather laurels. He desired the equipment of the whole French navy, together with those of her allies, to sail, accompanied by as many transports and as numerous armies as possible.

“ The Director Merlin agreed to the utility of invading and republicanizing China and India; but he desired

sired that France would first annihilate monarchy and aristocracy in Europe.

“ The Director La Reveilliere assented to the justness of Merlin’s opinion ; he only added, that, before we undertook any remote regenerations, we should bury Christianity in the same grave with monarchy and aristocracy, as priests were the most revengeful of all despots, and the most dangerous of all aristocrats.

“ The Director Rewbel hoped that French patriots would always bear in mind, that their safety could only be insured by the ruin of the English monarchy. The conquest or regeneration of Ireland by France was unfortunately retarded by the late disasters of the Batavian fleet (Lord Duncan’s victory). By the treaty of Campo Formio, Great Britain was isolated from the continent. ‘ Let us,’ says he, ‘ organise this isolation, by immediately extending republicanism to the other side of the Pyrenees and the Rhine, as well as on the other side of the Alps and the Adige. Let the tri-coloured standard triumphantly wave from the banks of the Elbe to the banks of the Tagus, from the borders of the Baltic to the shores of the Black and Red Seas. In every country we enter, we advance nearer the attainment of our object ; and by every new republic we erect, one of the pillars of monarchy falls to the ground.’

“ The Director Barras agreed with Rewbel in the necessity of organizing the political as well as the natural isolation of Great Britain from the continent ; and foresaw the great utility of surrounding France with allied or tributary republics, in Europe as well as in Asia, Africa, and America. ‘ But might we not hope,’ continued he, ‘ from the valour of our troops, and the talents of our generals, that regeneration may be effected at the same time in different quarters of the world. Let us hasten the expedition at Toulon ; let us order one division of our forces to make Egypt a bridge to India, whilst other divisions constitute new republics in Helvetia, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and in Cis-Rhenian Germany. In all these countries we already are, or shall be, invited by the friends of liberty and equality, the soundest part of every nation. Let us invariably enter all states destined for regeneration as friends or allies, and no where as intruders or foes. In so doing, no treaties are broken, and no other powers will

will have any just grounds of complaint. As all these new republics add to the weight of our scale in the balance of power, we shall soon have occasion to fear no superior, acknowledge no equal, but command and obtain tribute even from the most distant states, well convinced as they must be that subjugation will follow opposition.'

"General Buonaparte was then asked his opinion. 'Citizens Directors,' said he, 'I am so well persuaded of the advantage of colonizing and regenerating Egypt, that I have already offered myself to head the expedition, as soon as you are certain that Malta will receive a French garrison. As to republicanizing the other countries, I should libel my love of universal freedom, did I not approve of it to its full extent. As, however, the naval forces of Spain and Portugal are absolutely necessary for the perfection of our plans, both in the Mediterranean and Indian Seas; and these forces are still in the power of despots, and commanded by aristocrats; I submit to your consideration, whether it would not be more prudent and political, first to see the Spanish and Portuguese navy safe in our harbours, before we plant the tree of liberty in the cities on the other side the Pyrenees.'

"Talleyrand on receiving permission to speak, declared, that, after what had fallen from his superiors in talent as well as in rank, he could have but little to say. With General Buonaparte, he thought, it would be better to adopt, for a short time, a temporizing system with regard to Spain and Portugal. By treaties with the former we could claim the disposal of her navy; and, by negotiations with the latter, French garrisons might soon occupy her sea-ports, and dispose of her arsenal and navy in the manner executed with so much skill and adroitness at Venice. As money was the sinew of authority and influence, as well as of war, he took the liberty of calling the attention of the Directory to the relative situation of neutral states. They were formerly poor, but were now enriched by the distresses of France and her revolutionary war. They could not therefore complain of injustice, if she reclaimed a part of their extorted and ill-gotten treasures. He did not mean to propose a direct warfare with neutral nations, but such severity and restrictions on their navigation and trade, as would, in our
turn,

turn, procure us opportunities to use the right our actual power gives us, of seizing, capturing, and confiscating, together with their cargoes, all vessels sailing contrary to our regulations: this, while it compensates the losses we have suffered, may even augment our future resources. To attain this desirable object, a decree of the Directory should immediately declare every neutral ship trading to England, or having English property on board, legal prize. Such a decree would not only be political and advantageous to France, but detrimental and destructive in the highest degree to England. The goods in her crowded magazines would then become rotten for want of purchasers, her manufacturers would cease to work for want of consumers; her merchants would become bankrupts; her mechanics, beggars; her citizens, seditious; and, without the landing of an army, we might conquer her strongest hold—her *finances*. Such a decree would, no doubt, create some alarm amongst neutral powers; but, to evince to them that the moderation of the French government is equal to its grandeur, pecuniary sacrifices might be allowed to produce some extenuations, and even exceptions. I submit to the Directory the following calculation as to the amount each neutral government may be asked to repay; and how much the subjects of each can, without causing their utter ruin by captures, restore to the French republic. From the American government may be claimed 100,000,000 of livres (£4,000,000 sterling): from the American citizens may be captured as high as to 500,000,000 (£20,000,000). From the Danish government may be claimed, 50,000,000 (£2,000,000): and from the Danish subjects may be captured as far as 200,000,000 (£8,000,000). From the Prussian government, as *an ally*, whose commercial navy is far inferior to her military strength, may be claimed 24,000,000 of livres (£1,000,000): and from the Prussian subjects may be captured as far as 60,000,000 (£2,500,000). From the Swedish government may be claimed 30,000,000 (£1,250,000): and from the Swedish subjects may be captured as far as 100,000,000 (£4,000,000). From the Senate and Imperial cities and Hanse Towns may be claimed 80,000,000: and from their citizens may be captured as far as 200,000,000. From the King of Naples may be claimed 24,000,000 (£1,000,000): and

from his subjects may be captured up to 50,000,000 (£2,000,000). From the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 30,000,000 (£1,250,000) may be claimed: and from his subjects may be captured to the extent of 70,000,000 (£3,000,000). From the King of Spain may be claimed 150,000,000 (£6,000,000): and from his subjects may be captured as far as 300,000,000 (£12,000,000). From the Pope may be claimed 12,000,000 (£500,000): and from his subjects may be captured 24,000,000 (£1,000,000).'

"When Talleyrand had finished his speech, the Director Merlin bestowed lavish encomiums on the minister's zeal and patriotism, and moved, 'That this proposal with regard to neutral nations should be immediately changed into a decree, and its contents communicated to all neutral ministers and consuls resident in France, and by couriers sent to all the diplomatic and commercial agents of the French republic accredited to neutral states.' This motion was, without further deliberation, assented to unanimously by the Directory."

In proposing this decree against neutrals, Talleyrand could have no other object in view but immediate, though temporary pillage. His abilities as a statesman leave no doubt of his foreseeing that its consequences, instead of being hurtful, must be profitable to Great Britain, as it would change her passive commerce with many neutral nations into an active one with them all. The productions of British industry, and of the British colonies, were, from custom and from reciprocal gain, become necessitous to all people, not even excepting the French themselves. If, therefore, they were prevented from obtaining them from the first hand, they must pay dearer for them to a second or third, as they could not do without them. No sooner was the decree of the 2d of December known, than English ships were engaged by neutrals, who carried, under the protection of convoys, those articles they fetched before in their own bottoms; whence, to other profits that England obtained, was added freight. This miscalculation caused Talleyrand and the Directors no uneasiness. They had all fitted out privateers, that, with valuable prizes of friendly or neutral ships, repaid their advances, rewarded their patriotism, and gratified their cupidity. It was reported that, by this piracy alone (for it cannot be denominated any

any thing else), from the 1st of January 1798 to the 1st of July in the same year, Rewbel gained 6,000,000 of livres. Barras, 4,000,000; La Reveilliere, 2,500,000; Merlin, 7,000,000; Neufchateau, 1,200,000; Talleyrand, 5,000,000; and Madame Buonaparte, to whom her husband had given 300,000 livres to engage in privateering, 1,800,000.

By the decree of the 2d of December, America also was marked out as a fit victim to this new system of finance; and Talleyrand, hardly seated in place and power, in return for the hospitable reception he had received in America, caused, without any previous declaration of war, orders to be issued to capture all American ships, and upwards of 500 of them were very soon seized in the West Indies and in Europe. A treaty of alliance and neutrality between the United States and Great Britain was assigned as the cause of this attack, which violated all the stipulations and conventions between France and America. The Americans were unwilling to make reprisals; but they sent plenipotentiaries to Paris. After much political evasion and chicanery, Talleyrand advised the Directory to receive them in France as privileged characters, but not to acknowledge them as ambassadors or negotiators—a distinction as novel as unjust in transactions with independent nations. It was also very humiliating to the Americans, who, to gain his favour, had selected citizens of known impartiality in politics, and one of them his intimate friend when at Philadelphia. He made the Directory, in imputing this mode of conduct to fear, assume a proportionate haughtiness, and refuse them an audience. But it was insinuated to them, through inferior agents, and subaltern intriguers, that a donation of £60,000 to Talleyrand, to be divided between him and four of the Directors, would be a necessary preliminary to any attempt at negotiation. It was also more than intimated, that, as the Director Merlin had been paid for the letters of marque issued to privateers, those licences could not be recalled; but the American government might purchase the good-will of France by a loan of 80,000,000 of livres, in part to be shared between the Directors and their minister. In making such proposals, Talleyrand had mistaken the character of those with whom he was treating. In the minds of the Americans,

ricans, no passion is stronger than the love of money; and this attempt at extortion immediately drove the plenipotentiaries back to their own shores, where they published to the world the infamous proposal. The Americans cheerfully armed and prepared to make reprisals: and General Washington was again invested with the command of all the military resources of the republic, which derived its formation from his valour and judgment, and owed its continuance to his justice and moderation. One of the secret agents employed in this business was a person of the name of Bellamy, born at Geneva. After the publication of this shameful transaction, he came over to this country, provided with a neutral Danish pass, expecting, no doubt that, as in the correspondence of the American plenipotentiaries he and his associates were only mentioned as X. Y. Z. he was unknown to the British government. An order to leave this country, however, convinced him that he was mistaken in his supposition. Baron du Metz, who had already been sent away from England by the British government was another secret agent. In this secret agency females were also employed.

When Talleyrand came into the ministry, it is said, he found anarchy and ignorance had penetrated into all the offices of the state, as well as into all other places of the republic. This was particularly the case with regard to the secret agency, where impostors of both sexes, without education, pocketed the secret service money, without a capacity for serving. He was, therefore, obliged to begin an entirely new organization, in which he was ably assisted by Daunoud, his grand vicaire, when a Bishop of Autun, but then a member of the Council of Five Hundred. According to the list left him by his predecessor, La Croix, 205 male, and 62 female secret agents were paid, as employed by France in foreign countries and courts. After reading through their correspondence, he dismissed them all, assigning as a reason, "that the French government was determined for the future to act with such *frankness*, that no secret agents should be necessary to watch foreign states, who would, moreover, be kept to their duty from the dread of the irresistible power of France." Men whom he had formerly known when a member of the Jacobin propaganda,

ganda, were then engaged by him to find out able recruits; and, within six months, 315 male, and 84 female agents, in his pay, overspread not only all Europe, but the other principal parts of the globe. It is said that he established a nursery for the secret agency office, by sending to all countries, for education, and to perfect themselves in the languages, children of both sexes, between eight and twelve years of age, taken from the Foundling or Orphan houses. They were chosen from among those who shewed some genius, and possessed beauty of person. The secret agents every where inspected their education, and instructed them gradually in what manner best to serve their country. Politics and commerce formed the principal part of instruction for the boys, as well as for the girls: but no pains were spared to make their persons as easy and agreeable, as their understandings were penetrating. The boys when eighteen, and the girls when fifteen, were to return to France, to undergo an examination before the minister. Several of the female agents travelled as governesses, as actresses, as singers, as gypsies, or fortune-tellers. Several of the most accomplished assumed the names of some of the most distinguished families, and they in consequence travelled with a retinue; but all their servants, and all those about them, were, as well as themselves, attached to the secret agency.

But the drudgery of office did not occupy the whole of Talleyrand's time. Four days of each *decade* he received company of both sexes, or accepted invitations of parties abroad; the 9th day of every decade, he went to visit Madame Grand at Montmorency, where he remained untill the 1st of the next decade. Never fond of solitude, persons agreeable or entertaining were informed, a week before, by the hostess, that their presence would be acceptable. The choicest dishes were served, the finest wines drank; and amusements were as numerous as various. Plays and farces were represented by comedians from the capital, or by amateurs of the company, who were chiefly good physicians, or amateurs able to entertain their friends with excellent concerts. A bank of *rouge et noir*, another of *pharao*, and a third of *la roulette*, or *birribi*, lightened the pockets of those who found no pleasure in more rational and less expensive amusements; more innocent games for pledges and fines often intervened.

vened. The grave ex-bishop, and the crafty minister, sometimes even jumped about at Madame Grand's favourite Blind-man's-buff, and frequently set the party in a roar by his tricks as well as his clumsiness.

The dreams and hopes of establishing an universal republic were dissolved by the victory of Nelson, in the battle of the Nile, as well as by the successful campaign of the combined Imperial arms in the year 1790. Talleyrand and the Directory had, however, left no resource of machiavelism untried against Germany: they trafficked secretly with the congress at Rastadt, to conciliate the court of Vienna, if they found that power too untractable. They accused it, at Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Aschaffenburg, and Cassel, of the projects which they had themselves suggested. When they robbed certain sovereigns, they offered to rob others to indemnify them. When they signed a truce, they required it to be observed by the other party, at the same time that they violated it themselves. According to Talleyrand's insinuations, sometimes by terror, sometimes by artifice, the Directory put an end to resistance, or prevented opposition. Their extortioners did not spare the right bank of the Rhine, more than the left. Every one of their haughty notes, written by Talleyrand, was a threat or a command, and always an insult.

When the long and tedious farce of the congress of Rastadt came to an end, two of the French plenipotentiaries were assassinated; and it has been boldly asserted, that this act was committed by fifty agents of Talleyrand's secret police, disguised as Austrian hussars, in order that the odium might be cast upon the cabinet of Vienna, and revive the extinguished enthusiasm of the French armies. This tragedy, in which the third plenipotentiary was one of the principal actors, first excited surprise and indignation; but, even in France, the Directory and their ministers were soon accused of having plotted a murder which could be of no advantage to Austria. They had long continued to deceive the French nation by promises of a speedy peace, and by hypocritical wishes for its conclusion. When they renewed the war without a cause, after trespassing so long on the condescension of the Emperor and Empire, how were they to persuade France that the renewal of the war was owing to Austria. The
two

two plenipotentiaries, Bonnier and Robergot, who were both dissatisfied with the breaking up of the congress, would have divulged the cause of it: they would have said, "Here are your instructions, your designs, your object, and the conduct you prescribed to us, all signed by Talleyrand." This embarrassing evidence was incontrovertible; and the more dangerous, as, in order to escape public censure, it was their interest to divulge the truth. The war having begun unsuccessfully, they would have been eager to shew it was not the consequence of their councils, and that they had opposed the measures of the government, who alone ought to bear the blame of their hypocrisy and violence. If it be asked, Why Jean de Bry was spared? the answer is, How could the Directory suspect such a man, who had openly said, in the tribune of the National Convention, that he wished all sovereigns had but a single head, that it might be struck off at one blow? It is easy to conceive that he might be spared by assassins in the secret; but very difficult to comprehend how a foreign government should have so mistaken the importance of their victims, as to have let the most infamous in particular escape.

The progress of the arms of the Allied Powers, and the disasters experienced by the French armies, revived in the republic those numerous factions, which had been slumbering, but had never been extinguished. Their plots and threats removed three of the members of the Directory, who, with Rewbel, going out of office by lot, were impeached by the Council of Five Hundred. This alarmed Talleyrand, already denounced by several accusers; who gave in his resignation, expecting that voluntary retirement would soothe resentment, and ward off the blow which was meditated against him. He took care, however, previously, to influence the appointment of a successor, and to raise to the office of minister of foreign affairs, Rheinhard, a German by birth, who had been secretary under him and Chauvelin, in England, a minister at Hamburgh, and a commissary in Tuscany. This minister, prudent, moderate, and upright, saved the Grand-Duchy from that pillage which Italy suffered. He had observed the greatest delicacy towards the Grand Duke; he was incorruptible and considerate: but, with all his good qualities, he possessed a timid and weak character,

racter, easily imposed upon, easily intimidated, and easily governed. When at Hamburg, Genlis and Valence, both emigrants, governed him; and, although Talleyrand had resigned, his maxims were followed, and his dictates as much submitted to, as if he had been in place. Without responsibility, his power was the same, his plans were adopted, his regulations observed, and his determinations respected.

Among the numerous pamphlets then published against Talleyrand, was one written by Le Marchand. "I accuse you," said he, "of having sold the secrets of France, instead of purchasing those of other cabinets; of having pocketed the money destined for those purposes, or, with the other wages of your infamy, remitted it to be deposited in the English funds, at the very time you promised France and Europe the destruction of England. I accuse you of having violated the law of nations, by attacking, without a declaration of war, the Ottoman Porte, and the Helvetic republic; of having invaded the sovereignty of the people, by altering so often the constitution of the Cisalpine and Batavian nations, so solemnly sworn to by the people of these republics. I accuse you of having endangered our external security, by drawing another enemy on the French republic, by forcing the Ottoman Porte to join in the coalition of the tyrants armed against liberty and equality. I accuse you of having endangered our internal security, by admitting emigrants, by exciting with your intrigues the citizens against one another, by devoting republicans to proscription, and by recommending aristocrats to advancement in the offices of state as well as in the armies of the republic. I accuse you of crimes against the sovereignty of the French nation, by having engaged assassins to dispatch those of our ambassadors, whom your treachery had previously exposed to insults among the slaves representing despots. I accuse you of having dissipated the public money of the French republic, and of having shared in the robberies and peculations of your agents in Italy, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland. I accuse you of having, during the year 6 (1797 and 1798), received 20,000 English guineas, to procure a peace with France; 12,000 Prussian Fredericks d'or, for continuing the war with England; 10,000 double Austrian souve-
rains,

rains, for promising a rupture with Prussia, and a part of Bavaria as indemnity; 12,000 sequins from the Pope, and 18,000 from the King of Naples, for a promise of continuing their neutrality, at the very time you knew that the Papal territory would be republicanized, and Malta wrested from the sovereignty of Naples. I accuse you of having attempted to extort 1,200,000 livres from the United States of America, and 100,000 dollars from the King of Spain; for granting the former a neutrality, they ought never to have lost, and for not forcing the latter to a war with Portugal, united with him by ties of blood and treaties. I accuse you of having attacked and plundered, under the most false and specious pretexs, every neutral nation of the globe; and of having pocketed, for your share of this plunder, the immense sum of 10,000,000 of livres. I accuse you of having received from the banditti sent by your recommendation to devastate Helvetia, the sum of 2,500,000 livres, sent on your account by bills from Switzerland on Hamburgh, and from thence, by other bills, sent to England, and employed by your agents in the English funds. I accuse you of having, by your scandalous depravity, organized pillage and rapacity in every department of the state; of having sold the places of clerks, as well as the offices of ambassadors; of having your official tariff, and accordingly disposing of all places depending on your nomination, for money, and not to merit or patriotism. I accuse you of having, by your barefaced immorality, injured the *honourable* character, and undermined the morals, of French republicans. And, finally, I accuse you of having perpetrated all these crimes with counter-revolutionary intents, of establishing an hereditary despotism upon the ruins of liberty and equality."

Such were the charges with which Talleyrand was attacked in this pamphlet; and, although they must be received with caution, and every allowance should be made for the malignity of political enemies, yet there can be no doubt but that this crafty politician had availed himself of his situation to enrich himself at the expence of the national honour and the national interests. Although most of these charges were matter of notoriety, and that his conduct afforded a just cause for investigation, yet so successful were his intrigues, that he pre-

vented any steps from being taken until another revolution entirely removed them for ever. He caused an answer, however, to be printed; in which, without entering into particulars, or denying the reality of the charges, he sheltered himself under the superior authority of the Directory, to whose approbation all his plans had been submitted before they were carried into execution, according to their orders. He said, that he always had been, and was, a republican by heart, and from principle; and that another proscription, or restoration of monarchy in France, would prove an act of universal outlawry against him, as no country existed upon earth where he must not expect to be punished for his patriotism, and for the part he had taken in propagating liberty and promoting equality.

At no preceding period had the French republic been so extraordinarily situated as it was at this moment: a government tottering and suspended between its total fall and the confirmation of its authority; a legislative body divided between two parties, one of them lamenting that they had not attained their object, and the other that they had gone beyond their's; a new political club of incendiaries, striving to break the last thread by which the apparent equilibrium of the different powers was supported; most of the offices bestowed on the abettors of disorder and an unbounded anarchy; a state pressed on all sides by dangers, foreign and domestic, facilitating its own disorganization by the sudden change of every man in place; a nation, silent and motionless, looking on whilst these turbulent factions were provoking her destiny; all the evils of a past revolution, with the dread of a new one. Such was the state to which France had been reduced, as a reward of the madness, barbarism, passions, and crimes, that had enslaved her since the first breaking out of the revolution. A dictatorship of the strongest kind, the most absolute, and the least exposed to the interference of jurisdictions and other obstacles, was desired by many patriots, in a country, where, from Antwerp to Nice, from Strasburgh to Bayonne, an abyss of troubles, dissensions, and anarchy, was opened, and daily grew wider—where armies without pay, and finances degraded to theatrical expedients required prompt remedies, administered by all-powerful hands—
where

where victorious foreign armies were seen approaching the frontiers—where internal enemies endangered tranquillity—and where the whole social system was shaken to its foundation by the perpetual succession of innovations, and by the flames of faction, which one day consumed what was instituted another.

Such was the situation of the French republic, when Napoleon, after escaping the fire, sword, and vengeance, of the Turks and Arabs, the vigilance of the British cruisers, and the dangers of the ocean, arrived in France. He was hailed by all parties in France as a deliverer, courted by all factions as a valuable acquisition, and desired by all conspirators as their chief. The revolution effected by Napoleon was, therefore, easily accomplished. If, after swearing fidelity to the Directorial constitution at St. Cloud, at the moment when a great majority of the Council of Five Hundred were about to outlaw him, an hundred men, led by General Jourdan, had appeared at the opposite door, there would have been an end to his usurpation, and the Jacobins would have been masters of the republic. Upon such comparatively trifling circumstances depended the success of an undertaking, from which the world had suffered so much, and of which the consequences are still, and are likely to be severely felt. But, trembling as he was when the event was undecided, he became tyrannical when victory declared in his favour. From pride, ambition, and further views, he openly piqued himself upon eclipsing all his colleagues; gave a national occurrence the character of a personal contest between him and that of the legislature; assumed the gait, and expressed himself as an Aga of Janissaries, coming to set the Divan to rights, and force its decision on the Empire. Elated with his military fortune, he spoke only of his soldiers, his brothers in arms, his bayonets, and the use he would make of them.

Sieyes, Talleyrand, Volney, Rœderer, and Renard de St. Jean d'Angely, were the only persons who shared Napoleon's confidence, and who were employed in preparing an enterprise, which annihilated a constitution they, as well as himself, had so often sworn to defend and respect. Though this was the first time that the military power in France prevailed over the civil one, no generals,

als, not even Berthier or Moreau, were acquainted with his plans. They, with other generals, accompanied him to St. Cloud, with the idea of supporting him with their popularity in his attempt to silence factions, as he promised, but not to overthrow the government. Some indirect and indiscreet expressions had, indeed, escaped him, but his secret remained impenetrable. The majority of the Council and of the Directors, the war minister, Dubois Creance, and several others, and more than half of the agents of the police, found themselves threatened by the conspiracy; but their distrust did not go beyond vague suspicions, and they were ignorant of the nature as well as the time of execution.

The conspirators in this revolution first met at Rœderer's house, in the *Rue Fauxbourg*, St. Honoré, then in a house taken by Madame Grand, in the *Rue St. Dominique*, in the Fauxbourg St. Germaine, and, finally, in one hired by Talleyrand, in the *Rue de Turenne*, in the *Marais*. Sieyes, Talleyrand, and Volney, inclined to a constitutional monarchy in some new dynasty. Rœderer was of the same opinion; but opposed the revival of the name of a King or Kingdom, wishing that some other title should be given to the supreme and hereditary chief of a constitutional commonwealth. Renard St. Jean d'Angely proposed, that the French republic should, like the Roman of old, be headed by two Consuls, one of whom, in the course of time, might be converted into, and the other salute, a Cæsar.

At this meeting, Napoleon alone mentioned the Bourbons, discussed the talents, virtues, weaknesses, services, of each member of each branch of that family. He proved, to the satisfaction of his associates, that the princes in direct lineage of the oldest branch did not possess genius, capacity, or firmness, requisite to restore order and tranquillity in a nation agitated by so many factions during so many years, and accustomed to a licentiousness, which a man used to enforce discipline even among soldiers bewildered by the cries of liberty, only can restrain from producing new crimes and new devastations. The princes of the other branches were all accused of those errors, or stained with those irresolutions which hurled Louis XVI. from the throne. To elect a chief magistrate from among them would inevitably

tably bring on new civil wars; because the Condé branch had its adherents, as well as the Orleans branch; and those of Louis XVIII. would, to a certainty, unite with any party combating the prince occupying an authority which he claimed, and from which he had been excluded. France, he said, was now, and must always continue to be a military nation. Except the princes of the Condé branch, no Bourbon ever commanded a battalion; and the military exploits of these have consisted in carrying arms against their country. The Spanish Bourbons he represented as being still more degenerated, and more unfit to reign; and, therefore, their sceptres were tottering in their hands. He went through all other Imperial dynasties, all of which, he said, did not produce, for a century past, one individual who could be called a great sovereign, except Frederick II. of Prussia, but he died *without leaving any posterity behind*. "Would it not, besides," said he, "be a disgrace to France, and an acknowledgment of her incapacity, after such glorious achievements to call in a *foreigner*, of no other merit than birth, to rule her, and to bestow upon him a rank which so many eminent and meritorious Frenchmen have evinced themselves worthy to obtain. Would all the French patriots, purchasers of national property, generals, statesmen, or legislators, think themselves safe, or continue quiet, under a French Bourbon, or a prince of a foreign dynasty, educated in all the dangerous prejudices the French revolution has proscribed." He then went into considerations of the danger of proclaiming three generals the three consuls, which he supposed would be necessary to well govern the French republic at that crisis. He declared, that he would never accept of the place of a Consul, with any distinguished military character, as his equal, by his side. He exposed also the foibles of the most celebrated of the French generals. He accused Pichegru of an incorrigible fanaticism for the Bourbons; Moreau, of an inconsistency which clouded all his military exploits; Jourdan, of ignorance and brutality; Augereau, of incapacity and ferocity; Massena, of immorality and cupidity; Brune, of uniting the ferocity of Augereau with the ignorance of Jourdan and the cupidity of Massena. Macdonald, he said, was a foreigner; and Bernadotte, a grenadier in the regimentals of a general. Berthier

thier had talents to grace a second rank ; but in the first sphere his rank would eclipse his talents.

This discussion is reported to have taken place on the 7th of November 1799, in Rœderer's house; where it was finally agreed to effect a revolution the next day, but Napoleon delayed the explosion for twenty-four hours. Talleyrand intrigued to be, and was placed upon the list of candidates for the election of a second Consul; but Napoleon, knowing his talents would be more usefully employed in the foreign department, returned to him the ministerial port-folio of that office, and joined him with Fouché to organise the destruction of the liberty of the press, and to embroil and dupe the royalists chief of La Vendée and the other western departments to lay down their arms.

Napoleon, in the intoxication of his success, on the day of his usurpation, had ostentatiously promised to become the pacificator of Europe, and he could not well recede from making some shew of an intention to negotiate; and, accordingly, Talleyrand was ordered to transmit a letter from the chief Consul to the King of England, which he did in a dispatch to Lord Grenville. His Lordship's letters to Talleyrand, in answer, were dignified and proper. "I have," said he, "received and laid before the King, the two letters which you have transmitted to me; and his Majesty, seeing no reasons to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return, in his name, the official answer, which I send you herewith inclosed." This official answer, in the form of a note, very accurately traced the conduct of France from the origin of the war; and noticed the repeated assurances made by every succeeding government of pacific intentions, whilst all their acts were replete with aggression. His Majesty declared at the same time, that, when the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and the general security of Europe, could be attained, he would eagerly seize the opportunity to concert, with his allies, the means of an immediate and general pacification. To this note Talleyrand recriminated in a second one; which led Lord Grenville to a reconsideration of the causes of the war between Great Britain and France. The examination of Napoleon's
past

past measures furnished his Lordship with his principal arguments against, in future, trusting to his promises: he traced him through every step of his public career, beginning with his command against the sections of Paris, and concluding with his insidious instructions given to General Kleber at the moment of his flight from Egypt. From this recapitulation his Lordship thought himself warranted to conclude, that in proposing peace Napoleon had two objects in view—the one to relax the efforts of England, the other to sow jealousies and distrust amongst her allies. “It is,” said his Lordship, “the same person, who now appears so desirous of a peace with England, that formerly hastened to conclude the treaty of Campo Formio for the purpose of turning the whole weight of France against Great Britain, who at that time, contemplating our ruin as the greatest achievement of his life, sent his two confidants, Berthier and Mongé, to the Directory to declare, *that the French republic and the British government could not exist together.*”

Talleyrand, in one of the first councils after Napoleon's usurpation, advised proposals for a general pacification; and, accordingly, Napoleon addressed letters to the Emperors of Germany and Russia similar in substance to that to the King of Great Britain. But to shew how little reliance could be placed in those pacific overtures, at the very time that his letter to the King of England was transmitted, Talleyrand's emissaries were plotting at St. Petersburg to embroil England with Russia, and were preparing, at Berlin, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, the plan for that northern coalition, which eleven months afterwards was concluded, and which Nelson's victory dissolved within four months after its conclusion.

It was by Talleyrand's advice, that Napoleon sent, in the winter of 1796, his aide-de-camp, Duroc, and in 1800, his brother Louis, to Berlin, in order to secure the friendship or neutrality of that selfish and infatuated cabinet. From this place a traiterous correspondence with the malcontents in the Russian capital was held; and, by their intrigues, and with the assistance of their female agents, they succeeded in detaching the Russian Emperor from his alliance with England, and in forming a treaty with Napoleon.

When

When Buonaparte, in the spring of 1800, set out from Paris to head the French army of reserve, which was destined to cross the Alps and invade Italy, it is said that Talleyrand provided him with two projects for a separate pacification with Austria. The one to be used in case he were defeated was, to propose to Austria, as an indemnity for the loss of Brabant and Flanders, the whole of the provinces and islands of the Venetian republic; the restoration of Lombardy, and the cession of the republic of Genoa, to indemnify the King of Sardinia for Savoy and Nice. The King of Naples, the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Dukes of Modena and Parma were to be put *in statu quo ante bellum*. France offered to renounce the Lower Rhine as a frontier, and the boundaries of the French republic were to extend on the side of Germany no farther than the river Meuse, which deprived the King of Prussia of all claims to any indemnities. The second project, to serve if he were victorious, was to renew the preliminaries signed at Campo Formio. By means of one of his most confidential agents, Baron D——, who had long been in French pay at Vienna, where he had insinuated himself into the confidence and intimacy of the prime minister, Baron Thuguet, and a Chevalier de L——, who was in the suite and secrets of General Milas, Talleyrand had so dexterously arranged affairs, that even a defeat in the field would have been followed by a victory in the cabinet.

Among the combined powers, Austria shewed some coolness and even suspicion against England, because the troops under General Abercromby, instead of landing in Italy, had sailed for Egypt; and Russia, in withdrawing from the league, was offended with both Austria and England. Of the inferior princes the Elector of Bavaria hated the house of Austria more than he disliked the French Jacobins; and, though receiving a subsidy from England, he neutralized or neglected the stipulations he had signed.

After the battle of Marengo, the French armies assumed a formidable attitude; but, whilst they were preparing to re-conquer the whole of Italy, Talleyrand deemed it politic to make peace with the Barbary powers, as nothing could be obtained from them, and they might be rendered extremely serviceable by supplying

plying the army in Egypt, and the French ports in the Mediterranean, with corn and provisions. Accordingly, treaties were entered into, and signed soon after, with the regencies of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli. A negotiation also commenced with the new American plenipotentiaries, who brought with them a credit for *beaucoup d'argent*, and a peace was soon concluded. The United States restored the ships their cruisers had captured from France; whilst the French republic kept the American ships her cruisers had seized, and the American property which had been shared by Talleyrand and the Directory.

But it was found more difficult to adjust the differences with the European states. On the 12th of July 1800, the Austrian General, Count St. Julian, arrived at Paris, especially charged by the Imperial commander-in-chief, Melas, to settle some differences concerning the limits allowed the respective armies of the belligerent powers in Italy by the convention signed after the battle of Marengo, and to arrange an exchange of prisoners between Austria and France. This general was cajoled into a belief, after a few hours conference, that his talents as a statesman equalled his valour as a warrior; and that, limited as his instructions were, they might be regarded extensive enough to change the destiny of nations, instead of the position of armies; and that it depended upon him to be hailed the pacificator of the continent. Abler and less ambitious men might have been the dupes of so much art and such extravagant flattery. Accordingly, without being authorized, he signed, on the 23th of July, preliminaries of peace between France and Austria, founded on the treaty of Campo Formio. It must, however, be added in his justification, that an agreement had also at the same time been signed between him and Talleyrand, that this act should remain secret until ratified by the Emperor of Germany. This was, however, contrary to the views and interests of Talleyrand, who immediately dispatched couriers to his money-brokers in England and Holland, to speculate as if no such preliminaries had ever existed; being well aware that the Emperor of Germany, faithful to his engagements with Great Britain, by which he had pledged himself not to conclude a separate peace, would, as it turned

out, immediately disavow the transaction. By this intrigue, and its influence upon the French and foreign funds, it is affirmed, that Talleyrand realized 7,500,000 livres.

In consequence of the demand of the Emperor of Germany, that plenipotentiaries from Great Britain should assist at the congress to be held at Luneville, Talleyrand's invention was again at work, in order to foment jealousies between the Emperor and his ally. He accordingly sent instructions to the French agent for the exchange of prisoners, in London, to propose an inadmissible maritime truce; in return for which, the cessation of hostilities was not to be interrupted on the continent. A project for this purpose was soon after presented, by which the ships and merchantmen of the two nations were to enjoy a free navigation, without being subject to search. Neutral vessels were to be allowed to repair to Alexandria, Malta, and Belleisle. The English squadrons which then blockaded Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, were to keep out of sight of the coast; and the King of Spain, as well as the Batavian republic, were to be admitted to the benefit of these stipulations. It was impossible that the British ministry should comply with such a project; and they, in professing their readiness to accede to a suspension of hostilities by sea upon just terms, endeavoured in vain to frame a more moderate scheme of naval forbearance—all their moderation was steadfastly disregarded by the French cabinet.

In the midst of these negotiations, the armistice on the continent had been suffered to expire; and the cabinet of Vienna, little prepared to renew the contest, was under the necessity of soliciting a new truce. The high price paid for a further suspension of arms for forty-five days, indicated the critical situation of the Austrian affairs, and that France would soon command a continental peace, upon terms that would entirely destroy the balance of power. This fatal occurrence the victories of General Moreau hastened. In consequence of the preliminary articles signed at Luneville, on the 26th of January 1801, Mantua was delivered up to the French; and, by the definitive treaty of the 9th of February following, the Austrian Netherlands were ceded in perpetuity to France, as well as the whole of the left bank of the Rhine.

Rhine. All the principal articles of the treaty of Campo Formio were at the same time confirmed; and the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were recognised. But, in addition to this treaty, which was effected as much by the talents and political sagacity of Talleyrand, as by the victories of the French armies, the Emperor gave up the county of Falkenstein and the Frickthal; and his brother, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, was also forced to renounce that Grand-Duchy, in favour of the infant Duke of Parma, who, in consideration of this favour, it is said, paid to the family of Buonaparte eighty millions of livres, and one million of livres to Talleyrand, besides diamonds to the value of five hundred thousand livres to Madame Grand.

Such were the outlines of the treaty of Luneville, which spread general joy through France, but which laid Austria at the feet of Napoleon. This treaty so degrading to Austria, could scarcely be of long duration; and nothing but an imposing attitude on the part of France could carry it into effect. General Moreau's opinion upon it, who had so much contributed by his victories to bring it about, may be gathered from his declaration before the definitive treaty was signed: "That, by the humiliating and dishonourable terms imposed upon Austria, it was clear that Buonaparte and Talleyrand, with all their political hypocrisy and machiavelism, with all their pretended wish for peace and affected endeavours to procure it, never sincerely desired, nor could expect more than a suspension of arms; because a peace dictated by the power of the bayonet could only be preserved by the same means, and might as easily be annulled by the bayonets of foreigners, as commanded by the bayonets of France."

Napoleon had always spies in the different republican armies, but round Moreau they were the most numerous; all his transactions were watched, and, together with his conversations, reported and known. When, after the battle of Hohenlinden, this general approached Vienna, he had several interviews both with the Archdukes Charles and John, and one audience even with the Emperor. On these occasions, it has been said, he promised that Tuscany should continue to belong to the Austrian Grand-Duke; and, accordingly, one of his aides-de-camp

was dispatched to Paris with a representation to Napoleon, expressing the policy of not driving Austria to a dangerous despair by any degrading sacrifice. That, by consenting to restore Tuscany to its former sovereign, France was certain of gaining the friendship and gratitude of Austria, without violating any engagements with Spain; but, by giving up Tuscany to a Spanish prince, France made Austria irreconcilable, without gaining any thing by its impolitic liberality to Spain. The same officer that carried this dispatch to the First Consul, had a letter from Moreau to Talleyrand, which was to be delivered in order that this minister might be prepared to second the general's proposals.

Talleyrand had, on every occasion, tried to insinuate himself into Moreau's confidence, or, at least, to obtain his good opinion; and, at an entertainment he gave in the spring, before that general went to assume the command of the republican army, he openly insinuated, "that, if merit and services were the only successful pretensions to the supreme power in a republic, General Moreau would have no rival to oppose his governing the French commonwealth." But, after his victories had consolidated the power of the First Consul, and that Talleyrand's place depended upon Napoleon's favour, he justly imagined that by humiliating Moreau in the eyes of foreign princes, this would be a fit opportunity to insure its continuance, by gratifying the jealousy also of the First Consul. This crafty politician, therefore, easily dissuaded the aide-de-camp from mentioning any thing concerning this business until it had been well considered what was to be done, because he could not answer for what otherwise might be the consequence, "knowing as he did how intent the First Consul was to create a Bourbon a king in Tuscany." This aide-de-camp had arrived at Paris on the 24th of January at night; and, on the 25th in the morning, orders were sent by the telegraph to Joseph Buonaparte at Luneville immediately to sign the preliminaries of peace, by which Austria renounced Tuscany. During that day Talleyrand was not visible, although the aide-de-camp remained at the foreign office till near twelve o'clock at night: but the next day Mr. Hauterive, one of the minister's confidential secretaries, called upon him with the information, that
government

government had just learned, by a telegraphic dispatch, that preliminaries between France and Austria had been signed; that Talleyrand advised his return to General Moreau immediately, and to represent to him the necessity of dropping, at present, his interference for Austria. He assured the aide-de-camp, that the minister had not communicated a word to the First Consul as to the contents of the general's letter, who of course, on his return to Paris, would be received as if nothing had occurred to alter the union between the first magistrate and *his* first general—an union so indispensably necessary and useful to them both, so advantageous to their common cause, and so glorious for their common country.

England being the only active enemy against France after the treaty of Luneville, the French cabinet employed all their artifices and machinations in exciting a spirit of hatred amongst the French against her, in order to promote their views in crushing, and, if possible, destroying the British empire. For this purpose every slight commotion in France, every exertion of expiring faction, every crime dictated by political enthusiasm or personal vengeance, was imputed to the agency of the British government. These attempts, unfortunately, were attended with the success that Talleyrand and his master had wished for; and a strong spirit of hatred and resentment was kept up.

At Talleyrand's office, it has been said, there was a private cabinet, containing, besides the correspondence of his secret agents, *fac similes* of the hand-writings of every sovereign, minister of state, ambassador, agent, and of those of all other persons of rank, eminence, or talents, whose loyal principles were suspected, or whose penetration or abilities were dreaded. One of his confidential secretaries, it was said, was the chief of this private cabinet, having under him four young men, as clerks, educated abroad at the expence of the French government, on purpose to become members of the secret agency. Being foundlings, they had no relatives to whom they could betray their trust; and, having passed their youth in foreign countries, their acquaintance in France was but few, and those such as their chief judged harmless and inoffensive. In government was concentrated all their gratitude for past benefactions, and all their hopes

hopes of future advancement; to it alone was directed all those natural and moral feelings which parentage, consanguinity, protection, and instruction, divide in other persons between so many different objects. They consulted therefore their superior, and obeyed his dictates, as emanating from a double authority, parental as well as social. They were liberally paid, but strictly watched, and severely reprimanded for the least error. They were lodged together, and provided with every thing, even with mistresses; but they were not permitted to marry without the consent of their chief, who chose them both wives and mistresses from among persons of the other sex, orphans and foundlings, like themselves, and educated for the same purposes. If, after a trial of three years, their conduct and capacity were approved of, they received appointments as under-secretaries to foreign legations, or as deputies of commercial agents. Their names, on such occasions, were changed a third time, having at first received on their return to their country a different name from that they were known under in their youth, differing still from that of their childhood. Such were the means, and such the agents, by which the secrets of foreign courts were discovered, and the principles of the French revolution propagated.

No sooner had the treaty of Luneville been concluded, than Talleyrand urged Napoleon to punish Portugal for her attachment to Great Britain. Queen Mary, the widow of her uncle, Peter III. incapacitated, partly by age, and partly by a terrible malady, from the exercise of the royal functions, still retained the semblance of royalty, though her son governed under the name of Regent. The Prince of Brasil, conscious that his country had been repeatedly saved, and his family continued on the throne, in consequence of the support of England, was devoted to this country. He had, however, made, through the medium of Spain, several attempts, by embassies and pecuniary sacrifices, to negotiate, and purchase neutrality from the French cabinet; but had, at the same time, rejected the idea of any treaty tending to exclude from his ports the military or commercial navy of England. The King of Spain, guided by the imbecile Prince of Peace, and tyrannized by the cabinet of the Thuilleries, acted either imprudently, or through compulsion.

pulsion. Talleyrand had, in the autumn of 1800, sent Lucien Buonaparte as ambassador to him; and, at the same time, he caused a manifesto, written by himself, to be published, in which were intermingled the complaints of Spain with those of France. In this manifesto, the production of Talleyrand, Charles IV. says—"Europe is scandalized at beholding Portugal present a secure asylum to the squadrons of the enemy, from which they are enabled to issue forth and seize on my vessels, and those of a republic united to me by friendship. We have seen Portuguese with British ships, forming a part of their fleets, facilitating their movements, and participating in all those acts of hostility which the English commit against Spain. The ports have become the public markets of the French and Spanish prizes taken upon their coast, and in sight of their fortresses, while their admiralty releases all the captures made by my subjects. The French republic, irritated at these outrages, is desirous of inflicting a just punishment; and its victorious armies would have long since spread desolation through all her provinces, if my fraternal affection for the Queen and her august children had not suspended the blow." After complaining that the Prince Regent "had evaded the royal promise so often pledged in favour of peace, and, in complaisance to England, his enemy, abused those engagements which his Majesty had entered into with France;" it was stated that the King of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit Lisbon, and given a passport to the Portuguese minister at Madrid to depart, "being decided," concluded his Majesty, "to attack that power, by uniting my forces with those of the republic, whose cause has become the same as my own, as well as to avenge the particular insults that have been offered to myself. For this purpose, I declare war against her most faithful Majesty, her kingdom, and subjects; wishing this resolution to be promulgated through all my states, in order that convenient measures may be taken for the defence of my kingdom and my ships, as well as against the territories and vessels of my enemies."

The counter-manifesto published by the court of Lisbon, and addressed to the clergy, nobility, and people, was replete with energy, and worthy of the more prosperous

perous days of that monarch. After congratulating the nation on retaining its independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of so many other countries, the Prince Regent justly maintained, that Portugal had always evinced a scrupulous fidelity to the fulfilment of its promises in respect to foreign states. A remarkable proof of this, he said, was afforded in the assistance given to Spain in 1795, which, by terminating hostilities against France, has not only involved the nation that succoured her, but declared war because the former had kept the faith of treaties inviolate. "This alone," adds his Royal Highness, "is sufficient to rouse the dormant spirit of patriotism; but there are still more powerful motives to animate you. It is intended to degrade and debase you, by reducing you to supplicate for your commerce. Spain even demands that our ports shall be guarded by her troops, as a security for our fidelity. But a nation which knew how to resist the Romans, to conquer Asia, to discover a passage to the East, to break, when she was still weak, the hereditary yoke of a foreign sceptre, to recover and maintain her independence. This nation ought to recollect the many honourable facts recorded in its history. Portuguese! we will still preserve the courage, and the sentiments of honour, transmitted to us by our ancestors. Justice is on our side. The true God, propitious to our cause, will punish, by means of our arms, the injuries committed by our enemies. He will crown our generals and our legitimate sovereign with glory: while our zeal, the equity of our cause, and the remembrance of our exploits, will secure us victory."

The Prince of Peace, having been declared generalissimo of the Spanish armies, immediately entered Portugal; and, as the Portuguese had not time to arm, easily overran that country. Having penetrated by two different routes into Alentejo, he obtained possession of Campo Major and all the fortified places in that extensive province, compelled the few troops who opposed him to retire behind the Tagus, and transmitted eleven standards to Madrid. The Prince Regent, although he had received a subsidy of £300,000 from England, was compelled to sign a treaty of peace, by which Spain obtained the province of Olivenza; and stipulated, that no armed ships

ships belonging to the enemy should be admitted into any of the harbours of Portugal.

Although Lucien Buonaparte had, in consideration of receiving £650,000, consented on the part of France to this treaty; yet, as Talleyrand had been forgotten, he urged the First Consul to commit an attack upon Portugal, who accordingly ordered General St. Cyr, who had succeeded Lucien Buonaparte as ambassador to the court of Madrid, to enter Portugal with 20,000 men, and invest the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. Without any means of resistance, the Prince Regent was under the necessity of signing a new peace with France. By this treaty, Portugal engaged no longer to admit either British ships of war or merchantmen into her harbours. The limits of French Guiana were extended; and commercial immunities, highly favourable to France, obtained, together with a few more millions of livres in ready money, to be divided between the First Consul's wife and mother. Talleyrand, it is said, was also remunerated, *for his advice*, with 600,000 livres.

Whilst the King of Spain was thus forced into an unnatural war against his son-in-law, the French cabinet, after selling him the throne of Tuscany, was meditating to annihilate the throne of Spain.

The same day that the Spanish ambassador at Paris, Chevalier d'Azzara, received information of the Prince of Peace having invaded Portugal according to the desires of France, a report reached him that the Consular government had determined to take advantage of the opportunities which then offered to carry the revolution into Spain, and to constitute that monarchy a republic, of which Lucien Buonaparte was to be the First Consul, or chief magistrate. As this report had been derived from an undoubted source, and he had no doubt of its authenticity, he called upon Talleyrand to know what were the intentions or complaints of France against Spain. The information he received from Talleyrand, so far from being satisfactory, rather confirmed him in his opinion that the ruin of his country was meditating; and the consequence was, the treaty unexpected by France between Spain and Portugal, and the orders given to St. Cyr to renew hostilities without the succours of the Spanish troops. That this revolutionary scheme did not take

place, was owing to the pacific turn which the negotiation took between Napoleon and the English government; and General St. Cyr obtained instructions, instead of revolutionizing Portugal, to conclude a peace with that power.

After the treaty of Luneville, and the consequent pacification of the continent, Great Britain continued to maintain the indisputable sovereignty of the ocean; not only protecting her own coasts and settlements, but assailing, in every part of the world, those of her opponents, ruining their commerce, conquering their colonies, and reducing them to a state of impotent mendicancy. To countervail this ascendancy of the British naval power, all Talleyrand's secret spies and official agents were actively employed, in order that he might avail himself of the jealousies and disputes to which a long-continued contest, of unexampled activity and extent, had given birth. By means of his diplomatic agents, he represented to the powers of the North, in the most invidious terms, the necessary precautions of our fleets, in searching and detaining neutral vessels, as acts of aggression. His intrigues, combined with their interests, led the Northern courts to renew the pretensions they had advanced during the American war, and to revive the dangerous and inapplicable axiom—that free bottoms make free goods. During the former part of the war, England had either obtained the open or secret approbation of every neighbouring court; and this country, which had commenced the contest against France with all the states of Europe as her allies, now beheld the majority of them leagued against her: so much for the dextrous art in diplomacy which Talleyrand had acquired. They absurdly complained, that their neutrality was no longer respected, that their shores and harbours were violated by British cruisers, and that even their men-of-war were not permitted to afford succours to the convoys entrusted to their charge. They urged, at the same time, the procrastination, delays, and expences, incident to the English Court of Admiralty; and resolved to recur to decisive measures, in order to obtain redress. Sweden deemed herself injured on a variety of occasions; but more particularly by the detention and condemnation of several merchantmen, under the convoy of a ship of war. She

She also complained that one of her merchantmen, without a cargo, had been seized by an English squadron, and employed in an hostile enterprise against two Dutch frigates in the Bay of Barcelona; by which stratagem they had both been captured. Denmark also, after enduring patiently so many insults and losses from France, enumerated her grievances against England. She asserted, that a number of her vessels had been seized on the most frivolous pretext, and even carried into the ports of Great Britain, although no species of contraband property whatsoever had been found on board. It was stated, at the same time, that the captain of one of her frigates had been detained and treated with harshness.

An event occurred soon after, which, though there can be no doubt it was planned by the secret agents of Talleyrand at Copenhagen, occasioned much perplexity, and was productive of all those disagreeable consequences which his intrigues had measured out. Although the armed vessels of the two Northern powers had protested against a search, and one of them actually resisted with small arms, yet nothing in the shape of a regular engagement had as yet taken place. This, however, at length occurred, in the course of the summer of 1800: for the captain of the Danish frigate Freya having refused to permit the vessels under his protection to be examined by an English squadron at the mouth of the Channel, an action immediately ensued; and, after having two men killed and five wounded, he struck the Danish colours, and was carried into the Downs. In a pamphlet, entitled "*The Intrigues of Talleyrand*," it is asserted, that the rehearsal of this naval farce actually took place at Paris, in the First Consul's cabinet, the day before he left the capital to assume the command of the army of reserve near Dijon; so that there appears to be no doubt of the affair being, in some shape or other, instigated by the French cabinet.

As a rupture was apprehended upon this occasion, the British ministry were naturally alarmed for the safety of the British trade in the Baltic; and they accordingly sent Lord Whitworth to Copenhagen, in the character of a plenipotentiary: at the same time, they were determined to support his representations with a powerful naval force; and they sent into the Sound Admiral Dickson,

with a strong force. After a considerable time spent in discussion, a temporary adjustment took place; in consequence of which, the Danish frigate, with the convoy, were to be released, and the former repaired in a port of his Britannic Majesty, according to the usage of friendly and allied powers. The decision respecting the right of visiting merchantmen, under the convoy of men-of-war, was postponed; and, in the mean time, Denmark was to employ her armed vessels, for this purpose, in the Mediterranean only—a measure rendered necessary in that sea, in consequence of the depredations of the Barbary corsairs.

Had Sweden and Denmark alone been the dupes of Talleyrand's policy to injure Great Britain, their efforts would probably have been confined to memorials and remonstrances. But the Emperór Paul, of Russia, had now totally altered that system of policy which he had heretofore pursued; and, from the influence of Talleyrand's secret female agents, he had become the zealous partisan of revolutionary France, and the soul of the league fabricated under her auspices for the ruin of the British empire. Justly offended at the transactions in Switzerland, at the close of the campaign of 1799, Paul had observed a gloomy and suspicious neutrality during the first portion of the ensuing year; but, while his passions were bewildered by the charms of those mistresses which Talleyrand had placed in his train, as success gilded the banners of Buonaparte, his eyes became dazzled, and he panted to share Napoleon's friendship. Talleyrand and the First Consul easily appreciated the character of this Prince: they saw he admired rather what was splendid, than pursued what was just, and therefore ensnared his senses, flattered his vanity and desire of being thought a model of heroism and virtue by the most abject and incessant soothings. As the ascendancy of the French partisans over the mind of Paul increased, he became more captious in his conduct towards Great Britain; and, on the surrender of Malta, appears to have seized that occasion of advancing pretences which would justify a premeditated hostility. In defiance of all rules, and contrary to the statutes of the order, he had, after the treacherous occupation of the island by the French, been elected a grand master; and
was

was desirous of opening a negotiation with the British ministry, for the possession of this ill-acquired sovereignty. But, before any considerable progress could be made in the transaction, the impatience and violence of his temper broke out into acts that rendered hostilities between him and his late ally inevitable. The French cabinet, anxious to secure his friendship, liberated 7000 Russian prisoners, captured by the French armies, and sent them back to their own country well clothed and armed. This conduct was attended with so much success, that Paul became the friend of the French even to enthusiasm. A solemn Russian legation, headed by the vice-chancellor, Kalitcheif, was immediately dispatched to Paris, for the purpose of drawing more closely the ties which were to connect the Russian empire with the French republic. Although he had formerly expressed his resolution to check the contraband trade carried on by Sweden and Denmark with France, to the prejudice of the allies, and particularly of England, he now declared himself a warm champion of their rights. In a declaration which he published, the measures taken in 1780, "for establishing the principles of a wise and impartial neutrality," were appealed to, and great credit was given to Russia "for bringing to a conclusion this salutary work," which in respect to that country was become "the basis of all future treaties of commerce, while universal suffrage had converted this code of humanity into a code for nations." After lamenting, "that, at the epoch of the dissolution of a great power, too little care was taken to give a new sanction to these principles, on account of the intervention of novel and extraordinary events;" the detention of the Danish frigate is mentioned as tending to prove "how much the independence of crowned heads might be endangered, if they neglected to establish the principles and maxims on which the safety of the neutral powers rest in the course of this war." "As the manifest interest of his Imperial Majesty," it is added, "both in regard to the navigation of his own subjects, and that of his ports bordering upon other nations, requires that the seas which wash the coasts of the Russian empire, should be sheltered from such acts of violence, he invites the powers who possess harbours in those districts, and particularly their Majesties of Prussia,

Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, to concert with him measures, which will be successively communicated to them, for re-establishing in their full force the principles of an armed neutrality to secure the liberty of the seas. He accordingly makes known, by the present declaration, that he is disposed to employ all the forces of his crown to maintain the honour of his flag, and that of his allies; to secure his subjects from every infraction of those rights respected by all nations; and to procure to them, under the protection of their respective governments, the advantages resulting from the liberty of trade and navigation."

In consequence of this invitation, the King of Sweden entered into a treaty with Paul, in which they laid down certain principles for the extension and security of commerce. By these new regulations, which were no doubt furnished from the desk of Talleyrand, it was maintained, that any ship might freely navigate on the coast of the belligerent powers, and that every thing but what was expressly contraband shall be free. The description of a blockaded harbour is limited and defined. The declaration of the officers commanding ships of war convoying merchantmen, respecting their cargo, is deemed sufficient; no search is to be allowed: and, to protect the trade of the two countries, the contracting parties agree to equip and provide squadrons. The Kings of Prussia and Denmark soon after acceded to this treaty; and Paul carried his resentment still farther by laying an embargo on all British ships in his ports. He also issued orders to burn those detained in the harbour of Narva, in consequence of the escape of two vessels in contravention of his orders, and treated the sailors with uncommon rigour. These proceedings were partly connected with the Grand-Mastership of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; but they were chiefly directed in consequence of the hatred with which the agents of Talleyrand had excited in him against England. To conceal, however, the true source of that degrading influence which French policy had acquired in the cabinet of St. Petersburg, as well as to afford a handle to the factions in England, the Court Gazette of St. Petersburg expressly stated, that the Emperor had resorted to this measure, because possession had been taken "of Valetta, in the name of the
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the King of Great Britain, and the English flag alone hoisted:" and it is asserted towards the conclusion, that the sequestration should not be taken off "until the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 were punctually fulfilled."

The crisis, by the success of the schemes of the French cabinet, appeared truly alarming to Great Britain: her national spirit, however, when adequately roused to action, was sufficient to repel every insult; and the national resources were sufficiently abundant to meet any contest. The storm was therefore soon dissipated; and England, by her vigour, wealth, and valour, at last acquired her former ascendancy. When further moderation would have been weakness, and forbearance pusillanimity, the British government returned the aggression of Russia with great firmness. The payment of bills due to merchants of that empire was prohibited by an order in council; and extensive preparations were made for attacking the Northern confederacy in other points. A powerful fleet was sent to the Baltic, under the victorious Nelson, who reaped additional renown under the walls of Copenhagen. Denmark was compelled to renounce the confederacy; its monarch, who had sequestered English property at Hamburgh, was forced to renounce his prey. The King of Prussia, who, in contempt of neutrality, honour, and justice, had seized Hanover, evacuated the electorate: the King of Sweden withdrew from the confederacy: and Lord St. Helen's was deputed ambassador to St. Petersburg, for the final arrangement of all disputes between the contending parties. Finally, the sudden death of Paul put a finishing stroke to this formidable coalition against the maritime rights of England, which had been so successfully hatched and fostered by the talent and ability of the French cabinet. The death of Paul was a fortunate circumstance for the Russian navy; for, had not this event taken place, and a change of system been adopted, there can be no doubt but that both Cronstadt and Revel would have shared the fate of Copenhagen; and the Russian navy would have been lost for any purpose of co-operation with the French system of policy. When the death of Paul reached Paris, Buonaparte and Talleyrand could not conceal their satisfaction: "Thank God!" said the latter to the Dutch ambassador,

ambassador, "the Russian navy is safe: the death of Paul has prevented it from falling into the hands of the English."

The death of Paul happened at a most critical period. Ensnared by the secret agents of Talleyrand, he contemplated Napoleon with the same degree of enthusiasm, with which his unfortunate father had formerly admired Frederick the Great. A correspondence had actually taken place between them, compliments and presents interchanged, and projects of a novel and portentous kind broached. During the six last months of his reign, he was perplexed with no less than seven schemes of Talleyrand, to revolutionize or partition the different nations of the world. In one, the throne of Constantinople was proposed for the Grand-Duke Constantine; in another, the Swedish part of Finland, the better to secure the capital of the Russian empire, and to increase the commerce of the Russian subjects. In one, the empire of England in India is insured to a Russian army from Persia; in another, the Russian Emperor is desired to regain the possession of the German principality of Holstein, the patrimony of his ancestors, when France should place in his hands the sceptre of Germany, and on his head the crown of the Cæsars. China is held out as an equally easy conquest in Asia, and the Austrian part of Poland in Europe. In return, Talleyrand only demanded for France, Egypt, part of Syria, the Morea, and the Seven Islands. These were some of the revolutionary schemes with which Paul was amused, when death put an end to all these hopes and schemes.

The treaty of Luneville having in some measure consolidated the conquests of the French republic, after that event Talleyrand took every opportunity of representing to the First Consul the glory he would acquire by adding the reputation of a great statesman to that of a great general, in preparing, by a pacification, the subjugation of the British empire, on which, without an equal or superior navy, France could make no impression during a war. Accordingly the negotiation, which, during the summer of 1801, had been depending, was accelerated towards the autumn. The people of both countries were heartily tired of the war; but the disposition of their governments differed materially. The English govern-
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ment was sincerely disposed to peace, and was willing to make sacrifices for the attainment of that object. The French government, on the contrary, only desired peace, that it might have restored the West India Islands, and their possessions in the East Indies, from whence incendiaries might be sent to revolutionize and prepare for conquest the British possessions in those quarters. For some time an active intercourse took place: flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same straight; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded or blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were visited by packets, conveying messengers of peace. At length the preliminaries were signed on the 1st of October, and ratified in eleven days after. Amiens was fixed upon to negotiate the definitive treaty, which, after a considerable lapse of time, was signed and ratified. This event at first diffused general joy in the British empire; but it was soon dissipated, every enlightened mind foreseeing that no peace could be maintained in its true spirit, when such men as Napoleon and Talleyrand had the management of the affairs of the French government. The perfidiousness and art of the French cabinet, in giving up Egypt *only as a compensation* for the restitution of the French colonies, at a time when it was fully acquainted with the fall of Alexandria, has been doubted by many; but it appears that Talleyrand was acquainted with the event before the 26th of September, and that, in consequence, he ordered Otto to sign the preliminaries.

From the impolitic eagerness in the English to applaud Lauriston, who brought over the ratification of the preliminaries, and from the humiliating distinctions which were shewn to him, Buonaparte and Talleyrand were led to suppose, that such was the desire and want of peace among all classes of the English, that any aggressions or insults which they might commit would be passed over by the British cabinet. A system was therefore pursued of injuring British interests in every quarter; and every measure which might have a tendency to destroy her greatness, was zealously adopted. A treaty injurious to her commerce was therefore surprised from Russia. A large army was sent to invade St. Domingo; and a legion of commercial agents were quartered on

Great Britain. Cargoes of spies were shipped for the East Indies, by way of the Isle of France; and Ireland was inundated with revolutionary propagators. The peace was no obstacle to the aggrandisement of France; and Buonaparte, notwithstanding this treaty, continually committed acts of aggression in open violation of its stipulations: he added Parma and Placentia to the republic, and the island of Elba and Louisiana to the other usurpations of France. Piedmont was also incorporated, and new regulations of the council of state violated even the laws of nations to prevent commercial intercourse with Great Britain. All these indirect threats and direct insults to England, and real acquisitions and encroachments of France, occurred within six months after the preliminaries had been signed; and, on the very day that the English plenipotentiary, by his signature, changed them into a definitive treaty, England was insulted with another treaty between France and Holland, which deprived the Prince of Orange of all his property and claims in the Batavian republic. No British subject who had property in France was permitted to take possession of it, nor could he obtain any remuneration for what had been sold or plundered, or the rents due to him from the French funds; and all British travellers were, without redress, exposed to impositions, aggressions, insolence, rudeness, and even imprisonment. From all these acts and provocations, it was plain, notwithstanding it was the policy of Talleyrand to keep the peace for a short period, that Napoleon would not long submit to his advice.

In pursuance of a system which Talleyrand had adopted to ruin, if possible, Great Britain, after the treaty of Amiens, he determined politically to isolate her from all continental connexions. For this purpose, in order to degrade her in the opinion of the continental states, his writers held her up to public view as the natural enemy of a continent from which nature had separated her, whose politics were to embroil nations, that she might thrive by their dissensions. Having, by these means, succeeded in prejudicing the continental states against her, he brought forward a plan (which had been before conceived) of dividing her interest from all other countries. He proposed, in the month of January 1803,

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to some of the principal continental states the establishment of a *Conservative Permanent Congress for a Perpetual Peace*, to sit in the city of Frankfort on the Maine. Each sovereign and each independent state were to be represented there by a conservative ambassador, and all disputes and pretensions between nations were to be amicably settled there, according to the decisions of the majority of votes; and these decisions of the congress were to be enforced by the united arms of all the powers against any refractory member. This congress was to contain three colleges. In the first were to reside, exclusively, the ambassadors of the four sovereigns of the first rank, or those of France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In the second, the ambassadors of those deemed sovereigns of a secondary rank, as Turkey, Spain, Naples, Sweden, Denmark, Etruria, Portugal, Saxony, Bavaria, and of the Batavian and Italian republics. In the third, the ambassadors of those deemed sovereigns of the third rank, as those of Sardinia, Rome, and Hesse, and all other Electors and Princes, who could bring into the field upwards of 15,000 troops. If the ambassadors of the sovereigns of the first rank were unanimous in a question laid before them, the affair was decided; the votes of the other two colleges were not necessary. Did one differ, the votes of the ambassadors of the second college were to be demanded: and, were the votes in the first college equally divided, the votes of the ambassadors of the third college, as well as of the second, were to be taken; except in such cases where the member of the college was a party, then the two other colleges were to decide; or, if the parties belonged to two colleges, both these colleges were excluded from voting, and the decision of the one remaining was to be respected as law. Were members of all the three colleges parties, their ambassadors were to retire during the determination of the three colleges. Whenever, in such cases, the votes were equal in one college, lots were to be drawn for the admission of a member of one of the other colleges as an umpire. All the religious, political, military, judicial, commercial, or financial affairs of Europe, were to be decided here, as in the last resort. No political or commercial treaties, conventions, stipulations, or agreements, were valid, without the ratification of the members of

the congress; even the regulations for a general police, or any thing that regarded the political economy of each individual state, could not be put into execution, without the previous approbation of the congress. A member wilfully neglecting to obtain it was under the immediate care of the Conservative Permanent Congress of Perpetual Peace: his ambassador was to be put under arrest; and, if he persisted in his disobedience, his subjects were released from their allegiance, and his territory divided according to the decision of congress. Talleyrand proposed to fix the number of troops of each sovereign; to diminish to half their actual number the troops of princes and states of the second and third rank, and to reduce those of France to 200,000 men, those of Austria and Russia to 125,000 men, and those of Prussia to 75,000 men. Each ambassador, in his turn, was to remain for three months in each college; and, during that period, the executive power was in his hands. As all affairs and negotiations were to be examined and decided by this congress, the respective sovereigns agreed to relinquish the expensive usage of permanent embassies at their respective courts, and satisfy themselves with temporary legations, to condole or congratulate, as events might demand.

Such was the plan that Talleyrand said the First Consul had in view, to unite all the continental powers in one family. England was not mentioned by him, "because her interest and policy was not only different from, but opposite to the interests and welfare of the continent. But the government of some small isolated islands could not be humiliated by being obliged to submit to the regulation of those states, without whose connexions she is unable to subsist or support her population and artificial power for ten years together. As she is entirely excluded from all continental political transactions, it was suggested that only some of her commercial agents should be admitted into continental sea-ports, whilst all her political agents were to be dismissed and excluded from all continental courts, which for the future were to agree to appoint none but commercial agents in Great Britain."

But not satisfied with mere schemes for destroying the power of England on the continent, Talleyrand had also
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procured some partial restrictions, which, had they been general, would have had a destructive effect upon English commerce. Not to mention the exclusion of all English productions from those republics under the influence of France, he obtained, in 1800, at Berlin, a prohibition even for a transit of British goods through Prussia; at Stockholm, an augmentation of one per cent. on all importations to Sweden from Great Britain, and one per cent on all exportations from Sweden to Great Britain; at Copenhagen, an augmentation of two per cent. on all transits through Denmark of the productions of the English colonies, or her own produce, and the toll or duty on the passage through the Sound was increased. In 1801, De la Rochefoucault presented memorials upon memorials against the introduction of English manufactured goods into the Saxon territory, particularly to the fairs at Leipsic. And, by Talleyrand's intrigues, all the manufacturing towns of the electorate presented similar memorials, with similar complaints; but they had no effect upon the Elector, who was too sensible of the advantages he derived from English commerce to adopt their suggestions.

Talleyrand's instructions to General Andreossy, the French ambassador to the court of St. James's, prove beyond a doubt that the peace of Amiens was concluded only to gain time, and to repair the naval losses which France had sustained, as well as to get back her colonies which she had lost; while, at the same time, every secret preparation was made, and a determination resolved upon to renew the contest when a seasonable opportunity arrived. These instructions were dated the 20th of October 1802, and are entitled—

“ Instructions of Charles M. Talleyrand to General Andreossy.

“ At your first interview with the British ministers, you have to declare, in the name of the First Consul, his great esteem for them all, but particularly for Mr. A—— and Lord H——; and that it is the sincere wish of France to continue in peace with England. You hope they will not listen to the clamours and complaints of the personal enemies of the First Consul, and the implacable and hereditary enemies of France. You may insinuate, that their own honour and interest, and the welfare

welfare of England, are nearly connected with such conduct: because the Pitts, the Windhams, the Grenvilles, the Bourbons, and their friends the Chouans and the emigrants, are as much their enemies, and the enemies of peace, as the enemies of the present French government; and little care if war ruin England, so that it only displaces the present ministers, and gives some trouble to the First Consul. On all occasions, hold this same language, and try to penetrate into the impression it makes upon Mr. A—— and Lord H—— individually; if they believe its truth, or doubt its sincerity; and if ambition and interest blind, or patriotism guide, their judgments, actions, and answers.

“ At your first audience of his B—— M——, present him with the high respect and admiration of the First Consul for all his royal and personal virtues; to which alone, and to his present wise and able ministers, France and Europe ascribe the general peace with which the world is blessed, and which it is the intention of the First Consul inviolably to preserve. At every audience, until otherwise instructed, you are to touch, with as much delicacy as possible, on the merits of his present ministers, and his own great judgment in choosing such just, meritorious, and patriotic counsellors.

“ To his Royal Highness the P—— of W——, you have to insinuate, that the First Consul has always admired his generous and noble mind; and that it has been a source of the greatest regret to him, during the late contest, not to be able sooner to express his respectful admiration, and to gain the good opinion, of such a great Prince. Pay particular attention to the Prince's answers and conversation, and if he throws out any hints that he knows what the First Consul had said about him, in a conversation with some of his friends who visited France last summer; but, by your conduct, you are to appear perfectly ignorant on that subject. Try to find out who are the Prince's principal friends and favourites; if those persons, whose names you already know, continue to advise and govern him, or if they have been succeeded by others, and who they are. If you can insinuate yourself into the confidence of any one who you are certain possesses the entire confidence of the Prince, you may let him understand, as from yourself, that you
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regret to see his (the Prince's) retired situation; and that although you had no permission so to do, yet you would take upon yourself, from the known sentiments of the First Consul, if approved by the Prince, to ask any sum of money his Royal Highness should fix upon, as a loan, to be repaid when the Prince succeeds to the throne. This transaction is of the most delicate and secret nature, and must be kept entirely from the knowledge of the King, his family, and the ministers; and you cannot be too careful not to commit (*compromettre*) yourself or your character. Should the Prince accept of the offer, and you of course receive private audiences, impress strongly upon the Prince's mind the necessity for secrecy. When the question is about the sum he should want, you should observe, that, to avoid exciting suspicion, which may be followed by discovery, and be hurtful to the Prince in the public opinion, you think a certain annual sum (any sum under one million) would be the best and most convenient arrangement. When this point is settled, and that you have received the first remittance for the Prince, and, of course, are offered his bond, you are to refuse it, saying, the First Consul trusts entirely to the honour of the Prince; but you have at the same time to declare, that it would give the First Consul the highest satisfaction, if, in a letter from the Prince's hand, he was assured that his Royal Highness would, by degrees, cease all future acquaintance and connexion with the Bourbons; and, at the Prince's accession to the throne, not permit them, or the other emigrants, to reside any longer in his dominions. Be attentive to what the Prince says, and if he is sincere in what he says: after your report, you shall receive further instructions how to act. If the Prince or his friends decline your offer, endeavour to find out the reason, and if he has not a previous engagement with the Bourbons, and if he entertains any hatred or prejudice against the First Consul. In her present disgrace, avoid great attention to, or notice of, the P——ss of W——, because it might hurt her, and offend the P——; as you know that next summer a French lady, who knew the Princess at Brunswick, intends to renew her acquaintance, and to inspire her with a good opinion of the First Consul, and then to receive directions how to assist her. Inform yourself, however, if her daughter,

ter, the young Princess, shews any genius and abilities ; in what manner she is educated ; if her governess, and the persons educating and attending her, have talents, to what party they belong, and if they are known to like or to hate France. If, by some discreet attentions, you can gain their good opinion, do not neglect it. If they are to be gained over to our interest only by money, make your report, and you shall receive orders how to conduct yourself.

“ With respect to the other branches of the royal family, you have to follow the examples, customs, and etiquette of other ambassadors ; but when you speak with the D—— of Y——, remember to throw out delicate compliments on his military abilities, from which France has suffered so much ; and to the D—— of C—— express the obligations of France to him for not employing his great naval talents during the late war.

“ Endeavour to be as popular as possible ; never refuse an invitation from the chief of the city, or of the wealthy citizens ; imitate as much as possible their manners of society, and their custom of conversation. As at their feasts and assemblies, where you are invited, some members of the government will probably be present, as a Frenchman you may, without giving offence, mix water with your wine, whilst they drink their's undiluted ; and thus often, perhaps, you may discover their secrets without exposing our's.

“ It is not necessary to remind you to be polite and condescending at the balls and routs of the English nobility ; but not so as to forget your rank, and that of the nation which you represent. Your own judgment will tell you when it will be necessary to be prouder than the proudest, and to resent, with indignation or contempt, offences or neglect. Never forget or forgive the presence of a Bourbon, of any noble emigrant, or one decorated with the proscribed orders. Should you meet with Pitt, Wyndham, Grenville, or any other known enemies of the First Consul, be civil, but formal and distant ; and at any future invitation to the same place, refuse your presence : on the contrary, to those of the other party, who have opposed the late war, and whose liberal opinions and attachment to the cause of the revolution are known, you cannot be affable enough ; and endeavour, by distinctions,

tinctions, invitations, and amiableness, to prove to them that the First Consul knows, remembers, and is grateful for their past conduct and behaviour.

“ As in most societies you will probably meet with military men of the army and navy, if they do not shun your’s, court their acquaintance and conversation, and report your opinion of their principles, talents, and abilities. Lay it down as an invariable rule to address yourself to *the passions*, and not to the reason, of those men, particularly if they are overheated by drinking; and you may depend upon it you will pick up some, to us unknown and useful, truths and discoveries. If they are dissatisfied or disaffected, endeavour to find out if ambition, avarice, or patriotism, is the cause of their disaffection or complaint; and, should they be men of parts, rank, and distinction, give with *nonchalance*, as a consolation, an indirect condemnation of their government, by hinting that under monarchical governments those things happen, and men are neglected, who in republics would probably be at the head of the state, and, instead of suffering from princes, would command emperors and kings. Your own discretion will tell you when such complaints are to be heard, such conversations to be suffered, and when such hints are to be thrown out; but at all times observe that you speak not in your official capacity, but as an individual, and a military man, who feels for the honour and interest of all military men. Should any such conversation, with firm and distinguished characters, be followed with any overtures or intrigues, make your report, and expect orders, before you engage yourself any further.

“ With the chief of the demagogues, or democrats, associate seldom in public; but, in private, keep up the spirit of discontentment, of faction, and of hope: with inferior members of parties decline all, both public and private, society and connexion; leave it to your inferior agents. As to pensions to individuals, or money to factious societies, make always your report before you give your promise, and gain time to inquire into the characters of the persons, and what probable service may be derived from their societies. I. X. is, however, the fittest person to transact those things: leave them, therefore, to him, lest you should expose or commit yourself;

and avoid, as much as possible, all such intriguers or intrigues, except when some decisive blow is to be struck.

“ Should you, by chance, meet in company with known republicans and reformers, take care to hint that they are not to judge of the future conduct of the First Consul in favour of liberty, from that which necessity forces him to adopt at present: that you are confident, should Providence preserve his life, and Europe once enjoy the tranquillity it has lost by the many late revolutionary convulsions, he will restore to Frenchmen a greater portion of liberty than the Romans enjoyed in the time of the Gracchi; and that posterity shall not have to reproach him with permitting any other government to exist in Europe, but that of an universal republic.

“ In the company of aristocrats you are to hold a different language: speak of the dangers of innovation, the horrors of revolutions, and the necessity of ceasing to be any longer the dupes of speculative philosophers and revolutionary sceptics; that the privileged orders are as necessary and indispensable, in the present civilized state of mankind, as equality is absurd, dangerous, and impossible; and that such are the real sentiments of the First Consul, his whole conduct since in power has proved.

“ England is the only country in the world where a diplomatic character of talents and judgment has so many and repeated opportunities to injure, to intrigue, and to embroil, and at the same time to complain of wrongs and insults, and even when he is himself the offender, to speak as the offended; a paragraph in a newspaper, a word in a debate, or a toast at a club, which he may have paid for or provoked, will furnish him easily with complaints every week, if not every day.

“ As the English ministers will probably shew some jealousy of our aggrandisements, and our endeavours to exclude England from its former connexions with the continent—should they make you any representations, on this or other subjects, meet them with complaints of the non-execution of the treaty of Amiens; of their tyranny in the East Indies; of the libels in the newspapers;

papers; of the injuries and calumnies of their writers against the First Consul; and of the protection afforded to the Bourbons, and other French rebels. Should, however, some unforeseen demand be made, or explanation insisted on, gain time by referring to the decision of the First Consul, and await his orders.

“ If any complaints are made about the seizure of British ships, or confiscation of British property in France, say always, that France is the proper place to arrange those matters, as England is for the arrangement of the claims of French citizens there.

“ Never give a direct answer to any proposals made, or to any sudden complaints or offers. The want of instructions, and the necessity to consult your government, are always acceptable and accepted excuses for delays in political transactions; make use of them, even if your mind is made up on the subject in question, for fear of committing yourself or blundering. Few political transactions are of a nature not admitting delays, and no delays can in the present state of Europe ever hurt any political transactions; but a negotiator or minister, let his presence of mind be ever so great, and his abilities ever so tried, by giving a decisive, and not a temporizing answer, may by one moment's forgetfulness, do his cause and his country more harm, than services of years could repair.

“ Endeavour, if possible, to get an account of the real state of the East India Company's finances; and an exact list of all the native and European forces in English pay in the East Indies; of what force they are, of what religion and language, and to what divisions they belong. Until our colonies there are in our power, and the forces intended to be sent there have arrived, avoid all discussions concerning the usurpations of England, the complaints of the native princes, or any thing that can give reason to suspect our future plans. On this subject, until further orders, observe the silence of the treaty of Amiens.

“ Spare no pains to obtain every information possible, of the weak or vulnerable parts in India; where the greatest discontent reigns; where the English are most hated, and the French most liked.

“ Amuse the ministers with the details of our mis-
p 2 fortunes

fortunes in the Western hemisphere, so as to divert their attention from what we intend to do in the East. Be unceasing in your endeavours to persuade them, that, without their assistance in ships and money, we are unable to conquer the negroes at St. Domingo. Observe, that it is the common cause of France and England to prevent a republic, or rather an anarchy, of negroes in the West Indies, which, sooner or later, must extend to Jamaica and the other British colonies, and cause their ruin or separation from the mother-country. Should these arguments fail to determine England to afford us any assistance, and that you think the offer will be accepted, you may propose that England should keep St. Eustatia as a security, until what it may at present advance to France shall be repaid; and should the advances of England exceed 120 millions, any other Dutch colony in the West Indies (Surinam excepted) may be added as further security. Be careful, however, not to make those offers without a certain prospect of success, and after all other means have been tried in vain.

“Inquire how the public spirit is in Canada; if the inhabitants are yet attached to France; and, if assisted by arms, ammunition, and money, whether there would be any prospect in a future war, that they would rise and throw off the English yoke. Should any person of consequence and of sense from that country call upon you, say that his countrymen who emigrate to Louisiana shall there be received with the same protection and privileges as French citizens, and that it was one of the motives of the First Consul in getting back that settlement, to afford an asylum there to his oppressed and injured countrymen at Canada.

“With the Spanish, Prussian, and Dutch ministers, you are to live upon the most friendly and intimate terms: do not, however, lose sight of their movements and transactions. Gain the friendship of the Russian ambassador, and endeavour to persuade him, that it was not the intrigues of France, but those of his enemies in Russia, that caused his disgrace by the late Emperor. Should you conceive that any seasonable present of value from the First Consul would be acceptable, mention it, and it shall be sent you, accompanied with a letter from

from the First Consul's hand. Make, however, no unbecoming or degrading advances.

“ With the present Austrian ambassador, be rather distant, not however to offend, but enough to shew, that he is under the personal displeasure of the First Consul. Watch his actions strictly, and report if he continues to see the Bourbons and the emigrants, and if those speak well or complain of him; and with what other members of the diplomatic body he is most intimate. Accept of his invitations; but be formal and regular in returning invitation for invitation, visit for visit.

“ Find out, in your conversation with the Portuguese ambassador, if he has abilities to see, and patriotism to feel for the degraded bondage in which England keeps his country; if he has any partiality for England, or antipathy to France; if he mentions the conduct of Lasnes with prudence, anger, or contempt; if he be liked or disliked by the English ministers, and if his reception at court be as gracious as that of the Imperial ambassadors. Flatter him sometimes, if you judge it proper; but watch him at all times.

“ With the ministers and diplomatic agents from the other powers and states, you are to follow the *etiquette* established in England; never forgetting, or suffering to be forgotten, that you are the representative of the first nation upon earth. Should any one of them be particularly distinguished for great talents or for great defects; for hatred or partiality for England or France; a favourite with his own sovereign, or with the English ministers, report it. Be condescending to them individually; but keep a vigilant eye upon them all, and upon what they are about.

“ For the reasons explained to you, pay particular attention to every thing concerning the English finances, manufactures, and commerce. Of the financial agents under you, you may trust 15, 51, and 60: 29 is doubtful, but 18 is a traitor, to whom, when sufficient proofs of his delinquency are collected, you may give a mission either to France or Holland, and he shall be taken care of. The reports of 29 must always be compared with those of 15, 51, and 60, before believed or depended on, as he is very interested, and has many underhand transactions not concerning France. Citizen Otto will leave you

you some notes regarding those and other agents, which you must often consult. His plan of influencing and depressing the public funds, you must study and follow at all times; it is a master-piece. In the financial and commercial intrigues, as well as in those with the factions, you are always to remain *mobile invisible*; you are to command, instruct, and protect, but your agents only are seen to act and transact.

“ Procure a correct list of all the persons possessing great property, with remarks of what their properties consist; whether in landed estates, in the funds, or in goods; whether in the colonies of the East or West Indies; the amount of their certain revenue; if they are supposed to spend the whole, or only a part; if they increase it, or decrease it. The list copied from the income tax, and sent by M. Otto, is incorrect; but since this tax has ceased, English vanity will get the better of English cupidity, and a correct one may be easily obtained, and is absolutely necessary for fixing loans and requisitions at our future invasion.

“ Buy up all plans, drawings, maps, of the English coasts, provinces, cities, fortifications, dock-yards, and wharfs; all writings and remarks on the soundings, tides, and winds, of England, Scotland, and Ireland—the productions, population, resources, poverty, or riches, of all the countries where a landing may take place with advantage—the character of the people of those countries, their political opinions, their vices and prejudices.

“ Endeavour to find out if the officers of the English navy have a favourable opinion of the First Consul; if they speak the French language, and are of whig or republican principles; and send over the names of those distinguished for naval abilities, and political or senatorial talents.

“ Of those agents employed to watch the conduct of the Bourbons, you can trust 2, 5, and 52; read the reports of the others, and pay the reporters, but not depend upon them. Of those about Pichegru and George, 19, 44, and 66, may be believed; the others are too stupid to be either of service or harm, and may, without danger, be dismissed. Of those about the bishops, and other emigrants and Chouans, 10, 12, 33, 42, and 55, may

may be continued; but let the others know, that their services are no longer wanted in England: give them passes to France, with promises of employment there, under the police.

“ Give seldom any grand feasts; but when you do give them, let them surpass others in splendour, taste, delicacy, and elegance: on some occasions, such as the birth-day of the First Consul, the anniversary of the republic, or, if approved by the Consul, in honour of the birth-day of the King of England, no money is to be spared to impress upon the minds of the English nation the greatness and generosity of the French. Do not forget to order your subaltern agents to have all the particulars of these feasts noted in all the newspapers: the lower classes in England devour the description of feasts in their public prints, with the same avidity as the higher classes eat of your dishes, and drink of your wine.

“ Citizen Otto's list of authors and men of letters is to be attended to; but should you hear of, or discover, any great talents in any other persons, court their acquaintance, offer a place in the National Institute, or a literary pension. To men of letters you are always to insinuate, that pensions or places from the First Consul are only rewards for past labours, and not any pretensions or expectations of future services: that he looks on men of letters as fellow-citizens of all countries, and that their talents belong to no country—neither to France nor to England, but to the universe.

“ In your transactions with Irish patriots, or with any other persons, or in any things not mentioned here, you are to follow the instructions to Citizen Otto, of the 10th October 1801; or, if you judge it necessary, ask for new ones.

“ *Paris, October 20, 1802.*” “ C. M. TALLEYRAND.”

Every impartial person must acknowledge, in reading these instructions of Talleyrand, and in considering the relative situation of the continent at that period, and remembering all the circumstances which at first retarded, and afterwards determined, Andreossy's departure from England, that his mission was not merely of a diplomatic nature; but, had time permitted Talleyrand's perfidious

fidious intrigues to ripen, the sword of the General would have cut to pieces the laws of nations, which the Ambassador had sworn to respect. This conjecture is confirmed, in some measure, by two periodical publications printed on the continent; in which it was asserted, that General Berthier had shewn a confidential friend a list of all the generals intended to command divisions under Andreossy, together with the names of the battalions, and the number of troops, composing the armies which the First Consul had formed for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland.

The views and plans of Talleyrand against England are best explained in his memorial to the First Consul, dated the 4th of December 1802; in which, after recommending the adoption of several plans, he concludes—"Pursue, Citizen Consul, this plan steadily for ten or fifteen years, constantly directing the riches of the country to the raising a navy equal or superior to England; and then, and not till then, shall we be able to strike the blow we have for above 150 years been meditating—the conquest of the British Islands." Though there can be no doubt that his enmity to England was as great as that of Napoleon, he differed materially as to the means as well as the time of effecting this desired object. Better acquainted than his master with the resources of the British empire, and with the spirit of its inhabitants, he was of opinion, that it was only during peace that she could be conquered.

Notwithstanding the perpetual and pressing remonstrances of Talleyrand, to avoid a rupture at that time with England, Napoleon received and treated the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, after having delayed his first audience for three weeks, with the most striking coolness. At the public audiences, and in the circles of Madame Buonaparte, he was particularly offensive; and the haughty and commanding tone in which he spoke was more grating than the substance of his address. Every person who witnessed this conduct justly inferred from it that he was already bent on a rupture with England; and that his ungovernable passions alone made him forget the necessary precautions of concealing his intentions. He wished, however, to choose his own time; and it was yet rather too soon to effect his purposes.

poses. He thought, from the terms he had obtained in the treaty of Amiens, that England would quietly submit to his provocations, and, without suspicion or complaint, behold his persevering and unremitted activity to restore the French navy, to fortify the French coast, to prepare a flotilla that might supply the want of large ships, and wink at all other direct or indirect threats which he so profusely abounded in. He thought her unable to resist; whilst he, by opening an intercourse with the Netherlands, should secure to himself and France a great revenue at the expence and ruin of British commerce.

It has been asserted, that Talleyrand, either the dupe of his own opinion of his ascendancy over Buonaparte, or of his idea of the pretended weakness of the British government, was so certain of preventing the renewal of the war, even after Lord Whitworth had left Paris, that he sent couriers to two respectable houses in London, to three at Amsterdam, and to two at Hamburgh, to speculate in his name in the different funds, as all differences between England and France would be settled without resorting to arms: and it has been also stated, that, by the miscarriage of this political financial speculation, he lost 9,000,000 of livres, but which he made up within six months afterwards from the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, for signing with them a temporary neutrality.

When the war again broke out, Hanover was the first object that presented itself to the French government; and Talleyrand was industriously employed in bringing over the King of Prussia to the views of the First Consul. During the months of March, April, and May, 1803, his intriguers were actively employed at the court of Berlin; and, after some opposition, they removed, by new plans of indemnities, all scruples from the political conscience of the Prussian ministers: and the unfortunate electorate became the prey of their intrigues. Notwithstanding the repeated declarations of Talleyrand, that the English politics were entirely unconnected with those of the continent, Hanover was taken possession of, because the King of England was her sovereign; Germany was invaded, because Napoleon had forced England into war; and an hostile army had laid waste a province of the German empire, because the cabinet of St. James's had been attacked by the machinations of that of the

Thuilleries. When Talleyrand had thus allured Prussia into consent, Buonaparte, in reward for the ability which he had displayed, gave him the nomination of a commander of the army of Hanover, which he failed not of turning to his advantage.

It is said, that Talleyrand employed the opportunity which the detention of British travellers in France gave him, of turning it to pecuniary advantage. By his spies in England he got information of the property which all detained persons possessed, and of the amount it was supposed their friends and relations would advance for the release of those who had no personal property. In September 1803, his agents had made out a list of names, and of the sums required, to permit those British travellers to return to their country. Before, however, it could be communicated to them, Fouché had by his spies discovered his rival's attempt to intrude upon the concerns and profits of the ministry of police, and advised the grand judge (then the chief of the police) not to endure such an encroachment, but, as the British prisoners were under his responsibility, take advantage himself of their desire to obtain their liberty. Accordingly, overtures were made to some of the most wealthy, who willingly consented to pecuniary sacrifices, rather than endure a disagreeable imprisonment. They had already written over to England for remittances, when Talleyrand's agents presented themselves with their proposals, which were more exorbitant than those of the grand judge, and therefore declined. By their cunning, or by the indiscretion of the prisoners, the real cause of the refusal was soon found out. Enraged at his disappointment, Talleyrand informed Napoleon that intriguers from Paris were busy to procure those British subjects he had so *justly* detained, their liberty or escape: that to prevent them from succeeding it would, perhaps, be prudent, if not absolutely necessary, to confine all British prisoners at some greater distance from the capital than Fontainebleau. The grand judge was immediately sent for; and, after receiving a severe reprimand, ordered to remove all persons detained at Fontainebleau, or residing with permission at Paris or elsewhere, to Valenciennes and Verdun. The grand judge, knowing that Fouché again desired the place of minister-general of police,

supposed

supposed that he had taken advantage of this false step into which he had led him, to disgrace him with Napoleon, and to succeed him. From that time these two became irreconcilable: and, if Talleyrand was not successful enough to extort money from the English, he had the satisfaction of embroiling two of his rivals.

The following has been told of Talleyrand, which shews his great political dexterity. A certain neutral ambassador was, in January 1804, detected in bribing a clerk in his office. Of this discovery he took advantage to form a plot which essentially served the First Consul, by disarming the vengeance of two of the most powerful continental powers against him for the invasion of the territory of Baden, and the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, as well as obtaining their acknowledgment of the new title of Emperor, which he had now assumed. Being confident of the breach of trust of his clerk, he sent for him, told him what he knew, and that it depended upon his future services, not only to be pardoned for past crimes, but to obtain a reward proportionate to his performance and its success. "You are in the pay of the P—— ambassador," said Talleyrand; "try to be equally so in that of the A——, and your fortune is made. But you must follow my advice in every thing; but, above all, be discreet. Here is a dispatch received this morning from B——: call on Madame B—— on the Boulevards; she is kept by the A—— ambassador; tell her a story, that you are ruined by gambling, and are therefore in that desperate situation, that you must either blow out your brains or sell the secrets of the state. That she may trust to your sincerity, leave the dispatch with her for two hours; and if you are not well paid, then it is your own fault. You shall be regularly furnished every day with some news or other, the reality of which my conferences and conversation with the two ambassadors will confirm. Whenever any couriers from V—— or B—— arrive, their *original* dispatches shall always be delivered into your hands, to be shewn to one or other of these ambassadors, to whom you may announce from this day that I have made you one of my private secretaries. Let them pay you well, and in proportion to the value of the *authentic* communication with which you have provided them. Go now into my private cabi-

net, where your name is already put down for the confidential post to which I have appointed you. Remember that you are every where surrounded by spies, and that not a word nor an action of your's can escape their notice. You are now suspended between a total annihilation or an honourable and happy existence: your choice is in your own hands, in your own power—can you hesitate about it.” The clerk, whose name was Tourneaux, retired with protestations of gratitude, and professions of fidelity. For six weeks he continued without intermission, and strictly, to obey Talleyrand's dictates and to repeat his lessons: and the two ambassadors dispatched and received couriers upon couriers, had repeated conferences with Talleyrand, and repeated audiences with Buonaparte. They mutually strove who should be foremost in gaining the favour of Napoleon. Whilst the cabinet of B—— desired him to assume the title with the power of King, the cabinet of V—— assured him that any thing short of Imperial dignity was beneath his deserts, and unworthy of his exploits. On the 7th of March, Tourneaux was suddenly arrested and shut up in the Temple. His confession was communicated to the two ambassadors, who were at the same time informed, that the French ministers, at their respective courts, would be ordered to complain of their intrigues, so contrary to the intents of their sovereigns, if they did not promise to support with their advice and influence the grand *coup d'état* that Napoleon was meditating. They had advanced too far; and their cabinets had, by their mutual negotiations and jealousies, laid themselves too open to discovery to dare to produce remonstrances, much less to oppose resistance. This explains the almost incomprehensible apathy of those courts, who, naturally indignant at the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, the invasion for that purpose of the territory of Baden, and the assumption of the Imperial diadem by Napoleon, yet took no steps to avenge or prevent the recurrence of such atrocious proceedings. It is hardly necessary to observe, that all the *original* dispatches given to Tourneaux were forgeries of Talleyrand's official forgers, and, as well as his *authentic* information, impostures to delude the two cabinets into overtures required by the ambition of Napoleon, as well as the avidity of Talleyrand ;

leyrand; but which, if made public, would have degraded them in the opinion of all other powers of Europe.

But this practice of forging private letters and official documents was not confined to diplomatic proceedings; the same system was pursued with regard to eminent individuals, whose good opinion might be essentially serviceable to Napoleon's usurpation. Among other forgeries which appeared in the French papers at this time, was a pretended letter from that strenuous defender of royalty, Cardinal Maury, to Buonaparte; in which his usurpation was approved of, his crimes extenuated, and his elevation applauded. Unfortunately for Talleyrand, this cardinal had courage enough openly to contradict what his heart never felt, and resignation enough to abide the consequences of the publicity of a declaration injurious to a man who seldom forgave. His letter to Louis XVIII. is a most manly and loyal production, and completely exposes the artifices of the French government, in promulgating opinions from persons likely to be conducive to its reputation. In this letter, which is dated the 2d of October 1804, he says—

“SIRE—My present dignity I owe to your Majesty's recommendation; for the same I have obtained among the virtuous part of my contemporaries, I am indebted to nothing but to that zeal and courage with which I, fifteen years ago, combated rebels and atheists, as I was bound by honour, conscience, duty, and gratitude. I would, therefore, be an undutiful, ungrateful, and contemptible subject, and an unworthy prelate of the Catholic church, were I to cease to profess the same sentiments of loyalty and religion.

“Sire, persons, no doubt envious of my glory, have, from motives easily seen through, published writings in my name, which, though they cannot deceive my King, might mislead my fellow-subjects, and foreigners, to whom political as well as religious apostacy have of late become so familiar. This causes me to intrude upon your Majesty with this letter, and to implore your forgiveness for the publicity I am under the necessity to give it.

“Sire, from principle as well as from conviction, I united with the few loyal members of the sacred college
to

to supplicate the Pope not to give the death-blow to the Catholic religion, by prostituting the sacredness of his high and holy station, in sacrilegiously placing the crown of St. Louis upon the head of a foreigner accused of such enormous crimes, and whose hands are still reeking with the pure and innocent blood of a descendant of this sainted King, so dastardly assassinated by him in the wood of Vincennes. With becoming humility, I remonstrated on the probability of all future criminals, whom fortune, from inscrutable purposes, procures a temporary usurpation of power, forcing the successors of St. Peter to seal their iniquity and guilt with a sacred approbation, to the scandal of the faithful, and to the destruction of the faith; acts which must soon bring forth those dreaded and deplorable times, when the blessing of a supreme Christian pontiff will be received and regarded by the people with the same indifference as the blasphemous mummeries of a high-priest of the goddess of Reason. I represented that, according to the canon law of our holy church, General Buonaparte was still excommunicated; not having made public penance, and obtained public absolution, for his shocking and disgraceful apostasy, in his desertion from Christ to Mahomet, in 1798.

“ Even in a political view, I proved that this horrible act would neither procure tranquillity to France, nor safety to Europe. The difference is great between the military despotism seized by an usurper (supported by accomplices, by victims, and by terror); and the lawful monarchical authority inherited by a legitimate Prince, with the national will and wishes for ages. The latter never dies: but the history of all times evinces, that the annihilation of the former is on the point of the sword of a rival, or in the poisonous cup of an enemy. Napoleon Buonaparte may reign; but, were his progeny ever so numerous, he will leave no posterity behind him, and his dynasty perishes with him; because France has within her bosom many other generals equally ambitious, audacious, and ferocious, who will never respect a rank to which they have equal right with Napoleon, and superior claims to those of his children, brothers, and nephews. Until, therefore, your Majesty ascends the throne of your ancestors, my unfortunate countrymen will only fight for the choice of their tyrants; and my degraded

degraded country experience nothing but an intermittent and incurable anarchy, extending its ravages, tormenting and undermining civilized society in every part of the globe. My humble remonstrances and representations were, however, as ineffective as my powerful arguments, and an evidence not to be refuted. Pius VII. goes to France, and true religion is equally threatened with all lawful dynasties!

“ If I feel sensibly, Sire, particularly at this moment, the happiness of being consistent and faithful to my invariable doctrine, in laying at the feet of your Majesty my usual and unchangeable allegiance and homage; I am also well aware of the imminent dangers to which such an honourable profession exposes me. But, Sire, already from age on the borders of eternity, some days longer existence in a world where crime prospers and virtue suffers, are of no value to me, at the expence of the dictates of my conscience: submitting with resignation to the will of Providence, I am prepared to meet death, either in the dungeons of the Temple, in the wilds of Cayenne, in the wood of Vincennes, or at the Place de Grève. I shall expire as I have lived, with the firm and consoling hope of inhabiting the same blessed abodes with a St. Louis, with a Louis XVI. a Lescurie, with a Charette, with an Enghien, with a Pichegru, with a Georges, and with all other heroes and martyrs of religion and loyalty.

“ I am, with the most profound respect, your Majesty's most obedient, devoted, and faithful, humble servant and subject,

“ JEAN SIFFREIN, *Cardinal Maury*.”

In the year 1806, Talleyrand, for his great services, and his subserviency to his Imperial master, was created Prince of Beneventum; not long after, however, he fell into disgrace, as is generally supposed from the strenuous opposition which he made to Napoleon's usurpations in Spain. He was afterwards appointed to keep in safe custody the Spanish royal family, who had been sent into the interior of France for greater security. He does not appear to have been actively employed, until the revolution which restored Louis XVIII. to the throne again brought him into notice. This event he greatly contributed to bring about; and, as a reward for his services, he

he was once more appointed to his old situation of minister of foreign affairs; but whether his great talents will have an opportunity of displaying themselves under his new master, time alone will determine: at present he stands proscribed by Napoleon, who will not easily forgive or forget the part he took against him. His character has been ably drawn by an author who visited Paris in 1803, from which we shall extract a few particulars, as they confirm what we have already stated in these Memoirs.

“No Frenchman,” it is said, “since Mirabeau, was ever so generally and so decidedly stamped with the double character of the utmost moral depravity, and the greatest superiority of the faculties of the mind. Mirabeau, though he signalized himself, during the revolution, as a statesman and orator, though in full possession of popular favour, still shewed great energy and art to establish a constitutional monarchy, for he would have nothing else: he destroyed himself by his extravagances and profligacy, which soon brought him to the grave; and only the fame of his moral turpitude has outlived him. The sensual pliant bishop of Autun was, from the beginning of the revolution, the friend and companion of Mirabeau in all his debaucheries. He, although descended from one of the most ancient families in France, was the first who resigned his clerical dignity to side with the *tiers état*, when they demanded, in the National Assembly, the equalization of all orders, under the direction of Sieyes and Mirabeau. He formed the Secret Committee, with Sieyes and eight other members, who drew up the plan of the first constitution. He was, in conjunction with Mirabeau and Sieyes, the first founder of the Jacobin club, and afterwards of the new club of Jacobins in 1789. He was the first who proposed the sale of all clerical property. He maintained, that the clergy had not the right of secular proprietors; and that it was in the power of government to apply their revenues, destined to defray the expences of public worship, to other purposes. He stood up as a champion against the clergy and noblemen of France, who demanded the Roman Catholic religion the sole reigning one in France. He endeavoured to obtain for Mirabeau, Voltaire, and Rousseau, the honour of being deposited in the Pantheon (formerly

(formerly the church of St. Genevieve). He celebrated mass on the altar of liberty in the Field of Mars, at the grand festival of the Federation. He consecrated the colours of the departments, and called them the sacred banners of liberty. But, as soon as the constitutional party found itself embarrassed and in a precarious state, he was the first to desert it, and had the art to obtain from the minister a secret mission to England. When he was sent out of that country, he sought an asylum in America. When his name was discovered in those private papers of the king which were taken from a secret desk, and on which the chief accusations against the unfortunate Louis were founded, he was put on the list of emigrants by the National Convention. He availed himself of a favourable moment, and induced the very same Convention, that had signed his proscription, to erase his name from the list, and to reinstate him in all his property. He then returned to France, and was appointed minister of the Directory, which superseded this Convention. Sieyes, who well knew Talleyrand, came into the Directory, and the latter thought proper to retire, loaded with immense riches. An unfortunate honest German was substituted by him to weather the storm, which arose during the dreadful epoch of a Directorial commission. He knew how to supplant this man as soon as it was safe to re-enter the ministry. In conjunction with Lucien Buonaparte, he had in the mean time plotted, by secret intrigues, the return of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt; he, with the latter, prepared the blow which was to be levelled against Barras, the first promoter of Napoleon's exaltation, and Sieyes, the old rival of this ex-bishop. They succeeded; Napoleon stood at the head as First Consul, and Talleyrand as principal minister, by his side. What he has done for the last four years, whilst in this important office, is sufficiently notorious; but it is perhaps less known that, by his example, the most infamous bribery has been introduced into all the public offices in France. Bribery was always more frequent here than in any other country; but some forms and decency were still observed,—it was necessary at least to find out some pretext, if any wished to move the heart of the minister and his underlings by the grand and universal laxative of feelings. At present

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there is no need of it. The minister and his commissary say, exactly like the French general and his quartermaster in an enemy's country—" *Il me faut tant.*" I must have so much. If you refuse, me you shall have nothing, whatever your right or claim may be."

Nature has bestowed on Talleyrand a first-rate genius. An early entrance into society procured him an early knowledge of mankind, and supplied the improvements others obtain by assiduous application and by profound meditations. Having, with loose propensities, the duties of his order as an ecclesiastic to observe, or at least to guard the appearance of them, hypocrisy first became necessary, and afterwards habitual. Club-footed from his birth, he studied to banish the sense of his deformity by insinuating manners, obliging attentions, and an agreeable conversation. Ambitious to please, he acquired an easy penetration to discover whether he could ascribe his success to his merit or to his rank, or his miscarriage to want of adroitness on his part, or want of discrimination in his companions. By degrees, he accustomed himself to draw acute and accurate conclusions, more from what he observed in the mind, than heard from the discourses and professions of those with whom he associated. He carried, therefore, with him into office, all the vices, all the qualities, all the habits, which, in times of trouble, of rebellion, of revolution, make men conspicuous for eminence, but which, in orderly and regular times, under moral and lawful governments, would make them shunned as dangerous, despised as contemptible, or punished as wicked.

Of former French ministers, he possesses the financial abilities of a Sully, the political capacity and duplicity of a Richelieu, the cunning and cupidity of a Mazarin, the commercial knowledge of a Colbert, the insensibility and cruelty of Louvois, the profligacy and depravity of Dubois, the method and perspicuity of Fleury, the penetration of Choiseul, the suppleness of Maurepas, and the activity of Vergennes. Though, from haughtiness, he affected to depend upon his secretaries and inferiors for transacting the chief business of his office, nothing escapes his attention. With great facility he decides in some few hours what has puzzled the comprehension of others for a week. Education unfolds talents received from

from the hand of Nature : but their adaptation to time, and their just application to extraordinary junctures are the work of reason, cultivated and enlightened by experience. There were, no doubt, in France, before the revolution, great generals, statesmen, and men of genius; but they wanted the lesson of adversity, the examples of the triumphs of the revolution, the secrets of its strength, and the use of the weapons proper to defend or to oppose it. But, with all the advantages of this experience, of what benefit to civilized society have all Talleyrand's natural and acquired talents been. What advantage have his contemporaries derived from the exercise of his powerful abilities: did they procure for France liberty and happiness, and other nations tranquillity and safety. It is true, indeed, they were latterly nobly employed for those purposes; but the baneful and pernicious principles of the French revolution, which had taken such deep root in France, have rendered them wholly inefficacious.

We shall conclude his Memoirs with an enumeration of his acquired riches; but for the truth and accuracy of which we cannot vouch: it has been taken from modern publications, and much industry has, no doubt, been employed in collecting it.

By his different negotiations, intrigues, indemnities, loans, jobbings, treaties, armistices, conventions, &c. up to Midsummer 1802, Talleyrand is said to have indemnified himself in the following sums. What he has acquired since that period must be left to the reader's conjecture.

	1797.	Livres.
Of the money extorted from Portugal his share was		1,200,000
By speculations in the French and foreign funds, during the negotiation of Lord Malmsbury at Lisle		1,500,000
Received from Austria, for the secret articles of the convention of Campo Formio, of the 17th of October 1797		1,000,000
Received from Prussia, for the disclosure of, and for impeding the execution of, these secret articles		1,000,000
Received from the Elector of Bavaria, for ditto ditto		500,000
	R 2	Advanced

	Livres.
Advanced by the candidates for indemnities in the German empire, during the first six months of the congress at Rastadt . . .	1,800,000
<i>Free gift of Naples, for the preservation of her neutrality</i>	500,000
<i>Presents accepted of the King of Sardinia, for the continuance of his neutrality</i> . . .	300,000
Patriotic donations of the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, for the respect shewn the neutrality of his states	500,000
Offerings of his Holiness the Pope, for the ratification of his treaty of neutrality with the French republic	150,000
From the Cisalpine republic, for procuring a new constitution	1,000,000
From the Batavian republic, for retarding a new constitution	1,200,000
From the Ligurian republic, for improving the old constitution	200,000
Shared of the prizes captured from neutral states by French privateers	2,000,000
<i>A loan of the Prince of Peace</i>	1,000,000
<i>Ditto of the Grand Vizier</i>	600,000
<i>Ditto of the Hanse Towns</i>	500,000

1798.

From new candidates for new German indemnities	900,000
By speculations in the French and foreign funds	1,000,000
<i>A loan from the imperial cities of Franckfort, Nuremberg, and Augsburg</i>	550,000
Shared with the republican generals and commissaries, in the plunder of Switzerland	1,600,000
<i>Ditto with General Berthier and Commissary Haller, in the pillage of Rome</i>	1,000,000
<i>A loan from the prime-minister of the King of Naples, Chevalier Dacton</i>	600,000
<i>Ditto from the minister of the King of Prussia, Count Haugwitz</i>	500,000
<i>Ditto from the minister of the Emperor of Germany, Prince Coloredo</i>	750,000
<i>A loan</i>	

	Livres.
A <i>loan</i> from the ministers of the Cisalpine Directory	1,000,000
Ditto from the ministers of the Batavian Directory	1,300,000
Ditto from the ministers of the Ligurian Directory	150,000
Ditto from the ministers of the Helvetian Directory	200,000
Share of the value of neutral prizes brought into French ports	1,400,000
Profit by speculations in purchases of national property	600,000

1799.

Offered from the Margrave of Baden, for the renovation of his treaty of neutrality with the French republic	500,000
Demanded and obtained from the Landgrave of Hesse, for ditto ditto	650,000
Another <i>loan</i> from the Hanse Towns	600,000
A <i>loan</i> from the Spanish ambassador, Chevalier d'Azzara	750,000
A <i>present</i> from the cabinets of Madrid and Lisbon, for the breaking-up of the army under General Augereau, intended to conquer Portugal	1,200,000
Shared with the General and Commissaries, for the plunder of Piedmont	800,000
Shared with General Championet and Commissary Faypoul, for the plunder of Naples	1,400,000
Shared of the value of neutral prizes brought into French harbours	850,000
Shared with the French Consuls, the value of prizes brought into the ports of Spain and Italy	450,000
A <i>present</i> from Buonaparte, on his return from Egypt	600,000
A <i>loan</i> from the Batavian Directory	1,000,000

1800.

By speculations in the French and foreign funds	8,000,000
From Austria, for procuring several armistices	1,200,000
	From

	Livres.
From Prussia, for causing these armistices not to be prolonged without new territorial sacrifices	1,000,000
From Spain, for the promise of erecting Tuscany into a kingdom for the infant Prince of Parma, in money and presents	2,200,000
A <i>loan</i> from Denmark for <i>promising</i> a subsidiary treaty	500,000
For the separate treaties of neutrality signed with several German princes . . .	1,500,000
A <i>loan</i> from the Bavarian minister, Baron Montgelas	500,000
A <i>loan</i> from the new ministers of the Cisalpine republic	600,000
A <i>loan</i> from the Russian minister, Rostopschin	750,000
Presents from some Grecian and Algerine merchants, for contracts for grain and provisions, &c. to be delivered in Egypt for the subsistence and support of the army of the East	400,000
By speculations in the barter of national property	1,500,000
From Pope Pius VII. for his election to the tiara, and for the peace <i>given</i> his Holiness by the French republic	600,000
From some Neapolitan and other Italian <i>patriots</i> , for having their outlawry reversed, and their property restored	200,000
From the states of Barbary, for their treaties of peace with the French republic . .	600,000
Presents, in money and valuables, from the executive government of the United States of America, at the conclusion of the treaty of peace with the French republic	500,000
1801.	
From the Emperor of Germany, after the signature and ratification of the treaty of Luneville	1,200,000
From the Elector of Bavaria, for the conclusion of his treaty of peace with the French republic	750,000
	From

Livres.

From the new candidates for indemnities in the German empire, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville	1,500,000
For the signature of separate treaties of peace or neutrality, between the French republic and several German princes	1,000,000
By speculations in the French and foreign funds	15,500,000
For contracts to supply the army and navy with provisions, clothing, arms, and stores .	3,000,000
From Prussia, when the plan of her indemnities in Germany was agreed to by the government of the French republic . . .	2,000,000
A <i>loan</i> from the government of the Cisalpine republic	600,000
A <i>loan</i> from the government of the Batavian republic	900,000
A <i>loan</i> from the government of the Helvetic republic	200,000
A <i>loan</i> from the government of the Ligurian republic	150,000
A <i>loan</i> from the republic of Lucca . . .	100,000
A <i>present</i> from the Hanse Towns, for preserving their independence	600,000
A <i>present</i> from the imperial cities of Franckfort, Nuremberg, and Augsburg, for not including them in the indemnities given to the princes in their neighbourhood . .	600,000
By speculations in the barter of national property	1,300,000
From his Holiness the Pope, for his project of a religious concordat	300,000
From the King of Spain, for not impeding the ratification of the treaty of peace between Spain and Portugal	600,000
From Portugal, for procuring the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded with the French republic	500,000
Presents in money from the King of Etruria, during his stay at Paris	600,000
From the King of Naples, for the ratification of the treaty of peace between his Majesty and the French republic	500,000
A <i>loan</i>	

	Livres.
A <i>loan</i> from the Austrian minister of state, Count Cobentzel	600,000
A <i>loan</i> from the Landgrave of Hesse . . .	300,000
A present from the members elected to the Italian Consulta, assembled at Lyons . . .	500,000
1802.	
By speculations in the French and foreign funds	6,000,000
Presents from the Russian Emperor, at the ratification of the treaty of peace with the French republic	500,000
Presents from the cabinet of St. James's, at the ratification of the treaty of Amiens . .	500,000
Presents from the King of Spain for the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens	500,000
Presents from the Directory of the Bata- vian republic, for the conclusion of a peace with Great Britain	600,000
Presents from the Batavian government, for the private treaty signed with France, which delivered the United States from all claims of the Prince of Orange	1,000,000
Presents from the Grand Seignior, for the treaty concluded between the Ottoman Porte and the French republic	600,000
From the contractors for purchasing naval stores in Russia for the French arsenals and navy, two per cent. of their contracts, amounting to two hundred millions of livres .	4,000,000
A <i>loan</i> from Cardinal Caprara, at the pro- clamation of the Concordat	200,000

Thus extorting, during a period of five years, near four millions sterling, from princes and subjects—from sovereigns and their ministers—from hereditary chiefs of monarchies, and from elective magistrates of commonwealths—from national contractors, and from foreign merchants—from allied or neutral states, and even from hostile nations—by taking advantage of that information his official station procured him, to lay all people and all classes under contribution, either directly by forced loans, or indirectly by speculation in public funds.

Memoirs

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL NEY,
PRINCE OF MOSKWA.

THE recent conduct of this distinguished and perfidious traitor proves to the world, how little reliance is to be placed upon the oaths and professions of the French army, when opposed to their interests or attachments. Of all the French Marshals, Ney was the most forward in professing sentiments of attachment to Louis XVIII.; and, for that reason, more confidence and greater trust, under the most critical and trying circumstances, were reposed in him. Unless this confidence had been carried to its greatest pitch, can it be supposed that the very army which was to have arrested the progress of Napoleon to the French capital, would have been placed under his command; and that, unless he had afforded unequivocal proofs of his fidelity, the fortunes and destinies of the Bourbons would have been thus committed into his hands. In proportion, therefore, to the confidence which was reposed in him, so does his treason become more odious and detestable; and it would be difficult to find in modern times, among public men, a more flagrant example of baseness and treachery. If the honour and lustre of the French armies is to be upheld by such instruments as these, however their victories may dazzle the eyes of the world, they will fail in creating any other sentiment than horror and disgust.

This Marshal, like many others of his companions in arms, has risen from the lowest obscurity; and the early part of his life has been remarkable only for great depravity of conduct, and the commission of crimes, which, but for the French revolution, would have consigned him to the gallies.

He was born in 1760, at Sarre-Louis, in Alsace, of

humble parents, his father being a cooper; and early in life was himself apprenticed to a knife-grinder of that place, which trade he for some time followed. A few years before the revolution, he engaged himself as a servant to an officer of hussars, who was in garrison at Sarre Louis, and shortly after proceeded with his master to Paris. He soon left him on account of some petty theft, and lived as hostler, about a twelvemonth, at a well-known livery stable, in the *Rue des petites Ecuries, Fauxbourg Poissonniere*. He became tired of his situation, and ran off, taking with him two horses, but was caught and imprisoned for the theft. The revolution saved him, as well as many others, from the gallies. He embarked in the cause of liberty, and soon made his way in the world.

His career under the revolution commenced in the army of the North, under Dumourier; but no public mention is made of him before 1794, when he was appointed by Kleber his Adjutant-General in the army of the Sambre and Meuse. In 1796 he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General on the field of battle, near Wurtzburgh, where he fought under the command of Hoche, who there obtained a considerable victory over the Austrians.

In the beginning of the year 1797, under the same commander, Ney powerfully contributed to the victory gained near Neuwied, over the Austrians, whom he charged at the head of the French cavalry. On the 16th, after a very warm contest, he dislodged the enemy from Diersdorff. On the 20th, his horse sunk under him near Giessen, when he was exposing himself like a common soldier to save a piece of flying artillery; he was taken prisoner by the Austrians, but soon released on his promise not to serve till he should be exchanged. On the 4th of September 1797, he declared vehemently against the party of Pichegru, for which he obtained the rank of General of Division, and served as such in 1799, in the army of the Rhine. In October he defeated a body of Austrians at Frankfort; crossed first the Maine, and afterwards the Necker; and thus effected a diversion which was a principal cause of the victory at Zurich, as it forced the Archduke Charles to send strong detachments to cover his right wing, which was threatened. In 1801 he distinguished himself at Kilmuntz, Ingolstadt, and Hohenlinden,

Hohenlinden, under the command of General Moreau. In July 1802, Buonaparte appointed him Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Helvetic Republic. On the 25th he had an audience of the Senate at Berne, whom he assured of the protection he was authorized by his government to promise them; and then gave General Bachmann orders to disband his troops, warning him, that if it were not done before the 1st of November, he would lead the French troops against him. This threat was followed by an order to disarm the Swiss; and, the confederate forces being soon dispersed, the chiefs were arrested, and the General received deputies from all parts of Switzerland, who were charged to declare their submission to France.

It is well worthy of observation, that Ney expressed himself after the following manner to the new Swiss government, in quality of ambassador from France:—

“ You are, Gentlemen, all convinced, that the prosperity which Switzerland enjoyed before the unfortunate epoch of your revolutionary fluctuations was derived from the innumerable benefits which were conferred on you by the French monarchy, either by defensive treaties of alliance, of commerce, and of military capitulations, or by the imposing force which that monarchy could always display against any power which would dare to make an attempt upon your territory, or on your Federal Constitution. Well, Gentlemen Deputies, the same services are offered to you by the First Consul: this pledge of esteem which he gives to Switzerland, should convince you of that personal interest which he takes in your future prosperity. He will also place you in circumstances to recover that happy situation due to that moderation and economy which your ancestors had established in your administrations. Days more serene than formerly presage happy times in future; and the first Helvetic Diet will have the glorious advantage of having laid the first stone of the political edifice.”

When he returned from Switzerland, he was appointed Commandant of the *corps d'armée* assembled at Montreuil, for the purpose of invading England. From that place it was that he sent an address to Buonaparte, when he was about to be elected Emperor, and from which we extract the following:—

“ Head-quarters, Montreuil, 11th Floreal, 1804.

“ **CITIZEN FIRST CONSUL**—The French monarchy has fallen down under the weight of fourteen ages: the sound of its fall has astonished the world, and shaken all the thrones of Europe.

“ Abandoned to a total subversion, France has experienced, during ten years of revolution, all the evils which could desolate nations. You have appeared, Citizen First Consul, shining with glory, sparkling with genius, and at once the storms have been dissipated. Victory has placed you at the helm of government, and justice and peace are your assessors. Already has the recollection of our miseries become weak, and the French people know of no sentiment but that of gratitude.”

Shortly after Napoleon's elevation to the Imperial dignity, Ney was created a Marshal.

In 1805, when the war with Austria broke out, Ney commanded the advanced guard; and entered the neutral territory of the Elector of Baden, which he violated, by forcibly entering the hotels of the Swedish and Russian ministers, and seizing all the papers found there belonging to the legations. Fortunately for the persons of the ambassadors, they had made their escape the preceding night; their furniture and valuables, however, were made the subject of plunder.

On Ney's arrival at Stutgard, then also a neutral country, still greater violence was offered to the Austrian, Russian, and Swedish ambassadors, resident in that capital. Not only were their hotels broke into and given up to plunder, but their persons were arrested. The persons arrested at Stutgard were, the Austrian envoy, Baron de Schrandt, and his three secretaries, Messrs. de Rubry, Steinherr, and Wolff; the Russian envoy, Le Baron de Maltitz, and his secretaries, Yacowleff and De Struve. These gentlemen were confined for two months in a dungeon at Strasburg. But disregard to the sacredness of neutral territories did not rest here. Ney, who was to have passed by agreement on the side of Stutgard, entered it by force, went to the Elector's stables and palace, and carried off every horse in the one, and every thing valuable in the other.

The electoral prime-minister, M. Wintzingerode, presented

sented the following note on this occasion to the French minister at Stutgard, M. Didelot, dated 30th September 1805.

“ The undersigned is under the necessity of giving to M. Didelot, official communication of an event the most unexpected, and of an outrage the most unheard of, against the capital of his Highness the Elector, by Marshal Ney.

“ Having appeared before the gates of Stutgard, not only with the intention of passing through it, but of taking up his quarters there, General Hirzel, the commandant, went himself to the gates, and endeavoured, by the strongest representations, shewing, at the same time, the positive orders to that effect of his Highness the Elector, to prevail on him to follow the conducting officers posted on all the roads, made to preserve the communications round the town, and to facilitate the march of the French troops to all quarters to which they were destined. But Marshal Ney, rejecting all proposals of the kind, and refusing to accept of any compromise, ordered his guns to be pointed against the gate leading to Louisburg, compelled it to be opened by those means, entered the capital of his Highness the Elector in an hostile manner, with a force so considerable that the town was not capable of containing it. He ordered the magistracy to assemble, for the purpose of communicating to them, that two regiments of hussars, and five battalions of infantry, would arrive there the same night, for which he made an immediate and peremptory demand of 100,000 rations of bread. .

“ The undersigned is at a loss for expressions to convey the deep regret of his Highness the Elector, as well as the just indignation which he must necessarily feel, at the grievous and unheard of insult which has been offered to him in his capital, at a moment that the Emperor Napoleon makes professions of friendship to him, and assures him of respecting the neutrality of his Highness's dominions.

“ The Elector places too much reliance on the justice and candour of the Emperor of the French, to entertain for a moment the least doubt that he will not give to his Highness the Elector satisfaction complete and adequate to the enormity of the insult which has been offered to him.

“ His

“ His Highness the Elector has ordered the undersigned to require of his Excellency, M. Didelot, by this official note, to make a direct report of these transactions.

“ At a moment that his Highness the Elector sees his capital in the possession of a foreign army, his chief and greatest anxiety is for the persons of the envoys of the different powers of Europe accredited to his court, and who have only consented to remain there, under the assurance that his Highness would cause them to be respected equally with himself.

“ His Highness the Elector firmly expects that his Excellency will prevail on the commandant at Stutgard, to cause the sacred character of public ministers, in which the envoys accredited to his court are clothed, to be secured against all insult, and that they may continue to enjoy all the rights assured to them by the laws of nations. The undersigned, &c. &c.

“ P.S. At this instant the undersigned has received official information from Baron de Taubenheim, first equerry to his Highness the Elector, that some hussars, acting as body guards to General Dupont, have forced open the doors of the palace and of the principal stables of the Elector, and carried off a great many valuable effects, and all the horses belonging to his Highness; the same hussars wounded his servants who endeavoured to prevent this violence. One of the Elector's coachmen, dressed in his livery, and driving M. Didelot, attached to the French embassy, received also some blows with the flat of a sword. Upon complaint being made of the breaking open the doors of the palace and stables by Baron de Taubenheim, to the aide-de-camp of General Dupont, the only answer he received was, ‘*Cela m'est égal.*’

“ It is sufficient, without doubt, that these facts be communicated to his Excellency, to excite in him all the indignation that they are calculated to produce.”

A copy of the above note was sent to every one of the *corps diplomatique* at Stutgard.

M. Didelot never answered it; but Marshal Ney replied to it *en bon militaire Français*. The house of the Electoral Minister, M. Winzingerode, was given up to plunder;

plunder; his niece, a beautiful girl of sixteen, was obliged to yield to the brutal desires of the odious Ney, and his gang: the next morning, the young lady, as well as three servant-maids, died in consequence of such treatment.

After the capture of Mack's army at Ulm, Ney was created *Duke of Elchingen*, which place is in the vicinity of Ulm. An anecdote connected with this expedition will shew that Ney added very little to his military fame by the capture of Ulm. He had attached to his army, which formed the advance in the war, a native of Strasburg, of the name of Schulmeister, a man of considerable talents and address, who spoke most modern languages with the fluency of a native, and who acted as principal spy in foreign countries for Buonaparte. Schulmeister got into Ulm by forging a letter, in the name of a Prussian general who commanded at Bayreuth, to Mack. He passed himself off as a Prussian officer; and the letter pretended to give information respecting the violation of the neutral territory of Bayreuth by Bernadotte. His scheme succeeded so completely, that he dined that day with Mack; and, on his return to Ney, the story of his success could not obtain belief from his employer, until he produced some spoons and forks, part of Mack's camp equipage, with his arms engraved on them, and his own gold snuff-box, set with diamonds, and bearing the portrait of the King of Naples, in whose service Mack had been; those Schulmeister purloined after dinner. By this means, Ney got acquainted with the strength of the garrison, and was also able to convince Mack that a French force was crossing the neutral territory of Bayreuth; of which Mack was previously informed by Napoleon, but in whose report he would place no confidence.

Ney was present at the battles of Austerlitz, and, in the years following, in those of Jena, Eylau, and Friedland. After the peace of Tilsit, he remained at Paris; and, shortly before Massena commenced his retreat from Portugal, Ney was sent there as second in command. On his return from Portugal, he commanded in the Russian campaigns; and for his exploits there he was created *Prince of Moskwa*. What occurred there, and subsequently in the battles of Wurtzen, Bautzen, Leipzig, and

and Hanau, and afterwards in France, in all of which Ney took a distinguished part, has been already related in the course of these Memoirs.

When the allies entered Paris, Ney was with Napoleon at Fontainebleau; and was sent by him, together with Caulincourt and Macdonald, to the Emperor of Russia, to treat about terms of peace, in which he failed: and on his return to Napoleon, he endeavoured to prevail on him to abdicate, and afterwards addressed the following letter to the Provisional Government.

To his Serene Highness the Prince of Beneventum, President of the Commission comprising the Provisional Government.

“MY LORD—I proceeded to Paris yesterday with Marshal the Duke of Tarentum and the Duke of Vicenza with full powers to the Emperor of Russia to defend the interests of the dynasty of the Emperor Napoleon. An unforeseen event broke off the negotiations, which seemed at first to promise a favourable termination. From that time I saw that, to save our dear country from the frightful evils of civil war, it remained only for the French to embrace the cause of our ancient Kings, and I repaired to-night to the Emperor Napoleon to manifest this wish.

“The Emperor, convinced of the critical situation in which he had placed France, and the impossibility of saving her himself, has appeared disposed to resign, and to give in his full and entire abdication. To-morrow I hope to have from him the formal and authentic act, and shall soon afterwards have the honour of waiting upon your Lordship. I am, &c.

(Signed)

“PRINCE OF MOSKWA.

“Fontainebleau, April 5, 1814, at half-past 11 at night.”

In the treaty of Fontainebleau, Marshal Ney was one of the subscribers on the part of Napoleon; after which, he appeared zealously to devote his whole time to the cause of Louis XVIII.; but, if he was not privy to the conspiracy of Napoleon, it is evident he was secretly attached to his cause, and that he only waited for an opportunity of betraying his master.

When Louis XVIII. arrived at Compiègne, after his restoration, Ney, with the other French Marshals, was introduced

introduced to him; on which occasion his Majesty was addressed by Berthier in the name of the rest. To this address the King answered with affecting goodness, that he saw the Marshals of France with pleasure, and that he counted upon the sentiments of love and fidelity which they expressed in the name of the French armies. His Majesty caused the name of each Marshal to be repeated to him. The King, after having said to them things as honourable as full of goodness, stood up, although suffering with the gout; and, at the moment when his grand officers approached to give him their hands, his Majesty, laying hold of the arms of the two Marshals who were next to him, exclaimed, with an overflow of heart—

“It is on you, Gentlemen Marshals, that I wish always to support myself; approach, and encircle me: you have always been good Frenchmen. I trust that France will never have occasion for your swords again; but if ever we shall be forced to draw them, which God forbid, gouty as I am, I will march with you.”

“Sire,” replied the Marshals, “your Majesty may consider us as the pillars of your throne—we wish to be its firmest support.”

The King withdrew, and the Marshals were afterwards presented to the Duchess of Angouleme, and to their Serene Highnesses the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Bourbon. The King did the Marshals the honour of inviting them to dinner. His Majesty, at the commencement of the repast, said—“Gentlemen Marshals, I wish to drink with you to the French armies.” A feeling of respect withheld the Marshals, who, in the moment of their enthusiasm, wished to give the health of the King in return, but by a spontaneous movement their hearts gave it in silence. All their looks were fixed on his Majesty and his august family. After dinner the Marshals followed the King, who condescended to call them successively by name, and conversed with each, expressing his sense of the part they had borne in sustaining the glory of the French armies, and declaring the confidence that he had in the fidelity of all. From this it appears clear, that the most unbounded confidence was reposed by the King on these military chieftains.

The favours conferred after this period upon Marshal Ney were without number; for, by a decree of the 20th of May, he was appointed Commandant-in-Chief of the Royal Corps of Cuirassiers, Light Horse, and Lancers of France; and, by an ordonnance of the 2d of June following, he received the Cross of the Military Order of St. Louis; and on the 6th of the same month was created a Peer of France!!!

His conduct during the short period of Louis's government was marked with the most abject servility; but his sincerity however was much doubted by the Parisians. It was reported that it was the King's intention to have his feet washed, on Good Friday, by twelve pilgrims, who were to represent the twelve disciples. Ney was honoured with an anonymous note, desiring him to give his attendance, in order that he might act the part of Judas. This letter was addressed *Marechal Ney, Hotel de Judas, Rue de Lille.*

Soon after he proved that the designation was a proper one; for, on being sent for by the King, when Napoleon landed in France, he actually pledged himself to bring him to Paris in an iron cage, adding, that it had been always usual in the time of Buonaparte for a Marshal to receive 50,000 livres as equipment expences, on going on an expedition. The King thought the sum too small, and ordered him 150,000; upon the receipt of which, Ney immediately proceeded to join his old master, instead of fulfilling his promise. He issued the following proclamation to the troops under his command:—

“ ORDER OF THE DAY.

“ *The Marshal Prince of Moskwa, to the Troops of his Government.*

“ OFFICERS, SUBALTERNS, AND SOLDIERS—The cause of the Bourbons is lost for ever! The legitimate dynasty, which the French nation has adopted, reascends the throne: it is to the Emperor Napoleon, our Sovereign, that it alone belongs to rule over our fine country! Let the Bourbon nobility choose to expatriate themselves once more, or let them consent to live in the midst of us! What matter is it to us? The sacred cause of liberty, and of our independence, shall suffer no more from their baneful influence. They have wished to de-
base

base our military glory; but they are deceived: this glory is the fruit of labours too noble for us to be ever able to lose the remembrance of it.

“Soldiers!—The times are gone, when people were governed by strangling their rights: liberty at length triumphs, and Napoleon, our august Emperor, will establish it for ever. Henceforth let this fine cause be our’s, and that of all Frenchmen! Let all the brave men whom I have the honour to command, be penetrated with this grand truth.

“Soldiers!—I have often led you to victory; now I wish to lead you to that immortal phalanx which the Emperor Napoleon conducts to Paris, and which will be there in a few days; and there our hopes and happiness will be for ever realized.—*Vive l’Empereur!*”

“*Marshal of the Empire, PRINCE OF MOSKWA.*

“Lons le Saulnier, March 15, 1815.”

It is needless to say, that he was received with open arms by Napoleon, whose confidence he has certainly merited by his important services.

Marshal Ney is about five feet ten inches in height; stout made: he has red hair, blue eyes, and his manners are rough and unpolished. He is married to a niece of Madame Campan, who kept a boarding-school at St. Germain; and it has been said, that this lady had an illicit amour with Louis Buonaparte, previous to her marriage with Ney. She was *dame d’honneur* to the Empress Josephine, and she held the same situation under the Empress Maria Louisa; which rather throws a discredit upon these slurs upon her character.

Mém^oirs
OF
MARSHAL SUCHET,
DUKE OF ALBUFERA.

THIS Marshal, who is esteemed a good officer, but excessively cruel, was born at Lyons: where, at a proper age, he was put apprentice to a hair-dresser; but the French revolution, which has elevated so many bad men, as well as destroyed so many good ones, presented him with an early opportunity of distinguishing himself.

At the Jacobinical club, which was founded in that city, Suchet greatly distinguished himself by his violent speeches and harangues; and his zeal soon procured him admission into the National Guard of that place, of which he was appointed Captain in the year 1792. In the following year, when the representative of the people, Chaliers, was condemned to death at Lyons for his cruelty, Suchet, who had shared in his guilt, was obliged to fly his native place. He wandered about the country with the revolutionary army, and was for a considerable time the associate of the famous Jourdan. When Fouché and Collot d'Herbois were sent as Commissioners of the Convention to that unfortunate city, he returned again, and committed every sort of excess: he assisted at the military commission which condemned hundreds of persons of all sexes and ages in the course of the day. This *civism* of Suchet recommended him to the notice of some of the generals who commanded the revolutionary armies, and who had *guillotines ambulantes* (portable guillotines) always with them. It was under one of these Generals, of the name of Rousin, that he served as Colonel in one of the regiments of the line; and in the Vendée, when under the orders of Santerre, he was promoted to the rank of General of Brigade. Santerre's army being unsuccessful in La Vendée,
Rousin's

Rousin's division was again ordered to Lyons, and Suchet was then appointed the Chief of the Staff; where he committed every cruelty that the most savage natural ferocity can dictate. When Rousin was accused in Paris (whither he was conducted to be guillotined by order of Robespierre, on account of his attachment to Hebert) of countenancing the infamous conduct of his *etat-major* (staff), he answered, "What would you have me do? I know as well as you do, that they are no better than a gang of robbers, but I am obliged to have such rascals in my army. Do you think that you can get honest men to serve in the revolutionary army?"

After the execution of Rousin, Suchet, for his extreme zeal in the cause of civism was promoted to the rank of General of Division, and Commander in Chief of the Revolutionary Army, which was something similar to the English *posse comitatus*, merely to suppress riots. He had a proconsul of the Convention always attending him, as was customary in those times, whose name was Maignet, an ex-advocate. With this coadjutor, Suchet was guilty of great cruelties; and he proved himself a worthy disciple of Robespierre, not hesitating to perform the most monstrous and cruel orders of this blood-stained and tyrannical republican. One instance in particular, displays his disposition:—A tree of liberty, it seems, was cut down at a town called Bedoin. When Suchet and the Proconsul heard of this afflicting intelligence, they instantly repaired, with their revolutionary army and the *guillotine ambulante*, to the spot: the town was set on fire, and all the inhabitants, without distinction, guillotined and shot! This was done by a decree of the Proconsul, bearing date the 17th Floreal (the 6th May) 1794, emanating from a self-created tribunal, called *Tribunal d'Orange*. Not content with this act of barbarity, all the adjacent villages and towns were given up to plunder, and afterwards burnt. The inhabitants took refuge in the mountain, whither Suchet followed them with a battalion of the regiment *De l'Ardeche*, and had them all shot!

Shortly after the above act, Robespierre fell. The new Committee of Public Safety recalled the Proconsul, who was accused in the Convention by the Deputy Goupilleau on the 25th of August 1794, on the

5th of December and April 1795, of the following atrocities. That he, Maignet, the Proconsul, with his military commander Suchet, had ditches made in the vicinity of the towns of Orange and Bedoin, filled with burning lime, in which they threw their victims, some of whom were not even dead! It was also stated in the Convention, that a young girl of 18 years of age, who applied to General Suchet to obtain a pardon for her father, was herself guillotined. An old man of 87 years old, who had been six years in his second childhood, was also guillotined by that monster, *because he was rich!* The Proconsul escaped punishment at that time; but when Napoleon usurped the government in 1799, he was deported to Cayenne.

After his colleague was denounced in Paris, Suchet absented himself from the army, and wandered about the country in various situations, till Napoleon gave him a command in the army of Italy. However, when he entered this army, he only had the rank of Colonel (*Chef de Brigade*), as a General in the revolutionary army gave no rank whatever in the regular army.

Suchet continued with the army of Italy, and did not follow Buonaparte to Egypt. When Switzerland was invaded by the Directory, Suchet's regiment was attached to the French army under General Schauembourg, who commenced the unprovoked hostilities towards that once happy country. In a district of Switzerland, where he commanded, he was accused of having murdered 800 women, and a great number of children: the men were all in the army. In No. 197 of the *Moniteur* of the year 6, there is a letter of his to the editor of that paper, exculpating himself of the accusation, and attempting to deny the charge. Nevertheless, he was shortly after appointed General of Brigade, under the orders of Massena; but, having conducted himself at the taking of Ancona in an improper manner, he was cashiered, but was soon after restored to the army of Italy. He was at the famous battle of Novi, and was afterwards appointed to a command under Massena, who was shortly after blockaded in Genoa in 1800.

In 1801, when Napoleon opened the campaign in Italy, Suchet commanded the centre. He passed the Mincio with the main army of General Dupont, and defeated the
Count

Count de Bellegarde at Puzzoli; the Austrians lost 8000 men. After the treaty of Luneville, he was made Inspector-General of infantry. In 1802 and 1803 he inspected various departments in the south and west. On the 4th Brumaire, year 12, Napoleon gave him the command of a division of the camp of Boulogne. He was made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, and, soon after, Governor of the Imperial palace of Lacken, near Brussels. Towards the end of 1805, Suchet was employed in the grand army of Germany; and his division distinguished itself at Ulm, Hollabrunn, and especially Austerlitz, where it formed a part of that left wing which divided the Russians, and, according to the expression of the 30th bulletin, marched in rows, by regiments, as if exercising.

In 1806 and 1807, he was employed in the armies at Jena, Eylau; and was afterwards sent to Catalonia in Spain, where he remained till nearly the end of the reign of Napoleon. His cruelties in Spain were something similar to what he was guilty of in La Vendée. What occurred at Tarragona is so well and so ably related in the pamphlet of Admiral Contreras, the Spanish governor of that town, that we shall give it a place here:—

“The horrors committed at Tarragona must load Suchet with the everlasting execration of mankind. For the sack of Tarragona was not an event produced only by the intoxication and fury of the troops; it had been foreseen and ordered by Suchet, who, in his report of June 26, says positively—‘I much fear that if the garrison of the place awaits the storm in the last inclosure, I shall be compelled to make a terrible example, and to terrify Catalonia and all Spain for ever, by the destruction of the whole city.’ He adds a little lower—‘The ardour and good will which animate the whole army hourly increase. They aspire to strike a last blow, that will terminate this long struggle with splendour.’ In his report of June 29, this monster, the worthy slave of such a master, relating the capture of the place, says—‘The fury of the soldiers was augmented by the resistance of the garrison. The fifth assault, given yesterday at mid-day, with still more vigour than the preceding, has occasioned a most horrible massacre, and but little loss on our side. The terrible example which I foresaw,

foresaw, in my last report to your Excellency, has taken place, and will long resound throughout Spain.'

"In consequence of his threats, it might have been expected that Suchet, like a brave warrior, penetrating by storm into Tarragona, the long defence of which had inflamed the fury of the soldiers, would have put to the sword the garrison that had made such a defence, and especially me, by whom it was commanded, and who had refused to capitulate, or admit any of his flags of truce, that I might not even hear a summons. Yet the French did not even attempt it! They wounded me, it is true, surrounded and plundered me, disputing with each other the glory of having made me prisoner; but, after all, those soldiers, so irritated, according to Suchet, did not kill me, my officers, nor my garrison, but turned all their rage against the defenceless inhabitants, who little expected such cowardly cruelty from a people who have incessantly on their lips the words *honour, humanity, philanthropy, benevolence, civilization, &c.* But these words have with them no meaning, and are only employed to deceive strangers. The interest of the moment, whatever it may be, is their sole guide. Thus, as it would have been dangerous to have attempted to put to the sword 8000 men, who had still arms in their hands, and who, finding themselves on the point of being massacred, might have at least recovered from their panic by which they had been unfortunately seized, and have succeeded in driving the French from the town; actuated no doubt by that fear, the enemy hastened to spare the soldiers, and to remove them, which was necessary that they might sack the town as they pleased. In fact, it was only then that the plunder and massacre commenced.

"To take advantage of this 'terrible example, and terrify Catalonia and all Spain for ever,' Suchet was guilty, the next day, of a new act of cruelty, which Robespierre himself could not have imagined. He caused about 100 Alcades and Corregidores to be collected from the environs, and led by an escort through the streets of Tarragona, that they might see the corpses by which they were filled, having previously had all those that were in the interior of the houses thrown out, and ordered that none should be taken away. His intention was, that on their

their return within their respective jurisdictions, those Alcades and Corregidors should publish what they had seen, in order that the inhabitants, terrified by this horrible relation, should never dare to oppose a similar resistance, which would subject them to similar calamities."

Napoleon, as usual, rewarded his agent; and Suchet, for his *services* at Tarragona, was created DUKE OF ALBUFERA. When Soult was beaten out of Spain, Suchet was also obliged, shortly after, to retire from Catalonia; and when the Provisional Government declared in favour of Louis XVIII. Suchet sent in his adhesion, and obtained in consequence, a confirmation of his titles, and was also created Peer of France, and honoured with the Order of St. Louis. But it is not to be wondered at that Louis should pardon him these atrocities, if it be true, as was stated in the French papers, that Ferdinand VII. in passing through Montpellier, after his liberation, at which place he met Suchet, thanked him for his good conduct in Spain! Suchet supported all the measures of the court during the time Louis XVIII. held the reins of government, particularly that obnoxious one of imposing restrictions on the liberty of the press. He expected to have been appointed Minister at War, a post to which he most ardently aspired; but he was disappointed, as that office was conferred on Soult.

When Napoleon landed, Suchet commanded at Strasburg, and, like Ney, soon joined the usurper. He is extremely rich, and is supposed by most military men to be a good officer. His person is about the middle size, his complexion swarthy, and his hair black, though his eyes are a light blue. He is very fat, and is now upwards of fifty years of age.

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL MURAT,

LATE KING OF NAPLES.

THIS Marshal, who has of late so much excited the public attention, and against whom the hostility of Europe has been so successfully exerted, is indebted for his elevation entirely to the French revolution, but for which event he would probably never have been heard of. His father was a water-carrier at Paris, who, for some crime, to save himself from the search of the police, fled into the mountains of Dauphiny, where he joined a gang of smugglers and coiners, and where the present subject of this Memoir was born, in 1764. Being accused of belonging to the corps of brigands commanded by the famous captain of smugglers, Mandrin, his father was tried at Valence, and there broken upon the wheel, in May 1769. Young Murat was sent to the Orphan House at Lyons; where he remained until an actor of the name of St. Aubin took him as an errand boy, procured him to be a *garçon du theatre*, or a servant attached to the theatre in that city, and paid, besides, a master to teach him to read and write. Being of an intriguing disposition and a good appearance, he easily insinuated himself into the favour of the principal actresses, and was, in 1780, upon their recommendation, permitted to appear upon the stage, first in the parts of valets, and afterwards in those of *petits maitres*: but in neither was he successful, wanting manners, memory, and application. He was, however, endured until 1786, when, being hissed while playing the *Marques*, in the comedy called *Le Cercle*, he dared to threaten the spectators with his gestures. From that time hisses pursued him so much whenever he presented himself, that he was obliged to quit the stage; and, after leaving Lyons secretly,

secretly, to avoid the demands of his creditors, he enlisted in the regiment of cavalry called *Royal Allemagne*, which was, with other corps, ordered to the neighbourhood of Paris, when, in 1789, the Duke of Orleans, La Fayette, and other members of the Constituent Assembly declared against the King, and for a free constitution: he was among the few men of that loyal regiment whom the emissaries of the republican faction seduced, and he deserted it when it was encamped in the Elysian fields on the 12th of July.

After the capture of the Bastille had completed the revolution, and several companies of the King's Guard had joined the Parisians in arms, a National Guard, under the command of La Fayette, was decreed, in which Murat was made a Corporal. In all the commotions of those times, and in the struggles of the different factions, Murat always sided with the Terrorists; and, in return, Santerre the brewer promoted him to a Lieutenancy in the battalion of St. Antoine, of which he had then the command.

On the 20th of June 1792, he accompanied Santerre, and the deputies of the National Convention, to Louis XVI. at the castle of the Thuilleries, where he was heard to repeat—" *Louis, tu es un traître; il nous faut ta tête:*" "Louis, thou art a traitor; we must have thy head." And when the courageous Madame Elizabeth said, "Are you not ashamed to insult the most patriotic of Kings with such language, he insultingly answered—" *Tais toi, coquine, autrement je te coupe en deux:*" "Hold thy tongue, b—h, otherwise I will cut thee in two. The next day, Santerre advanced him to be his aide-de-camp; and, as such, he was employed on the 10th of August, in the attack of that dreadful day, which terminated so disastrously to the King and Royal family.

In the massacres of the 2d, 3d, and 4th of September, Murat guarded the prison called *La Force*, where, with other innocent persons, the beautiful Princess Lamballe was butchered, and a refinement of savage barbarity was exercised on her person even when a corpse, almost incredible, if it were not authenticated. For these infamous and ferocious services, he was promoted by Marat to a Colonelcy; he did not, however, repair to the frontiers to combat the enemies of his country, who

now threatened France with extinction, but he remained at Paris, denouncing at the clubs, and plotting in the committees.

On the 11th of December, when the unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI. was carried to the bar of the National Convention for trial, and on the 21st of January, the day on which he was led to the scaffold, Murat commanded *gens-d'armes* of the escort, who had done the duty of the Temple the night preceding.

In March, during the pillage of the grocers' shops, he was a secretary in the Jacobin club, and signed with Marat the proclamation of the 10th, addressed to the citizens *sans-culottes* at Paris, inviting them to do themselves justice for the aristocracy of the bankers, merchants, and shop-keepers. "If you want money," expresses this curious proclamation, "you know where the bankers live; if you stand in need of clothing, visit the clothiers; and if you have no other means of procuring coffee, sugar, soap, &c. fraternize with the grocers." In May, he was President of the Club of the Cordeliers; and in a speech, printed in Marat's paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*, of the 25th of the same month, *he demands the heads of sixty-nine politicians of Brissot's and Roland's factions*, as the sole promoters of the defeats of the French armies, and of the troubles at Lyons, Bourdeaux, and Marseilles; accomplices with Pitt, and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, as well as with General Dumourier.

After the revolution of the 31st of May, and the two following days, in which the Mountain party, or the Jacobins, gained a complete victory over the Girondists and Federalists, or the moderate party, Santerre obtained the command of an army of 14,000 men, with whom he marched against the Royalists of La Vendée; and Murat, who was then advanced to a General of Brigade, commanded the cavalry; but, either from misfortune or from some other cause, for we cannot attribute it to incapacity, he was continually routed, and two-thirds of the troops were killed in less than three weeks. This caused great discontent at Paris, both in the Jacobin club, and in the National Convention; and Santerre was recalled in disgrace, which was made so much the more mortifying, when, being accused by Murat of drunkenness, ignorance, and cowardice, he was sent to prison.

When,

When, after the death of Marat, an emulation took place between the factions of those days, who should bestow the greatest praise on this apostle of French liberty and equality, the most extravagant motions were made by the Jacobins, the most violent speeches and addresses were published and circulated all over France. On this occasion Murat sent to the Jacobin club in the street St. Honoré, at Paris, the following letter, printed in *Le Journal des Jacobins*, of July 28th, 1793.

“ BROTHERS AND FRIENDS—Chance made my name nearly the same with that of the ever-regretted martyr of equality, Marat: fellow-feeling made me his admirer, before conviction made me his worshipper, or patriotism his follower, defender, and mourner. Others have offered perfumes upon the altar of this their country’s god of liberty; others have composed hymns to the glory of this the *best* and *first* of French republicans; others again have placed his bust by the side of the immortal Gracchus, Publicola, and Brutus. A soldier, who possesses nothing but his love of liberty, and his valour, his enthusiasm, *sans-culottism*, and his sword, can neither build altars, nor carve statues, neither sing apotheoses, nor write deifications: but he can do more—he can *immolate himself*. If an hecatomb of the carcasses of Marat’s friends had been decreed, upon its summit, before this day, should have been placed my corpse. It is neither ambition to shine with borrowed colours, nor presumption to think that millions of *sans-culottes* are not as good patriots as myself; it is neither meant as a reproach to the lukewarm zeal of others, nor as a praise of that ardour which almost consumes me, and forces me to desire to eternalize the name of Marat. No! I am much above those petty and selfish considerations. I am a *sans-culotte* by birth, as well as Marat; my father died a victim to the tyranny of kings, as he did to the treachery of kingly aristocracy. I am now married to a *sans-culotte* woman, now in a situation to give citizens to the republic. Let my progeny immortalize the memory of Marat, by permitting me to change only one letter in my name. I promise you, Brothers and Friends, upon the faith of a Jacobin Mountaineer, that, should I observe any aristocratical inclination in my children, another Brutus, I shall be their executioner! Accept, therefore,
this

this patriotic offer from your devoted fellow *sans-culotte*. The Jacobins for ever! The Mountain for ever! The Guillotine for ever! Health and fraternity.

(Signed) "MARAT, *çi-devant* MURAT."

This offer, however, was declined, upon the observation of Citizen Felix Pelletier de St. Forgeaux, "that was every *sans-culotte* patriot permitted to follow his inclination, *twenty millions of Marats* would already have been registered at the municipalities of the French republic. Besides, the constitutional equality of the French commonwealth, could never allow any distinction that would place one citizen above another; and a person, who now should be suffered to call himself Marat, would be as much above other citizens, in the public opinion, as Louis Capet was, from the imbecility or weakness of his subjects, regarded ten years ago." Murat's letter forms a most striking contrast between his subsequent fortune and conduct, and his early opinions; for who, after reading this letter, and judging from it the apparent rooted principles of liberty and republicanism, could imagine that he would not only have supported Napoleon in all his projects for obtaining supreme authority, but that he should actually himself aspire to the renown and glory of filling a throne, and that his whole mind and faculties should be exerted in transmitting it to his posterity.

In the winter of 1793, Murat commanded, at Lyons, a brigade of the horse *chasseurs* of the revolutionary army, with the 9th regiment of dragoons. These corps were chiefly employed to arrest those inhabitants, whom the vengeance and ferocity of the proconsuls Collot D'Herbois, Dubois Creance, Fouché, and others, proscribed; to escort them, after their mock-trials, to be executed; or to execute them, by shooting, or cutting them down with their swords.

In the spring of 1794, he was ordered to join the army of the Alps, where he continued without particularly distinguishing himself, until 1796, when Napoleon assumed the command over that army; where, hearing of Murat's local knowledge and military intelligence, he appointed him first aide-de-camp, and the second officer in the staff, next to General Berthier. From this time he begun rapidly to distinguish himself, and develope his talents. At the battle of Mondovi, he displayed a courage and
ability

ability which surprised every one; so much so, that when the King of Sardinia, in the latter end of the same month, made overtures for a pacification with the French republic, Napoleon sent him to Turin with full powers to negotiate, and afterwards gave him, together with General Junot, the honourable commission to carry to Paris, and to present to the Directory, the 21 colours and standards conquered in the several engagements with the combined armies of Austria and Sardinia. On the 24th of May, he came again to Turin with dispatches from Paris, concerning the negotiations then carrying on between France and Sardinia; but, after a stay of some few days only, Napoleon ordered him back again to the army, where he daily advanced in the good graces of his chief.

In June, he accompanied the French minister at Genoa, Taypoult, to the Doge, with a summons in the name of Napoleon, to order the Imperial ambassador to leave the territory of the republic of Genoa in forty-eight hours. In the execution of this mission, republican pride and arrogance, backed with victory, was carried to the highest pitch; and it was with difficulty that the Doge, who had been so wantonly insulted, could prevent the people from executing their vengeance upon him, which, had it taken place, would have involved the city in inevitable destruction. No sooner had the Genoese territory been invaded and plundered, than Napoleon gave orders for one division of his army, under the command of Generals Vaubois and Murat to advance by forced marches towards Leghorn, and to seize upon that city, the rich dépôt of English merchandise; and, on the 28th of June, his orders were executed by these Generals, who, on that day, occupied all the forts, and, in a proclamation, declared all British property in this neutral place to be confiscated to the French republic. In a few days after, fines, imprisonment, and even death, were inflicted on all persons who failed to make fair declarations. The consequence was, that in twelve days, or before the 11th of July, Murat carried away from Leghorn 500,000 sequins, or £250,000, a sum of money which, no doubt, he had a considerable share of.

On the 18th of July, Murat commanded the attack on the left of the entrenched camp of the Austrians, near Mantua; and he succeeded in carrying it. For
several

several weeks he gained almost daily advantages over the Imperial General Wurmser, who commanded an harassed, defeated, dispirited, and inferior army. In the retreat which that General was forced to make on the 9th of September, Murat pursued him at the head of a corps of chasseurs; and, on the 11th, he endeavoured to cut off his retreat towards Ceva. But, after having routed several divisions of the Austrian army, he was repulsed in his turn, though superior in number. Rallying, however, and continuing the attack, he was wounded in an engagement on the 15th, where General Wurmser himself charged at the head of the light troops of his army. This wound forced him to demand leave of absence; and he resided at Milan until December, when he re-assumed his former station in the blockading corps round Mantua.

During the campaign of 1797, Murat displayed an equal degree of activity. On the 14th of January, at the head of a demi-brigade of light infantry, he advanced by Monte-Baldo, forced the Austrians, who occupied La Corona, routed them after a very obstinate resistance, and obliged their cavalry to cross the Adige by swimming; and he contributed not a little, by his indefatigable vigilance, to the surrender of Mantua. Notwithstanding the astonishing courage and frequent sorties of General Wurmser, this city was forced by famine and disease to open its gates to the French republicans, by a capitulation signed on the 2d of February the same year. The defence of this place, which excited the admiration of the enemy, and the praise of Buonaparte himself, cost the Austrians 24,000 men; and 22,000 Frenchmen perished in the different engagements, during the siege and blockades, of whom 9000 are calculated, by the author of the campaigns in Italy of 1796 and 1797, to have been killed in fighting under Murat.

After the reduction of Mantua, Buonaparte ordered some divisions of his army to invade the defenceless Papal territory; but, upon the unexpected approach of the Archduke Charles towards Italy, with a small but well-affected and well-disciplined body of troops, the French commander postponed his intention of dethroning the Sovereign Pontiff, whom he obliged, however, to sign

sign an humiliating and ruinous peace. On the 24th of February, Murat was ordered to attack the enemy, strongly fortified near Foy; where, after being repulsed twice, and having two horses killed under him, he finally succeeded; though he, on this occasion, had more men killed than the number of Austrians whom he combated and vanquished; but he, like most other republican generals, has justly been reprobated for the profusion with which they squandered away, often unnecessarily, the lives of their soldiers. Had he, after being repulsed once, waited half an hour only before he renewed the assault, 700 Frenchmen less had perished on that day; as the Austrians were preparing to evacuate the entrenchments, when they were attacked a second and third time.

Upon the determination of Napoleon to penetrate into Carinthia, many petty skirmishes took place between the advanced posts of the Imperialists, and the French under the Generals Murat, Belliard, and Kellerman. The Archduke, already under the necessity of acting on the defensive, in continuing, however, to retreat, avoided as much as possible any serious engagements; and therefore, in crossing the Tagliamento, cut down the bridges behind him, and threw up entrenchments, which extended from the passes of the mountains to the neighbourhood of Belgrado. In this position the young Prince halted for some days, determined to dispute the passage of that river, which, though naturally impetuous and rapid, might then be forded, the stream being greatly diminished in consequence of the severity of the frost in the mountainous regions. Taking advantage of this fortunate circumstance, Buonaparte, on the 16th of March, ordered Murat at the head of one division, and Duphot heading another, to cross the ford, so as to advance against the right of the enemy's entrenchments, while the troops under General Guieux executed the same operation in a different quarter. Murat and Duphot precipitated themselves nearly at the same time into the water, and gained the opposite bank, where the French infantry was repeatedly, but ineffectually, charged by the Austrian horse, whom they received, without flinching, on the points of their bayonets; but it was principally to the murderous fire of their artillery, that the republicans

were indebted for this day's victory, as the cannon were stationed so as to shower down such terrible and incessant discharges of grape shot on the foe, that all opposition soon became ineffectual. The Austrians, however, still presented an undaunted front, fearless of danger and of death. But Murat and Guieux having penetrated to the village of Cainin, where the Archduke had established his headquarters, they fell into some disorder, and retreated towards the mountains. On the 19th, in pursuit of the vanquished enemy, Murat distinguished himself again at the passage of Lizonzo, where he had a horse killed under him, and his clothes pierced with bullets.

After the preliminaries of Leoben had been signed, Buonaparte, with his usual treacherous policy, over-turned the Republic of Venice: and, while the definitive treaty was negotiating at Campo Formio, he first intrigued to change this form of government, and afterwards openly attacked the independent and neutral republic of the Grisons and of the Valteline. Murat was ordered by him, in September 1797, to march with a column towards the frontiers of the Valteline, and to *settle* the differences between these two states. After some previous plunder and requisitions, Murat published a declaration, "That, considering the many wrongs of the Grisons towards their ally, and the *unanimous* desire of the citizens of the Valteline, this latter country was incorporated with the Cisalpine Republic." Such however was the *unanimity*, that the very day (September 26th) when this declaration appeared, Murat ordered twenty-two of the most respectable citizens, who formerly had occupied places as magistrates, to be tried as conspirators, by a military commission, for protesting against this union with the Cisalpine Republic; and they were all shot the next day.

In November, when Napoleon left Italy, and according to the treaty of Campo Formio, a congress for the pacification, or rather partition, of the German Empire, was assembled at Rastadt, he went by way of Switzerland, where he sent Murat to prepare for his reception, and to gain information of the public spirit, previous to executing the plans of destruction which he had formed against this once prosperous republic. This mission was delicate and difficult, because Buonaparte was disliked and suspected by the Swiss democrats, and despised, if
not

not abhorred, by the Swiss aristocrats. Murat, however, by intimidating some by threats, deceiving others by specious promises, and buying over others with a small part of the plunder of Italy, procured his chief to be received with the same honours as are paid to sovereigns. Deputations flattered, guns were fired, and cities illuminated; and the deluded Helvetians entertained, treated, feasted, complimented, and extolled this warrior; to whom, from the scenes of horror that he had just left, their innocence, quiet, and happiness, were not only reproaches, but incitements so much the sooner to bury their independence and riches in the rubbish of Italy and Germany.

Murat was now so far advanced in the good graces of his commander, that, when Napoleon chose his officers for his Egyptian expedition, he was the fourth upon the list of generals which he presented for the approbation of the French Directory. In Egypt he was always in close attendance upon the commander-in chief, and generally dined with him every day. He attended the expedition into Syria in the spring of 1799, and commanded one of the divisions of the army consisting of cavalry during the memorable siege of St. Jean d'Acre; whilst the other four divisions of the French army were headed by Generals Kleber, Regnier, Lannes, and Bon. At the battle of Mount Tabor, on the 16th of April of that year, whilst Buonaparte was burning the Naplousian village, and making examples of such of the inhabitants as he suspected of having appeared in arms against him, Murat chased the Turks from Jacob's Bridge, and surprised the son of the Governor of Damascus. At the battle of Aboukir, on the 25th of July following, the right wing of the French army, consisting of 4000 cavalry and nine battalions of infantry with some artillery, was commanded by Murat, who, after their defeat, cut off the retreat of the Turks, who, according to Berthier's report, struck with a sudden terror at being surrounded on every side, precipitated themselves into the sea, where no less than 10,000 perished by musquetry, grape shot, and the waves.

When Napoleon, finding that no laurels could be gained in Egypt, and having in view the overthrow of the Directory, basely deserted the French army in Egypt,

Murat was one of the four generals whom he selected to accompany him in his flight. This desertion of his army by Napoleon cannot be excused upon any principle of justice; and it has always been considered a great stain upon his military character. General Dugua, in writing to the Director Barras, makes the following remarks upon it:—"I shall say but little to you on the departure of the General; it was only communicated to those who were to accompany him; it was precipitate. The army was thirteen days without a commander-in-chief. There was not a sou in any of the military chests: no part of the service arranged. The enemy, scarcely retired from Aboukir, was still before Damietta. I confess to you, Citizen Director, I could never have believed that General Buonaparte would have abandoned us in the condition in which we were; without money, without powder, without ball, and many of the soldiers without arms—debts to an enormous amount—more than a third of the army destroyed by the plague, by the dysentery, by ophthalmia, and by the war—that which remains almost naked—and the enemy but eight days march from us. Whatever may be told you at Paris, this description is but too true." This letter, which was intercepted, gives a melancholy view of the situation of the French army, when abandoned by its unfeeling commander, and completely justifies the reproaches that have been thrown out against him.

On the overthrow of that constitution, which Napoleon had so often sworn to defend and obey, Murat was entrusted with the command over the posts near the Council of Five Hundred; and when the revolution was accomplished, and Buonaparte seated on the Consular throne, he had the command of the Consular guard; and, to bind him more firmly to his interest, Napoleon gave him in marriage his sister Caroline Buonaparte, who had, in 1797, been betrothed to General Duphot, who was murdered at Rome in an insurrection on the 27th of December of that year. What had become of his former wife does not appear. In a pamphlet called "*La Sainte Famille*," it is said, that he had been divorced in 1795; and in another pamphlet it is affirmed, that she died of hard drinking.

In the spring of 1800, an army of reserve was collecting
near

near Dijon, which afterwards performed such important services for the republic in Italy. This army was under the command of Berthier, and Murat was appointed one of his lieutenant-generals. After this army, led on by Napoleon, had crossed the Alps and entered Italy, the Austrians were defeated at Montebello on the 10th of June; and the next day, General Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, succeeded in driving them across the Bormida. At the great and decisive battle of Marengo, on the 14th, he led on the cavalry; and though, at the first onset, he was routed, he succeeded in rallying his troops: and when the heroic General Desaix took advantage of the weakness and imbecility of the Austrian General, he, with Generals Marmont and Bessieres, pierced the third and last line of the Austrian infantry; in consequence of which a defeat ensued, and the horse, infantry, and artillery, fled promiscuously towards one of the bridges laid across the Bormida. But such was the undaunted courage of the Imperialists, who deserved a better commander-in-chief, that the rear-guard presented a regular front, though Murat cut many of them to pieces in the act of protecting, most valorously, the retreat of the main body.

On his return to Paris, in August, after this short campaign, he found the scandalous boasting of his brother-in-law, Lucien Buonaparte, concerning an incestuous intrigue carried on with Madame Murat the common topic of conversation. Three duels, within two months, was the consequence; and, had not the First Consul interfered, and for this and for some other offences removed Lucien from the Ministry of the Interior, and sent him, in disgrace, as ambassador to Spain, Murat would either have been divorced from his wife, perished himself, or killed his brother-in-law. Twelve months absence of Lucien, and even an apology on his arrival from Madrid in 1801, did not produce a reconciliation with Murat, who challenged, fought, and wounded him again. To put an end to these *family quarrels*, Napoleon promoted Murat to the command-in-chief over the French army in Italy, or, which is the same, made him Viceroy over the Italian and Ligurian Republics, and over the revolutionary kingdom of Etruria. His wife accompanied him; and when he was recalled to Paris, Lucien was first sent off

off to Naples, and afterwards ordered to visit his *senatories* on the Rhine, and to travel in Germany.

During his command in Italy, Murat's manner of living was more expensive and more sumptuous, his retinue more brilliant, his staff more showy, his palaces more magnificent, and his guards more numerous, than those of any lawful European sovereign, and hardly surpassed by Napoleon himself at Paris. He introduced at Milan nearly the same etiquette that prevailed at the Thuilleries and St. Cloud. Madame Murat had her maids of honour, her routs, her assemblies, her *petite* and *grande entrée*, her *petits soupers*, and her *grand circles*; as her husband had his pages, his prefects of palace, his aides-de-camp, his military reviews, his diplomatic audiences, his presentations, his official dinners, &c. &c.

After Buonaparte's second visit to the army on the coast, where his admirals as well as his generals tried to convince him of the danger, if not the absurdity, of attempting an invasion with his flotilla, which two or three English vessels kept blocked up; to occupy the public attention, and to divert the discontent which delay or disappointment must excite among his soldiers, who had already been ten months devouring the riches of Great Britain, and regarding her conquest as easy and certain, a plot was necessary to be invented. The treachery of the spy Mehée, and the impudence and indiscretion of others, unfortunately procured him documents enough to cause his French slaves to think it not only probable, but certain, that a plot was hatching for his destruction. If all occurrences are remembered, and if the changes and promotions, and every thing else which has been known of his internal as well as external policy, be considered, little doubt remains but that the arrest and disgrace of Moreau, the death of the Duke of Enghien, and the publication of the pretended conspiracy in February 1804, had been determined upon in December 1803. In that month Moreau's enemy, Jourdan, was nominated commander-in-chief in Italy; and his calumniator, Junot, commander-in-chief over the corps *d'élite* of the army of England; Louis Buonaparte received a command in the camp on the coast; Joseph Buonaparte was sent to Brabant; and Murat recalled from Italy to be the Governor of Paris, and Commander of the Army of the Interior.

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In this post Murat continued the same pageantry, ostentation, profusion, and pomp, as in that he had resigned in Italy. He had 150,000 livres (£6000) in the month for appointments, as the Governor of Paris, besides hotels, furnished at the expence of the republic, for himself, his wife, and his aides-de-camp. Thirty thousand livres (£1250) were allowed him for the open table that he kept for officers in business, or on leave of absence in the capital.

Murat was present at the execution of the unfortunate Duke D'Enghien, being ordered by Napoleon to proceed from Paris to Vincennes under an escort of Mamelukes, attended by four aides-de-camp; he was accompanied on this occasion by Mortier, Duroc, Rudin, and Louis Buonaparte.

When Napoleon was proclaimed Emperor of France, Murat shared in the honours of his brother-in-law, being created a Marshal of the French empire on that occasion.

When hostilities again broke out between France and Austria, in the year 1805, Murat had the command of the cavalry, and he was ordered to push on for the defiles of the Black Forest, in order to impress the Austrians with the idea, that it was Napoleon's intention to take that route in his line of march. On the 8th of October he completely defeated an Austrian detachment opposed to him, taking General Auffenberg prisoner with 2000 men, together with the whole of his baggage and artillery: and, on the 19th of the same month, he compelled the Austrian general Werneck to capitulate at Trochtelfingen, with 15,000 men, only two days after the treachery of Mack had given up Ulm to Napoleon; so that, what with treason and misfortunes, the capital of the Austrian monarchy was entirely exposed to the invading army. On Napoleon's advance to Vienna, Murat continued successfully to command the cavalry. On the 28th he crossed the Inn, and on the 30th he attacked the Austrian rear-guard, who were posted on the heights of Ried; they were instantly broke, but, endeavouring to rally in order to secure their baggage, he again attacked them, and, after a smart action, took above 400 prisoners. The Russian division of the allied army having taken up a position on the heights of Amstettin, the

the advance of the French army here attacked them, where a most tremendous conflict ensued, in which the cavalry, under Murat, greatly distinguished itself. The Russians would not withstand the attack, but gave way, with the loss of 400 killed, and upwards of 1000 taken prisoners.

After Vienna had been surrendered, the cabinet of Vienna having refused to accede to the terms which Napoleon offered to her, Murat was ordered to push through that city with the advance of the French army. He here practised a stratagem upon the Austrian General who commanded at the bridge thrown over the Danube, which was not very honourable, even among those stratagems which are allowable in war. Prince Aversburg, who was the officer in command, having received orders to break down the bridge in order to stop the rapid progress of the French army, Murat, aware of this, rode up at full speed to the Prince, and assured him, "*upon his word of honour*," that an armistice had been concluded. The Prince, naturally believing he had a man of honour to deal with, neglected taking the necessary steps to destroy the bridge, and the French troops rapidly arriving, it was too late, when he found out the trick that had been played upon him, to repair his error, and the whole French army crossed the Danube, in full pursuit of the Austrians, into Moravia. So active was the pursuit of the French army, and particularly of the advanced guard, under Murat, that there was every probability of the Russians being forced to surrender; when Kutusoff, who commanded them, was determined to gain time by playing off a military stratagem. He accordingly sent General Winzingerode to Murat, offering to capitulate with the Russian forces, provided the Austrians were unmolested. Murat instantly acceded to the proposal; but Napoleon, suspecting the object was to gain time, refused any suspension of arms, unless ratified by the Emperor. Kutusoff, however, gained time, which was all he intended.

At the great battle of Austerlitz, Murat, with the French cavalry, was posted in the rear, close behind the centre division of the French army, commanded by Bernadotte. In this battle he greatly distinguished himself, and very much contributed to its glorious result. The battle

battle of Austerlitz was soon after followed by an armistice between France and Austria; and, afterwards, the peace of Presburg put an end to hostilities between those two powers.

As a reward for his great services, Napoleon gave Murat the Duchy of Cleves and Berg. This step gave great offence to the cabinet of Berlin; but its resentment was quite disregarded by Napoleon. Berg had belonged to the King of Bavaria, as Count Palatine of the Rhine; and been ceded to France in exchange for the Prussian provinces of Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia. Cleves, which had already been dismembered by the extension of the French empire to the banks of the Rhine, was one of the three provinces given up by Prussia for Hanover. Various speculations had been formed with regard to the destination of these provinces when they thus fell into the hands of France, and were put under the control of Buonaparte; but the general sentiment in Germany was that of surprise and indignation, when they were given to Murat, a foreigner, a soldier of fortune, and the brother-in-law of Napoleon. There seemed to be no end to the encroachments of France, nor reliance on her most solemn and reiterated declarations, that the Rhine should be the boundary of her empire. Prussia, in particular, viewed the establishment of Murat, in the midst of her Westphalian provinces, with great jealousy; and she very soon began to experience the danger and inconvenience of such a neighbour. Murat insisted upon taking possession of the abbeys of Werder, Essen, and Elten, pretending that they belonged to the Duchy of Cleves, although Prussia had certainly prior claims to them.

The encroachments of Napoleon having forced Prussia to take up arms, the French army passed the Rhine on the 1st of October 1806, and advanced, on the 8th, in three divisions; the cavalry, which formed part of the centre, being commanded by Murat. At the battle of Jena, which was fought on the 14th, and which destroyed the Prussian monarchy, he had the command of the second French reserve, composed of the dragoons and cuirassiers. The charge of this body of horse at the conclusion of the day was irresistible; neither the Prussian cavalry nor infantry could withstand the shock. In

vain did the Prussians form themselves into square battalions: their ranks were broken; artillery, cavalry, infantry, were all put to the route. After this fatal battle, a considerable body of Prussians, under the command of Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange Fulda, made good their retreat to Erfurt; but, next morning, they were invested in that place by Murat, and on the following day they surrendered to him by capitulation. The prisoners which thus surrendered, it is said, amounted to 40,000; among whom, besides Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange, were many other officers of distinction. A park of artillery, consisting of 120 pieces of cannon, with all the requisite implements and ammunition, and magazines of great value, fell into his hands. Mollendorf, when taken prisoner, was dangerously ill of his wounds: a marked degree of attention was shewn to him by the French, as one who had done all in his power to avert hostilities; while the Duke of Brunswick, and others of the war party, were treated with the coarsest scurrility by the French writers, and, when made prisoners, were used with extreme rigour.

After the battle of Jena, another division of the Prussian army attempted to escape in a body over the Hertz mountains; but this body was overtaken at the village of Greusen, and defeated with great loss. But it was towards Magdeburg that the defeated and fugitive columns of the Prussian army chiefly directed their course; and Prince Hohenlohe, though wounded, having reached that fortress, a considerable army was there collected under his standard. The garrison of Magdeburg amounted to 12,000 men; but the place was ill-adapted for sustaining a siege, or maintaining an army, its magazines having been emptied with a fatal improvidence to supply the Prussian grand army when it took the field. Marshal Ney, Soult, and Murat, followed the Prussians in their flight to the walls of this place; and, in the total confusion and disorder into which they were thrown, made a number of prisoners, and got possession of a great part of their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. In the mean time, Prince Hohenlohe having in some measure succeeded in collecting the scattered remains of the Prussian army at Magdeburg, his next operation was to endeavour to gain the banks of the Oder. With a
force

force of nearly 40,000 men, but disheartened and dispirited by their late reverses, including the whole of the Prussian guards, who had escaped after the battle of Jena, he set out from Magdeburg for Stettin, after sending forward detachments of cavalry to destroy the bridges over which the French must pass to intercept his march. He proceeded without interruption as far as Zehlendorf, on the river Havel; but, at this place, the advanced guard of his army, consisting of 6000 men, was furiously attacked by Murat with a body of light cavalry and dragoons. A warm action ensued, in which the Prussians were defeated with the loss of 300 killed, and 700 wounded.

After this action, Murat, who had no infantry to support him, pushed forward to Templin, which lay in the line of Prince Hohenlohe's march, in order to impede his progress, until the French infantry, under Lannes, should come up. But the Prussian general, by making a detour through Furstenburg, avoided Templin, and reached Boitzenburg, without having been again compelled to fight. Near Boitzenburg another action ensued, in which 500 of the Prussian gendarmerie were made prisoners. So closely had Murat followed, that Hohenlohe was obliged to make a second detour by Schoenermark, in order to reach Prenzlau, where he hoped to find bread and forage, of which his army stood extremely in need. But no sooner had he reached the heights of Prenzlau than the French, under Murat, shewed themselves on his right. An engagement immediately ensued, in which the superior numbers and artillery of the French compelled the Prussians to retreat into the town. All hope of reaching Stettin was now lost. That city was seven German miles from Prenzlau: the Prussians were without bread or forage, and almost without ammunition: Murat was preparing to renew the attack; and bodies of French troops were incessantly arriving to join him. In this deplorable situation, Prince Hohenlohe saw no resource but in accepting the terms of capitulation which were offered to him; and, accordingly, he surrendered the whole force under his command, consisting of about 17,000 men, to Marshal Murat. This misfortune happened on the 28th of October 1806; and, next day, a body of 6000 men, belonging to Prince Hohenlohe's

henlohe's army, which had pushed forward, by another route, to Pasewalk, was forced also to surrender.

After this exploit, Murat, in conjunction with Bernadotte and Soult, was successfully employed in reducing the gallant Blücher. The rear of Prince Hohenlohe's army, commanded by Blücher, had reached Boitzenburg, and was preparing to set out for Prentzlau on the morning of the 29th, when intelligence of the surrender of the main army to Murat, on the evening preceding, arrived. Blücher immediately resolved to change his route, and direct his course towards Strelitz, in the hope of meeting with the corps commanded by the Duke of Weimar, which had not been engaged in the battle of Jena. His own corps was 10,500 strong, and consisted of the Prussian reserve, which, after its defeat at Halle, had been taken from Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg and placed under his command by Prince Hohenlohe. On the 30th Blücher had the good fortune to join, in the neighbourhood of Strelitz, the Duke of Weimar's corps of 10,000 men, which, after passing the Elbe at Havelberg, had reached Strelitz by the way of Rhinsberg, after falling in with a third corps under the Duke of Brunswick Oels; But, with this fortunate occurrence, he also received the unwelcome news that Soult had also crossed the Elbe, and was between him and that river, with his army. Having taken the command of these three corps, Blücher resolved on making an attempt to pass the Elbe at Lauenberg, in order to reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony; and, with that view, he directed his march through Mecklenburg to the Lake of Schwerin, where he arrived on the 3d of November. In this march he was hotly pursued by the French under Murat, and several sharp actions took place, particularly at Wahren and in the village of Tahre, near the Lake of Schwerin. The French corps, commanded by Bernadotte, pressed upon his rear; that of Soult, on his left, intercepted his communications with the Elbe, and frustrated his design of crossing that river at Lauenberg; whilst the division under Murat, advancing on his right along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania, took prisoners some of his straggling columns, and prevented him from seeking refuge with his army under the walls of Stralsund. Hemmed in on all sides, he had no other alternative left but to throw himself

himself into Lubeck, or, with troops exhausted with hunger and fatigue, to risk an engagement with enemies so superior in number. In Lubeck he hoped to enjoy some repose, and refresh his men after the severe fatigues they had undergone. But his indefatigable enemy was at hand: one of the gates of Lubeck was forced, through which the French troops poured into this unfortunate city, and a dreadful scene of carnage ensued. Blucher made good his retreat from this scene of horror and devastation, and reached the frontiers of Danish Holstein, with the small remains of his army; but he was so crippled, that he was less able than ever to hazard an engagement, and was at last obliged to surrender at Swartan with his whole force, which was reduced to less than 10,000 men.

The Russian troops, intending to act with the Prussians, and to afford them assistance, had reached Warsaw before the French; and, having taken possession of that city, with a view of maintaining it against them, they sent forward a detachment to Lowiez to defend the passage of the river Bzura; but this corps was attacked on the 27th of November, by Murat, who drove them back with great loss to Blonie. Finding the French forces so greatly superior, General Benningsen, who commanded the Russians, determined to abandon Warsaw, and repass the Vistula with his troops. The French, under Murat, entered it on the 28th, and applied themselves immediately with the greatest industry to fortify the suburb of Prag on the opposite side of the river, and to re-establish the wooden bridge over the Vistula, which the Russians had burned in their retreat. At the battles of Pultusk, Golymin, and Soldau, Murat distinguished himself, and contributed very much to the success of the French arms. At the battle of Eylau, he, by a well-timed and sudden advance with the French cavalry, decided the fortune of that eventful day, which had long remained doubtful. The Russians, after the most obstinate exertions, were obliged to give way, leaving the field of battle to their opponents. After the battle of Friedlau, which ended in the complete triumph of Napoleon, Murat, as usual, was ordered to follow up the flying enemy, which he successfully accomplished, leaving them no time to rally their discomfited troops; until,
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at length, the armistice, which took place, put an end to hostilities, and finally led to the peace of Tilsit.

After this event, which laid the continent at the feet of Napoleon, his ambitious thoughts were incessantly occupied in obtaining, for his family, the Spanish crown; and, in furtherance of this object, Murat acted a conspicuous part. In consequence of the insurrections at Madrid and Aranjuez, occasioned by an apprehension that the royal family intended to emigrate, Murat was ordered to advance with an army towards Madrid, which city he entered on the 24th, giving out, with true French finesse, that Napoleon might be expected immediately at the capital; whilst the mysterious obscurity of Buonaparte's projects, and the proximity of his troops, all operated on the Prince of Asturias to make him anxious, at least for the present, to conciliate the good-will of the invader. In fact, so very anxious was he to avert or to avoid any cause of displeasure, that after having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly, affectionate, and even submissive terms, he actually sent a deputation of three of the first grandees to Bayonne, to compliment his Imperial Majesty in his name.

Murat now played his master-stroke of policy: for, having possessed himself of the Spanish capital, he avowed that his political interference was now necessary; and that until the *Emperor* acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgment of his right to the crown; and that, in fact, he was under the necessity of treating only with the former monarch. Those who had supported the son, certainly in opposition to the father, now saw the tables completely turned, and too soon knew what they had to depend upon; whilst, to give some colour to it, Murat listened to the solicitations of the King and Queen to release their favourite Godoy from imprisonment.

In this state of things, as Cevallos informs us, in his very lucid exposition of those events, the young monarch made his public entry into Madrid, unattended by parade, but accompanied by a most numerous concourse of the inhabitants of the capital and its vicinity, who expressed the strongest feelings of love and loyalty

loyalty, rending the air with acclamations of joy and enthusiasm.

This public expression of feeling was too much in opposition to the French plans, not to make it necessary for them to remove Ferdinand as speedily as possible; and, as it was judged impossible to effect it by force, a deep-laid scheme was commenced, for the accomplishment of which Murat and his agents reiterated the reports of the immediate arrival of Napoleon. By these means he induced the King's brother, Don Carlos, to set off with great haste to meet him; and whilst he cajoled Ferdinand himself with promises of Napoleon's support, his agents were busy in persuading the late King and Queen to enter a protest against their own act of abdication. These intrigues at last succeeded; and the result was, that Ferdinand, as well as his royal parents, were induced to submit their quarrels to Napoleon, who, having got them into his power, sent them as prisoners into France.

The whole nation were highly exasperated with these proceedings, and foresaw in them their entire subjugation; and, Napoleon having demanded that the Queen of Etruria and her son (daughter and grandson of the Spanish King), who were then at Madrid, should be given up, the people immediately took the alarm, and opposed the measure, though, at last, they permitted the unhappy prisoners to set off. The sorrow and alarm, however, of the Queen and her son, had operated so powerfully, that the popular resentment and indignation were raised to the highest pitch, when an aide-de-camp of Murat's arrived with a detachment of French troops, and a scene of the bloodiest carnage commenced. It has been a matter of debate who were the first *aggressors*; but that is of trifling consequence: it is enough that the French began with volleys of musquetry, by which numbers were killed, many of whom had not joined in the affray. The news immediately spread like wild-fire, and every person, who could procure arms, rushed to the scene of action.

In the early part of the business, the populace had the best of it in various parts of the city, although the Spanish troops had no share in the affray, being restrained by their officers within their barracks. A great many of the

the French were killed ; and their arms supplied such of the Spaniards as had none of their own. But, as soon as the dispositions directed by Murat began to be carried into effect, the advantage, as might be expected, began to be on the side of the French. In fact, all the French troops in the city were brought out : each column had flying artillery, with which they scoured the streets as they advanced, and which were afterwards placed in spots from whence they could do most execution. The French poured volleys of musquet-shot into the streets, as they crossed or passed by the ends of them, aiming particularly at the windows and balconies ; for the Spaniards, when driven from the streets, retired to their houses, from whence they fired on the different French columns. In many places, the French burst open the houses, and massacred the men, women, and children. The spot where the Spanish citizens made the most glorious defence was at the storehouse of artillery, which, besides ammunition, contained arms for 10,000 men. To this spot Murat sent a detachment to take possession ; but they found it already occupied by a small number of the citizens, with some artillery-men, under the command of two gallant artillery officers, called Doaize and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder charged with grape shot, placed at the gate of the storehouse, in front of a long and narrow street, and levelled at a point-blank range, made such havoc amongst the French column as it advanced, that its commander was obliged to send to Murat for a reinforcement. Two other columns were dispatched with all speed to his succour ; and these columns attacked the small garrison on both flanks, from the windows and shops of the adjoining houses, repeatedly summoning it to surrender. The gallant few, however, refused to listen to these propositions, and the constancy of their officers remained unshaken to the very last moment of their existence : but Velayde was soon killed by a musquet-shot ; and Doaize, who, although his thigh was broken by a cannon-shot, still continued to give his orders as he supported himself leaning with his elbow on the ground with the greatest composure, at length received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious life. On this, the command of the little party devolved on a corporal of the artillery, who, finding that
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all further resistance must be ineffectual, at length agreed to surrender the place.

The affair was at length put an end to, not so much by the military force of the French, as by the personal interposition of the members of the council of Castile, and of the other tribunals, who flew from one street to another on horseback, accompanied by several Spanish noblemen, with some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry of both the nations. Yet this generous interference weighed not with the ferocious invaders; for in the afternoon, when the poor inhabitants flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end, Murat issued general orders for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which the blood-thirsty Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, or had been found in the streets with any kind of arms about them, or any implements whatever that might possibly have been used, or could be considered as weapons of destruction. In short, all those who were found with musquets, swords, or even penknives and scissars, were considered as equally guilty, ordered instantly to be shot, and the sentence carried into execution without a moment's delay.

In this horrible massacre there were only 10,000 French troops, but then there were 50,000 in the vicinity; so that if the Spanish populace had put the whole of the first number to death, still the city must have endured a fresh scene of massacre and desolation from the others.

This horrid scene has also been thus described by an English lady:—

“ Words cannot describe the horror with which we have been surrounded since the first of this month. The approaching storm was expected; but on the 2d, immediately after breakfast, it broke out in the most furious manner. Our friend T—— had provided a retreat at his country-house, about six miles distant, to which we were to remove that evening: but the storm overtook us, and stopped our journey. The thunder of the artillery announced the business; and, in a few minutes after, the whole male population of the city appeared in arms. Wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly

stantly shot or cut down; six of them were put to death under our windows: the scene was dreadful beyond description.

“ After two or three hours’ carnage, particularly in our great street called Alcala, a reinforcement of Frenchmen poured into the town, and in their turn became the assailants. Our doors were burst open by the defeated populace, and seven or eight of the inhabitants took refuge under the couches, and in different parts of the house; but the French soldiers followed them, and in my presence they most unmercifully bayoneted those who had first entered the room, where I and my children sat shivering with horror. The presence of a young French officer protected us; and he had the humanity to continue in the house the entire of this fatal day, to whom I certainly owe the lives of myself and children. At night the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their windows. Fifteen dreadful-looking fellows took entire possession of the lower part of the house: they soon broke open the cellars, which they plundered; nor could the presence of the friendly officer prevent them. The following morning was a scene of horror; almost every person who passed through the streets was stained with blood, and the dead bodies lay in heaps. It was reported, and I believe with truth, that Murat intended to erect some works outside the town, to batter it to the ground, in revenge for the lives of his soldiers. This, however, he abandoned. Next day we were suffered to remove to Ombro,” &c.

When Napoleon, by his treachery, artifice, and deceit, had succeeded in raising his brother Joseph to the crown of Spain, Murat was appointed to succeed him on the throne of Naples; it being the determined policy of Buonaparte to elevate every branch of his family to kingly dignities. It was out of his power, however, to obtain the whole inheritance of the King of the two Sicilies, Sicily itself being withheld from his grasp by the powerful protection of Great Britain. Murat was declared King of the Two Sicilies on the 23d of July 1808, under the title of Joachim Napoleon. Ambitious of obtaining every portion of the territory of this ancient monarchy, Murat made vast preparations for expelling the English from Sicily: but, in attempting a landing, on the

the 18th of September 1810, he was compelled to abandon his enterprise with the loss of 3500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. After this he made no fresh attempts.

When Napoleon made his grand attack upon the Russian empire, Murat, as usual, commanded the cavalry; and, in the proud march of the French army to Moscow, he formed the advance, and was present, and much distinguished himself, at the battles of Smolensko and Borodino; at the latter, in particular, he contributed to the doubtful success of the French. In the disastrous termination and retreat of this formidable expedition, Murat, from some misunderstanding, deserted the fortunes of his brother-in-law; and, long before the fall of Napoleon, he had quitted his army and returned to Naples: from which time he was sedulously employed in cultivating the good offices of the European cabinets, whose countenance was necessary to the existence of his power and rank as a sovereign. But all would not do: his duplicity and double-dealing was too well known; and the Congress at Vienna, to whom the adjustment of all European claims and settlements were referred, determined to depose Murat, and again place the lawful sovereign upon his throne. Considerable blame has been thrown upon this determination; and England, in particular, has been charged with a breach of treaty, for not guaranteeing Murat's possessions: but Lord Castlereagh's exposition of his conduct and duplicity is so satisfactory, that the best answer to those charges is his statement in the House of Commons upon Mr. Horner's motion for copies of the correspondence which took place between Murat and the agents of the British government, previous to his co-operation with the allies in 1814, and also of any communication with him since that period.

When this motion was brought forward, Lord Castlereagh defended ministers on the ground of disingenuity on the part of Marshal Murat. He contended that Murat had never performed any of his engagements towards the Allies; and, therefore, the Allies were not bound by any engagement with him. His Lordship then stated, that he had applied to Prince Talleyrand to supply him with the best evidence he could procure of the perfidy of the King of Naples; and, strict search being made in the

public bureaus of Paris, a variety of correspondence was discovered, which fully developed the case, although many of the documents had been designedly burnt before the entrance of the Allies into the French capital. The letters he had obtained were between the Viceroy of Italy, the Queen of Naples, Buonaparte, Murat, Fouché, and the Princess Borghese. He would read extracts from them to the House, in order to shew the true light in which Joachim was to be viewed. In a letter to the Queen of Naples, dated 17th February, Buonaparte said—"Your husband is a very brave man in the field of battle, but more cowardly than a woman or a monk in the council: let him watch the moment to shew that he is not as ungrateful as pusillanimous." Another, from Fouché to Buonaparte, dated from Lucca, 18th February, spoke of the conduct of Murat, and of his heart being decidedly French, lamenting at the same time his want of firmness; and a third, from the Viceroy, dated the 20th February, confirmed the assertions. A report of the Consul of Ancona, without date, gave the particulars of a conversation between him and Murat; in which the latter said, that he had been compelled by circumstances to join the Allies, but that his heart remained sincerely French, and that he would never forget what he owed to his illustrious brother-in-law. A note from Buonaparte to Murat, without date, expressed the high displeasure of the Emperor at his conduct, which had been diametrically opposite to his duty, and belonged to the weakness of his nature. The writer relied on Murat's contrition, or he might hereafter have severe reason to repent of his adherence to the Allies. It contained also the following remarkable passage, a part of which his Lordship felt obliged to give in the original. "You are not one of those, I hope, who imagine that the lion is dead, *et qu'on peut pisser dessus*." The same letter went on to assert, that the title of King seemed to have turned the head of Murat. And another, of the 5th of March (to which late date the correspondence had been maintained), accused the King of Naples of calling round him men who would be his ruin; that what he wrote was at variance with his actions: it concluded with these words—"I wrote to the war-minister, in order to set him at ease in regard to your conduct. It is needless to send me an answer, unless you have

have something important. Remember, I made you a King solely for the interest of my system; if you cease to be a Frenchman, you will be nothing to me. Continue to correspond with the Viceroy, taking care that your letters are not intercepted." After the perusal of such evidence, it was not necessary to say more to prove the sort of ally the Austrians had obtained. His Lordship then entered into the question as to what ought to be the policy of this country, maintaining, that one only course was left; and that government was rather blameable for inactivity in supporting an ancient ally, the King of the Two Sicilies, than for hasty measures that would have hurried on hostilities. He afterwards referred to the negotiations carried on at Naples, and to the conduct of Murat shortly previous to, and at the time of the landing of Buonaparte in France. It was true that, in council, on the arrival of the first intelligence of the escape of Buonaparte from Elba, Murat had declared his intention of acting with the Allies; but how did his movements correspond. About the time of the flight of Napoleon, it was singular, that Murat had ordered his ministers, the Duke of Campochiaro and Prince Cariati, to demand from Austria permission to march through the north of Italy eighty thousand men, under the pretence of taking revenge upon France for her conduct to Naples. Of course a refusal was given; but Murat continued hostile preparations, on a scale far exceeding his population; and, on the 15th of March, Murat proceeded to Ancona, where he fixed his head-quarters. As Buonaparte advanced, Murat became less concealed; and, soon after Ney had joined his former master, Joachim added Napoleon to his name, and circulated in his army the proclamations of Buonaparte.

The letters which Lord Castlereagh quoted in his speech are so curious, that we cannot refrain from giving them.

Letter from Eliza Buonaparte to Buonaparte.

" Lucca, Feb. 14, 1814.

" SIRE—I have had the honour of informing your Majesty, by my reports of the 5th and 8th of this month, of the concentrating movement operated by the Prince of Lucca upon Pisa, in consequence of the circumstances which induced me to quit Florence, to order the evacuation

ation of that city, and to assemble all the troops of the division upon a point of greater security. The Prince has maintained himself at Pisa until now; but, having received advice of an English expedition, amounting by all accounts to at least 6000 men, and which appears to be undoubtedly directed from Sicily against Leghorn, Spezia, or Genoa, I have determined to order the Prince to continue his movement upon Genoa, in order that his retreat may not be cut off by the only road which still remains open.

“ I have been confirmed in this plan by having ascertained that some Neapolitan troops, superior in numbers, are already at Pistoia, and have forced our advanced posts to abandon the passage of Serravalle.

“ I also know that the enemy intends to cut off our communication, by seizing the road which conducts from Pontremole to Spezia and the Rivera di Genoa.

“ I have thought proper to give him notice to keep some troops upon which the Viceroy must have reckoned, and which cannot render any very decisive purposes elsewhere.

“ The projects of the English and Austrians do away all the doubt which the personal conduct of the King of Naples might create. I ought not to conceal from your Majesty, that I have received from him several letters, much at variance with the operations of his troops.

“ The King is in a state of great agitation. He is astonished that the Viceroy should have retired from the Adige, and that I have quitted Tuscany, upon the notion that he could be the enemy of your Majesty and of France. He loudly expresses his devotion and his gratitude for your person, and even said to the Tuscan deputies, that he would prefer receiving the first blow, to drawing his sword against a Frenchman.

“ I know not how to reconcile this language, of which I do not suspect the sincerity, with all the arbitrary measures which have endangered my authority, and those which oblige me even now to provide for the safety of the French troops assembled at Pisa. Your Majesty will appreciate these contradictions, which seem to me to proceed from a resolution deemed by the King conformable to his interests, but into which he has been dragged

dragged contrary to his own affections. I am assured that the language and conduct of the King are similar in his communications with the Viceroy.

“ It is, nevertheless, certain, that a proclamation of General Bellegarde’s, which recalls the nations of Italy to their former state, has been reprinted at Bologna under the eyes of the King.

“ This proclamation, drawn up with much art, has produced the greatest effect in Tuscany, where it is extensively circulated. I am, with profound respect, Sire, &c.

(Signed)

“ ELIZA.”

Letter from Buonaparte to the Queen of Naples.

“ Nangis, Feb. 17.

“ Your husband is a very brave man in the field of battle, but he is more cowardly than a woman or a monk when not in presence of the enemy. He has no moral courage. He has been frightened, and he has not hazarded losing for a moment that which he cannot hold but by me and with me. Make him fully sensible of his absurdity. When he quitted the army without my order, I foresaw all the evil counsels which would be given him. I am, however, better satisfied with the message he has sent me through you. If he be sincerely sorry, let him watch the moment for proving to me that he has not been so ungrateful as he is pusillanimous. I may yet pardon him the injury which he has done me.”

Letter from Buonaparte to the King of Naples.

“ I say nothing to you of my displeasure at your conduct, which has been diametrically opposite to your duty. That, however, belongs to the weakness of your nature. You are a good soldier on the field of battle, but, excepting there, you have no vigour, and no character. Take advantage of an act of treachery, which I only attribute to fear, in order to serve me by good intelligence. I rely upon you, upon your contrition, upon your promises. If it were otherwise, recollect that you would have to repent it. I suppose that you are not one of those who imagine that the lion is dead, and that he may be——upon (*et qu'on peut lui pisser dessus*). If such are your calculations, they are false. I defeated the Austrians yesterday, and I am in pursuit of the remnants of their columns. Another such victory, and you will see that my

my affairs are not so desperate as you have been led to believe.

“ You have done me all the harm that you could since your departure from Wilna, but we shall say no more about it. The title of King has turned your brain. If you wish to preserve it, behave well, and *keep your word.*”

Letter from Buonaparte to the King of Naples.

March 5.

“ SIR, MY BROTHER—I have already communicated to you my opinion of your conduct. Your situation had set you beside yourself; my reverses have completely turned your brain. You have called around you men who hate France, and who desire to ruin you. I formerly gave you useful warnings. What you write to me is at variance with your actions. I shall, however, see by your manner of acting at Ancona, if your heart is still French, and if it is to necessity alone that you yield. I write to my war minister in order to set him at ease with regard to your conduct. Recollect that your kingdom, which has cost so much blood and trouble to France, *is your's only for the benefit of those who gave it you.* It is needless to send me an answer unless you have something important to communicate. *Remember, that I made you a King for the interest of my system.* Do not deceive yourself. If you should cease to be a Frenchman, you would be nothing to me. Continue to correspond with the Viceroy, taking care that your letters be not intercepted.”

Letter from the Viceroy to Buonaparte.

“ Volta, Feb. 20, 1814.

“ SIRE—I have the honour to address to your Majesty a return of your army of Italy up to the 18th of this month.

“ The King of Naples, who appeared inclined to march against us, and to yield to the solicitations of the Austrians, paused as soon as he became acquainted with your Majesty's late victories of the 10th, 11th, and 12th. He had not yet received the ratification of his treaty the evening before last. I therefore hope that he will not add to the wrongs of which he has been guilty towards your Majesty, by firing upon your troops. I am, with respect, Sire, &c.

(Signed)

“ EUGENE NAPOLEON.”

Napoleon and the French writers have vehemently denied the existence of those letters, and have asserted, they were forged for the purpose of excusing Great Britain for her violation and breach of treaty; but there is too much reason to believe them authentic. The Congress of Vienna having resolved to depose Murat, the Austrian cabinet assembled a large force under the command of General Bianchi, for the purpose of marching against Naples: but Murat was determined to be before hand; and, knowing the intention of his enemies, he suddenly, upon hearing of the success of Napoleon's invasion, made an advance into the very heart of Italy, in order to excite the Italians to insurrection, and to co-operate with his brother-in-law. But all his attempts failed; and the subsequent events, in which he sustained the most signal defeats, and which led to his total overthrow and expulsion from Naples, prove how weak and slippery the foundation is upon which usurpation rests. At the late battle of Waterloo, Murat, as usual, commanded the French cavalry; and, knowing that his political importance, and that of his whole family, depended upon its issue, the most heroic exertions were made for victory; but all in vain. The genius of Wellington prevailed; and the signal defeat of the French army will, in all human probability, lead to the total and everlasting extinction of the whole herd of republican upstarts, and in particular of the Buonapartean family.

Memoirs
OF
FREDERICK-WILLIAM III.
KING OF PRUSSIA.

THIS illustrious monarch has drank deep of the bitter cup of adversity. Born to be the heir of a mighty sovereignty, founded by the policy and victories of the Great Frederick, and possessed of provinces rich by nature, and still more by commerce and cultivation, we have yet seen him, from a cowardly and selfish policy, sacrifice all these splendid advantages, and, from a monarch of the first order, reduced to an insignificance scarcely to be conceived—deprived of one half of his dominions, and the remainder held at the mercy of a capricious conqueror. Happily for him, experience has not been thrown away; and the criminal ambition of his enemy has afforded him an opportunity of atoning for his past errors, and of retrieving his fallen fortune. By the pursuit of a different course of policy, we have seen this monarchy, so lately obscured, again emerge from the deepest gloom; and we now behold it once more shining in all its former splendour, and filling that rank and station in the European commonwealth, which is so essential to the happiness and counterpoise of the whole.

The kingdom of Prussia forms a more striking instance of the rapid progress of revolutions than any which history can furnish. Although it only commenced with the 18th century, it by gradual accession became so extensive, as deservedly to rank among the first powers of Europe. The dominions of Prussia were small and scattered, till the acquisition of Silesia, and a third part of Poland, which gave a wide basis to the new monarchy. Its name originates, according to some, from the *Pruzzi*, a Slavonic tribe; but more probably, according to others, from the
name

name of *Russia*, and the Slavonic word *Po*, which signifies *near* or *adjacent*. Thus the Polabæ were so called, because they were situated upon the Elbe, which is called Labe in the Slavonic dialect.

The Prussian territories extend from Hornburg and the river Oker, in the country of Halberstadt, the farthest western connected district, to the river Memel, a distance of 600 miles. The breadth, from the southern limit of Silesia to Dantzic, exceeds 300 miles. By the treaty of Tilsit, however, these boundaries were greatly circumscribed; and this kingdom was not only deprived of its political consequence among the European nations, but was reduced, in point of extent of territory, to nearly its limits in 1772: and Prussia, to exist at all, was obliged to sacrifice nearly one half of her most valuable provinces.

With regard to its history and progressive aggrandisement, a faint dawn in the middle ages discloses at the mouth of the Vistula the Pruzzi, a Slavonic nation, who were afterwards subdued by the knights of the Teutonic order. This order originated A. D. 1190, in the camp of the Crusaders before Acca, or Acre, from some citizens of Lubec and Bremen, who united to relieve the wants of their German brethren. Next year a bull of institution was obtained from the Pope, ordering them to wear a black cross on a white mantle, and to follow the rule of St. Augustin, with all the privileges granted to the Knights Templars. The crusades to Palestine having failed, the knights directed their enterprise against the Pagans of the north of Germany, A. D. 1227; and in a few years conquered Prussia, and founded several cities. The knights, thus established in Prussia, directed their efforts against the Lithuanians, and other Pagans in the east. But repeated wars with Poland were less fortunate; and, about 1446, the four chief cities of Prussia (Elbing, Thorn, Königsberg, and Dantzic) withdrew their allegiance from the Teutonic order, and claimed the protection of Poland.

In 1466, Casimir, King of Poland, forced the Teutonic order to abandon the eastern part of Prussia, and to pay homage for the western part. Albert, of Brandenburg, grand master of the order, obtained from his maternal

uncle, Sigismund, King of Poland, the hereditary investiture of all that the order possessed in Prussia, and embraced the Lutheran religion. But particular grand-masters continued to be appointed by the Emperor of Germany.

In 1569 Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg, had obtained from the Polish monarch the succession to the duchy of Prussia, in case the possessor died without heirs; but this addition of power and territory did not take place till 1618, when John Sigismund elector of Brandenburg acquired this duchy; and, in 1621, his successor received the solemn investiture from the King of Poland. Nor was it, as already mentioned, an independent sovereignty till 1656, after which period the chief events may be traced under those of Brandenburg, which are as follow:—

The German genealogists derive the house of Brandenburg from Thassilo, count of Hohenzollern, who lived about the ninth century. Sigefred, a Saxon count, having married a daughter of Henry King of Italy, was appointed Margrave of Brandenburg, A. D. 927: but many centuries elapsed before this dignity fell to the ancestor of the present family. The province had been for some centuries chiefly possessed by Slayonic nations, but the Margrave soon raised it to considerable distinction. The Emperor Charles IV. in 1373, assigned Brandenburg to his second son Sigismund, who, in 1415, being then Emperor of Germany, sold this margravate and electorate to Frederick Burgrave of Nuremburg, for 400,000 ducats. Frederick, the ancestor of the present reigning race, displayed considerable abilities. Joachim II. elector of Brandenburg, embraced the Lutheran religion in 1539, which has since been the ruling system of the state.

In 1640, Frederick-William, whom posterity has sur-named the Great Elector, ascended a throne surrounded with ensanguined ruins. His provinces were laid waste or conquered; and the army was reduced to 3600 infantry, 4100 cavalry, and 2700 garrison troops. Faithful to the Swedish cause, he obtained, by the peace of Westphalia, the bishoprics of Minden, Halberstadt, and Caulin; the reversion of the archbishopric of Magdeburgh, and the peaceful possession of Farther
or

or Eastern Pomerania, which devolved to his predecessor in 1637. But Sweden retained Hither Pomerania, with the fortress of Stettin, which commands the Oder, and opens a way to Berlin. Frederick-William, therefore, considered the Swedes rather as odious masters, than generous benefactors; and, developing that interested policy which King Frederick II. contented himself with imitating, he acted towards Poland and Sweden the part of an ally, ever making new demands, and ever proving unfaithful. In this he succeeded, at least in part; the treaty of Oliva, in 1660, definitively secured to him the sovereignty of Prussia. Fifteen years of peace favoured the establishment of manufactures, the creation of a maritime commerce, and the formation of an admirable system of finance, which made amends for the smallness of the revenue. This prince had about two millions of subjects, from whom he received, according to authentic documents, the annual sum of 1,533,795 crowns. The wars of Louis XIV. involved Frederick-William in new combats, and afforded him an opportunity of proving himself a great general. The surprise of the Swedes near Rathenon, the victory of Fehrbettin, and the march into Prussia across the Frozen Gulf, called the Friche Haff, were the first of those actions by which the arms of Brandenburg acquired such reputation in Europe.

Frederick the First, who succeeded his father in the electorate of Brandenburg in 1688, improved and embellished his capital city of Berlin. To the territory which descended to him from his ancestors he added the counties of Feclenburg and Ifhenstein, and the principality of Neufchatel; and filled part of those countries that were before but thinly peopled with inhabitants, who were invited thither by the kindness which he shewed, and the privileges which he granted to them. This prince conceived the resolution of assuming the royal dignity; and, on the 18th of January 1701, he, with his own hands, put the crown on his head, and on that of his consort, at Königsberg. It is related, but with what degree of accuracy we cannot pretend to vouch, that, when his negotiation for regal honours was in no very good train at the court of Vienna, he was advised by his minister there, in a letter written in cypher, to make use of the interest of a certain prince;
but,

but, the sense of the letter being mistaken, by their names beginning with the same letter, he, instead of the prince, had recourse to the father confessor, who was a Jesuit; and so much was the Jesuit struck with this honour done him by a Protestant Prince, that, by his own interest, and that of his order, he quickly accomplished all that was desired. Certain it is, that Frederick was soon after acknowledged, in his regal capacity, by all the courts, excepting that of Rome. His dignity was incontrovertibly established by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

His son, Frederick-William the First, succeeded him in the year just mentioned. This prince augmented his army to 60,000 men. Political and military economy continually engaged his attention; and in his manners he was prudent, and laborious in his conduct. The war in the north, and the battle of Pultowa, afforded him the much-wished-for opportunity of driving the Swedes almost entirely out of Germany. The peace of 1720 secured to him, for the sum of two millions of crowns, the possession of Hither Pomerania, as far as the banks of the Peeve, with the fortress of Stettin, and the islands of Usedom and Wottin; important acquisitions, as they rendered Prussia mistress of one of the mouths of the Oder, and opened the Baltic Sea to her commerce. Frederick-William, who died in 1740, left to his successor 4,700,000 subjects, a revenue of £1,250,000 sterling, and an army of 76,000 men.

That illustrious monarch, Frederick II., who was born in 1712, was in the 49th year of his age when he mounted the throne. It was his to convince the house of Austria, that it had a rival in the empire of Germany itself. The two first wars of Silesia put him in possession of that rich province, which contained one million one or two hundred thousand inhabitants; but which at Frederick's death had 1,582,000, and now numbers 2,048,000. He acquired peaceable possession of East Friesland, a small tract, but of considerable importance, on account of the port of Embden; and, in 1772, he seized, without striking a blow, West Prussia, and the district of Netze, a country, at that time, very ill cultivated, but which established the communication between ancient Prussia and Pomerania, and Brandenburg. Frederick died possessed of a country comprising 10,000 square

square leagues, 5,830,000 subjects (2,300,000 of whom he had himself acquired), a revenue of £ 5,000,000 sterling, a treasury containing upward of £ 8,000,000 in specie, and an army of 216,000 men. The second and third partition of Poland added to Prussia two new provinces, which were South Prussia and New West Prussia. In political statements these acquisitions were estimated at no more than 1652 square leagues, and two millions of inhabitants. But the last enumeration proved that South Prussia had a population of 1,387,000; New East Prussia cannot contain less than 870,000; Old East Prussia had, three years ago, 955,084; and West Prussia, together with the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, 794,000: thus the kingdom of Prussia alone contained four millions of inhabitants.

Frederick the Second, by victories often stained by injustice, and by an administration always prudent, had increased his power, and the means to preserve it, if not to augment it. His nephew and successor, Frederick-William the Second, who began to reign in 1786, was destitute of talent as well as of virtues; yet, in a great measure, he made up by activity what was wanting in genius. He was a strange compound of the love of ease and of intrigue, with an equal passion for the luxuries of the harem and the fatigues of the camp. Nothing seemed too little or too great for the grasp of his inconsistent ambition. In his reign the Prussian army conquered Holland in one campaign, with the loss of only 290 men; but it was defeated in 1792, by the French *patriots*. This monarch enjoyed the principalities of Anspach and Bayreuth, with 480,000 inhabitants; and he acquired two millions and a half of new subjects: yet he died without respect and without glory; much less rich, and, perhaps, less powerful, than his predecessor. His minister, the wise Herzberg, in vain predicted that the destruction of Poland, by taking away all barriers against the Russians would crush the politics of Prussia. This important consideration was overlooked, for the sake of obtaining desolated provinces, and two millions of subjects, whose fidelity was doubtful.

It was indeed impossible that the Poles could be sincerely attached to the Prussian government; as, at the very moment when the King of Prussia was promising to support

support their liberty, he had planned, in concert with Russia, a most formidable opposition to its progress.

Notwithstanding the inglorious reign of the late king, Frederick-William the Third, the present monarch of Prussia, ascended the throne in 1793, with all possible advantage. Austria was weakened; and a crown so lately ducal, was enabled to rival the splendour of the Imperial diadem. England and Russia courted his alliance; while France, by money, promises, and intrigues, asked nothing but his neutrality. All Europe waited with anxious suspense for his determination:—loyalty, order, and religion, hoped every thing from his youth, from his rank, and from his former sentiments. Rebellion, however, triumphed; and the King listened to the perhaps not disinterested machiavelism of his ministry, and became the ally of regicides, who, after murdering their own king, yearly swore hatred to royalty, and avowedly plotted the destruction of all thrones, and the establishment of an universal republic.

The Count of Herzberg, the confidential minister of the great Frederick, entertained, as we have hinted before, a decided disapprobation of the new partition of Poland. On this occasion he took the liberty of expressing himself to the present king, in the following forcible terms:—"I confess, according to my notion, it is the greatest political fault that the three powers, Prussia in particular, could commit. The claim which they advance for the division of Poland is so odious, and so strongly reprobated, that it will remain an eternal blot on the reputation of the three sovereigns, will tarnish their names as long as history shall last; and I own, I know not how they can reconcile it with their religion or their consciences. I have incurred your Majesty's displeasure on occasion of the convention of Reichenbach; I was sacrificed to the court of Vienna; and I have withdrawn myself from affairs of state, to which I had devoted myself, I believe, with success, for fifty, or at least for thirty years." Herzberg here proceeded to state the dangers of a war with France, and proposed, as the only means of averting ruin, that the King should offer a peace with the French republic, as mediator, in the name of the allied powers. "If your Majesty," said he, "should approve this idea, I will undertake to carry it into execution."

cution with that activity which is natural to me, and which I have never failed to exert, by means of persons whom I would select, and memorials which I would compose for the belligerent powers. I would propose to them a general congress, like that of the peace of Westphalia; and there is every reason to presume, from the confidence all parties have in the known rectitude of my principles, that it would be accepted. I do not wish to resume my place in your Majesty's cabinet; I desire only to be admitted into it for a sufficient time to re-establish the safety, security, and weight of my country. I have lived too long not to wish for repose, after I have rendered it this service; and I ask no other reward. I foresee, from the remembrance of what is past, that your Majesty will charge me with extreme presumption, and that this may increase your displeasure against me; but I choose rather to run this risk, than not to exert the last efforts of which I think myself capable to save my country, and to serve a monarch with whom I have fallen into disgrace, but to whom I am not the less devoted. If your Majesty would trust to me, I would draw up memorials, without loss of time, exhibiting reasons of sufficient force to induce the two courts of London and Vienna to acknowledge the French republic, and make peace with her on the footing I have proposed, &c.; and I have likewise some hope, that I could bring the French Convention into this, by the arguments which I should lay before it, and to which it would more readily listen than if they came from any other minister than me, whose firmness and veracity it knows from the past; at the same time I will endeavour to make the court of Russia listen to reason, by forcible arguments to which she cannot refuse to submit. If these suggestions receive your Majesty's approbation, the memorials in question will be composed in a couple of days; and it will then depend on your Majesty whether I shall be near your person, to prepare daily the precise instructions for the foreign ministers, as I did with so much activity and success in the happy period between 1786 and the middle of 1791. To your Majesty it shall not cost a single penny. I will undertake the whole from motives of the most disinterested patriotism, and will retire the moment the present crisis is past. Your Majesty knows, by experience, whether

others have served you better, more promptly, and at less expence, since my dismissal from the cabinet."

To this plain and expressive language, his Majesty returned the following laconic answer:—"There was a time when you fulfilled a duty in submitting to me your opinion respecting those affairs which I intrusted to your zeal. Now your diplomatic career is finished, I should have been glad if your discretion had spared me the trouble of advice, to which I pay regard only when I ask it. Leave to the ministers whom my confidence has placed over those concerns, which were once entrusted to your superintendency, the care of receiving my orders, and carrying them into execution. I know the value of patriotism, and I would wish to think that it alone prompted your offers. Yet it is possible, that self-love may have assumed its garb to your eyes, and deceived you with respect to your true motives; and I shall be glad if this hint puts you sufficiently upon your guard against your own feelings, so as to induce you to confine yourself within the sphere of your present duties, and save me the unpleasant task of repeating to you this counsel. With this, I pray God to take you into his holy keeping. From the camp of Oppenheim, July 24th, 1794.

"FREDERICK-WILLIAM."

A short time previous to the date of the above letter, Cracow had surrendered to the Prussian forces on favourable conditions; but the people of Warsaw were highly enraged at a capitulation, where 7000 men in arms, with 50 pieces of cannon, might have proved themselves worthy of a garrison. The King of Prussia next bent his course towards Warsaw, within a short distance of which he remained for a considerable time, apparently inactive. A corps of Russians also was stationed in the environs of that capital. By a singular dexterity, however, General Kosciusko eluded the Prussians; and by a brave attack he defeated the Russians, and threw himself into Warsaw, on the 11th and 12th of July. As Warsaw had no fortifications, a siege in form was not necessary to the Prussians; but as that part of the capital which was exposed to them, was covered by an entrenched camp of the army of Kosciusko, it was absolutely requisite to attack it by storm. An attack was accordingly made on the 31st of July, by a heavy cannonade; and, in the course

course of that day, several hundreds of bombs were thrown into the city: but a dreadful fire, kept up on the besiegers by day and night, destroyed an incredible number. On this occasion, the King and the Prince Royal of Prussia were in every danger; and the action excited the most lively interest. The cannonading having ceased, the prince laid himself down to rest in a barn, with orders to be awakened at the first shot of the enemy. His orders were complied with; and, no sooner had he mounted his horse, than one of the enemy's bombs burst, and destroyed the barn in which he had been lying but a few minutes before.

Either doubting of success in an actual attack, or from better motives, the King of Prussia now endeavoured to negotiate the surrender of the place. For that purpose he wrote to the King of Poland; but that monarch was unfavourable to the cession. General Kosciusko, with an army of 40,000 men, was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the Prussians had carried several of the Polish redoubts, and were actually self-assured of the capture, when information was brought to the King, that an alarming insurrection, which defied all ordinary exertions to suppress it, had broken out in South Prussia. His Majesty, aware that, without immediate relief, the confines of Silesia would be in danger of a complete conquest, determined on raising the siege of Warsaw; and accordingly moved to an advantageous position near Raczin, on the 6th of September, in order to take the most effectual measures that circumstances might require. At the moment when the intelligence first reached him, he issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of South Prussia, stating, that they had been imposed upon by insidious intrigues, desiring them to resist the orders of the insurgents, and offering a general amnesty to such as should return to their allegiance. The result was, that many who had been misled implored the King's mercy; a force was stationed in the country, to be ready to act in case of future attempts; and the King of Prussia returned to Berlin. Some people, indeed, were of opinion, that an awe of Kosciusko's army, under the walls of Warsaw, had some effect on the Prussian monarch's determination to retire. Be this as it may, Kosciusko determined on the attempt to foment an insurrection in

West Prussia, in hopes, by that circumstance, added to the troubles in the South, to divert, effectually, the arms of his Prussian Majesty from the interior of Poland. In a short time it became visible, that Kosciusko was intent on carrying the war beyond its first limits, and of attempting the recovery of some of the dismembered provinces, and not only of those, but even the capture of some provinces, which had been subject to the house of Brandenburg for more than a century. The progress of the Poles in West Prussia was such, that, after the capture of Bamberg by General Madelinski, not only Dantzic, Thorn, Culm, and Graudentz, seemed on the point of being restored to the republic of Poland; but there was even room to apprehend that the Poles would penetrate into Pomerania, as far as Stettin. The subsequent misfortunes, however, of Kosciusko, and the fall of his country, preserved Prussia from the fate by which she was threatened.

Frederick-William, the present illustrious monarch, mounted the throne, as we have before observed, in the year 1797. The politics of his predecessor were closely followed, and the alliance with France was continued; although it was easy to foresee, that the ambitious views of that power were so likely to endanger the safety of all its neighbours. A most excellent opportunity of humbling that power presented itself in the year 1799, by joining his forces with those of England and Russia in Holland, when the arms of the allies were victorious in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland, and factions and civil wars distracted the French republic. He might have restored his near relative, the Prince of Orange, to his hereditary right, crushed the revolutionary monster in France, and would have been justly considered as the defender and saviour of the liberties of Europe: but he blindly allowed the glorious opportunity to pass away. The day on which Prussia forsook the coalition against France by the treaty of Basle, which was negotiated under the reign of the King's father, she inclosed herself in a circle of dangers. From that period the policy of Prussia had been to maintain peace with all her neighbours, to cultivate her alliance with France, and to extend her influence and dominions in Germany. Her weight and influence in the empire were much increased during

during her connexion with the French republicans. By their means, one half of the states of the empire were detached from their lawful obedience to her rival, the Emperor of Germany, and united in a formal confederation under her protection! Her influence in the Electoral College was so much greater than that of Austria, that she might reasonably aspire on the first vacancy of the empire, to place her sovereign on the throne of the Cæsars. Her dominions were rich and prosperous, and had flourished in peace, while other states were exposed to the desolations, or exhausted by the burdens of war.

But, notwithstanding these advantages, which the King of Prussia derived from his pacific system, it may be much questioned whether he had acted upon it in a manner conducive to his reputation and permanent advantage, or with due regard to the peculiar circumstances of his situation. To a military power like Prussia, whose consequence and even existence depended on her army, the long continuance of peace, while all her neighbours were engaged in war, could not but in the end be dangerous and destructive to her. The numbers and outward shew of her army might be maintained in peace; but its strength and spirit could be preserved only in actual service. Accordingly, when the unfortunate day came for making trial of the Prussian army against the veterans of France led on by Buonaparte, it was found that the Prussian soldiers were unprepared for the dangers and fatigues of war; their officers were without experience; and their generals, enfeebled by age, were confounded by the tactics familiar to their opponents.

It was not, however, in the decline of her military system alone, that Prussia had prepared, in peace, the causes of her sudden eclipse in war. Her admiration at home, and consideration abroad, had been equally impaired during this interval. Frederick-William, with excellent intentions, and with no bad passions to mislead him, was diffident of his own abilities, incapable of acting from himself, and surrounded by ministers unworthy of his confidence, and unfit for the high situations to which they were raised. The greater part of them had been clerks of office under Frederick the Great, and were not only incapable of advising any generous,

rous, bold, or magnanimous resolution; but they were destitute of capacity, vigour, and decision for the most ordinary business, to a degree hardly credible. To such counsellors it was owing, that the weight and consideration which Prussia had gained as a state of the empire she had lost throughout Europe; that her policy had been narrow, crooked, and ambiguous; that her ambition had appeared mean and sordid, restrained by fear, but never under the control of principle; that she had obliged no party, and offended all—the French by the coldness of her friendship, the allies by her desertion of their cause; that she was at last obliged to go to war without an urgent motive, or attainable object, or adequate preparation, by the universal hatred and contempt into which she had fallen; and that, when ruined by the contest so foolishly begun, the spectacle of her overthrow softened the regrets of those who most lamented the success, and feared the progress, of her conquerors.

The ill-advised and disastrous coalition of 1805 was the touch-stone to try the capacity, conduct, and decision, of Frederick-William and his cabinet. It was clearly the interest of Prussia to have preserved, if possible, the peace of the continent; and such was the respect entertained of her military power, that an early and unequivocal declaration from her might have prevented the revival of hostilities. But that opportunity being neglected, when the intentions of Austria and Russia to risk their last stake against France could no longer be doubted, it became a matter of serious import to the King of Prussia to adopt some determinate system in the approaching war, and to adhere to it stedfastly. It suited, however, his indecision, and the incapacity of his ministers, to prefer a system of neutrality, because it led to procrastination, and called for no immediate exertions; while it sufficiently gratified their self-importance to emit threats and declarations against any power that should dare to violate the integrity of the Prussian territory. It may be questioned, whether, supposing it possible for Prussia to have maintained her neutrality, it was her interest to have remained neutral when so great a contest was impending, the event of which must determine who were to be in future masters of the continent, the French or the allies: for, whichever party prevailed,

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it was easy to foresee that Prussia would be soon reduced to the necessity of fighting with, or receiving laws from, the conqueror. If France was near attaining universal empire, was it not the interest of Prussia to have taken part against her in the last effort of the powers of Europe to set bounds to her ambition, though she might disapprove of the attempt as premature, and doubt of its success; or, if she thought the enterprise utterly hopeless and desperate, was it not a preferable policy, with a view to her own interest and selfish politics, to join with France in the war, approve herself an active and efficient ally, merit the consideration and respect of her associate, and share in her conquests. But, having determined on neutrality, the greatest error that Frederick-William could commit was, to be afterwards diverted from his resolution. If it was impolitic to quarrel with France before the violation of Anspach, it was still more impolitic to quarrel with her after the surrender of Ulm. Yet, such was the fantastic importance annexed to the court of Berlin, to the inviolability of its territory, that Prussia, which some weeks before had been arming to oppose the passage of the Russian troops through her dominions in Poland, was induced to enter into negotiations and take measures for a war with France, because a body of French troops, by passing through the Prussian territory of Anspach, had surrounded the Austrian army at Ulm, and compelled it to capitulate. As far as her honour was concerned in exacting reparation for the violation of her territory, ample atonement was spontaneously offered by the French. The question for her consideration was therefore a point of interest and policy, not of honour and character; but, on prudential grounds, it is clear that, whatever were her motives for not taking part originally with the allies, they must have been strengthened and confirmed by the disasters which the Austrian army sustained at Ulm.

The violation of the Prussian territory of Anspach, by the French troops under Bernadotte, took place on the 3d of October 1805; and, on the 17th of the same month, Ulm capitulated. On the 3d of November, a convention was signed at Potsdam, by which Frederick-William agreed to offer his mediation between France and the allies for the restoration of a general peace on a permanent

permanent footing; and in case his propositions were rejected, he engaged, after receiving a promise of subsidies from England, to declare war against France. In this interval, various events had marked the displeasure of Frederick-William at the violation of his territory, and shewn how materially that event had changed his policy, and given it a turn hostile to France and favourable to the allies. A proclamation from the King had assured the subjects of Prussia in Franconia, that their sovereign was taking measures to obtain satisfaction and security for the unexpected and forcible violation of his neutrality: and an angry note had been delivered by Baron Hardenberg to the French mission at Berlin, in answer to their justification of that transaction, expressing the indignation and surprise of his Prussian Majesty at such an outrage having been committed on his territories, after the exemplary fidelity with which he had kept his engagements to France, and the advantages which she had derived from his firmness; declaring, that he now considered himself absolved by her conduct from all past engagements, and that he would henceforward direct his efforts to the re-establishment of peace on a solid basis; and concluding with an intimation, that in the mean time he found himself compelled to order his armies to occupy positions necessary for the protection of his states. In addition to this menacing language, the Prussian army was put in motion; the permission of marching through the Prussian territories, which had been so long withheld from the Russians, was no longer denied. The Emperor Alexander was received at Potsdam with every demonstration of confidence and cordiality; and the French ambassador, Duroc, who had been sent to make reparation for the affair at Anspach, was suffered to depart from Berlin without accomplishing the object of his mission. Frederick-William, having thus so unequivocally marked his inclination towards the allies, ought to have continued to pursue a decisive line of conduct: but, instead of this, with that irresolution and indecision of character which is the surest mark of incapacity for great affairs, he negotiated when he should have acted; and he appointed Haugwitz for his negotiator—a man without firmness, capacity, or resources; slow and dilatory in business; narrow and perplexed in his

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his understanding; of a character at once liable to the impressions of fear, and open to the insinuations of flattery; and of opinions diametrically opposite to the system which he was sent to enforce. Haugwitz repaired to the head-quarters of Napoleon's army, and had an audience on the 28th of November; at which Napoleon manifested a disposition to accept the Prussian mediation, but annexed conditions to his assent which Frederick-William could not admit.

While Haugwitz was amused with this negotiation, which was purposely protracted, the artful Napoleon had struck a great blow; the battle of Austerlitz being fought, which led to an armistice, and finally dissolved the coalition. Thus the opportunity which presented itself to Prussia, of restoring the balance of power, was lost; and Frederick-William saw, when it was too late, the deplorable consequences of his indecision.

The Prussian troops had taken the field, and begun their march to the scene of action, when the news of the armistice stopped their progress. Unwilling to embark alone in a contest with a victorious army, elated with its double triumph over the troops of Austria and Russia, Frederick-William again had recourse to negotiation, and a negotiator was again dispatched to the French head-quarters: but, before his arrival, Haugwitz had signed a definitive treaty at Vienna; by which Prussia, from being the ally of the coalesced powers, openly joined with France, and participated with her in the spoils of Germany. By this treaty, a mutual guarantee of possessions was stipulated; and, in return for the cession of three provinces to France, Hanover was to be annexed to Prussia. Thus, while the Prussian cabinet had promised to support the cause of the allies by the most solemn engagements, and had thereby acquired the absolute disposal of the Russian troops in Germany, and a direct influence over the British and Swedish armies in Hanover, besides assurances of a powerful pecuniary assistance from England in the event of being driven to war with France; a Prussian minister, who had been sent to Vienna, for the purpose of securing by negotiation the neutrality of the north of Germany, concluded there a secret treaty with the enemy of Russia and England, by which his master obtained, in exchange for three

of his provinces, the electoral dominions of his ally the King of England.

Although the infamy of this transaction, in the first instance, belonged exclusively to Count Haugwitz, Frederick-William, by sanctioning the treaty, shared in the dishonour; and although it may be very desirable for a monarch to add to the strength and security of his dominions by the annexation of a most important and valuable province, yet in doing this he is not to lose sight of every principle of justice. A sense of shame, and fear of censure, prevented the cabinet of Berlin from consenting at once to an unconditional ratification of this treaty, or a disclosure of its contents; and, under pretence of securing the electorate of Hanover from the calamities of another ruinous war, the troops of the allies were withdrawn from it, and replaced by Prussians. To the British minister at Berlin it was said, that arrangements concluded with France for insuring the tranquillity of Hanover "stipulated expressly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the King, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France:" and the assertion, that, "till the conclusion of a general peace, Hanover would be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia," was repeated in the proclamation of Frederick-William, on taking possession of the electorate; but he said not a word of his ulterior design of annexing it to the Prussian monarchy, in exchange for territories which he had ceded to France.

On the 15th of February the treaty with France was signed; and on the 24th Bernadotte took possession of Anspach and Bayreuth for the King of Bavaria, to whom these provinces were transferred by France. On the 18th, the Prussians evacuated Wesel; and on the 21st, the French troops were withdrawn from Hameln, the only place in the electorate of Hanover which they had continued to occupy. On the 28th of March, a proclamation was issued by Count Schulenberg, in the name of the King of Prussia, ordering "the ports of the German Ocean, and the rivers which empty themselves in it, to be shut against British shipping and trade, in the same manner as when Hanover was occupied by French troops." And on the 1st of April a patent appeared,
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under the authority of Frederick-William, annexing formally the electorate of Hanover to his other dominions, on pretence that, belonging to the Emperor Napoleon "by right of conquest," it had been transferred to Prussia, "in consideration of the cession of three of her provinces to France.

These disgraceful and unjustifiable proceedings occasioned a protest from Count Munster, as contrary to the rights of his sovereign; and as a measure of which his Majesty, so far from giving his assent to it, highly disapproved. No regard being paid to this protest, nor to the remonstrance accompanying it, that "if the occupation of Hanover by a Prussian force was inevitable, it should take place under such stipulations as were least injurious to the right of his Majesty, and least severe upon the unhappy inhabitants;" Mr. Fox took occasion to express, in an official note to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, the great anxiety felt by his Majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover; and to desire him explicitly to inform his court, "that no convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his Majesty so far to forget what was due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." This note (which, had it been delivered earlier, might have stopt the Prussian cabinet in its disgraceful career) was now too late, after the cessions had actually been accomplished. His Britannic Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, was advised by his ministry to forbear using force; and to content himself with remonstrating by amicable negotiation against the injury he had sustained, and resting his claim for reparation on the moderation of his conduct, on the justice of his representation, and on the common interest which Prussia herself must ultimately feel to resist a system destructive of all legitimate possessions. But when, instead of receiving assurances conformable to this just expectation, his Majesty was informed that the determination had been taken of excluding by force the vessels and commodities of Great Britain from ports and countries under the lawful dominion or forcible control of Prussia, it was

impossible for his Majesty longer to delay to act, without neglecting the first duty which he owed to his people: the dignity of his crown, and the interests of his subjects, equally forbade his acquiescence in this open and unprovoked aggression. No sooner, therefore, had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Frederick-William to shut all the ports of the German Ocean against the British flag, than measures of retaliation were adopted by England. A declaration was also issued by his Britannic Majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating all the instances of perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his right to the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg and its dependencies.

In addition to the war with England, the subserviency of Frederick-William to Napoleon involved him in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Lunenburg for the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussian troops into that duchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburgh. Upon which his Swedish Majesty laid an embargo on all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order for the blockade of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic.

We have hitherto contemplated Frederick-William unsteady and fluctuating in his policy, constant only in his duplicity; professing neutrality at the commencement of the war, though secretly under engagements to Napoleon detrimental to the allies; assuming, next, the character of a mediator, after having concluded a secret treaty of alliance with the coalesced powers, and obtained the promise of a subsidy from England; and, lastly, pretending to negotiate for the neutrality of Hanover, while meditating, with unexampled perfidy, to appropriate that country to his dominions. We are now to behold him, enraged at the disappointment of his ambitious projects, impatient of the contempt with which he is treated, and goaded on by the universal indignation of his subjects, seeking to retrieve his honour and character by resistance to France, but without wisdom or foresight in his plans, and constant to the last in his dissimulation.

simulation. It is probable, that Napoleon never thoroughly forgave the court of Berlin for the danger to which he was exposed by the vacillation and momentary change of its political system, after the affair of Anspach; but, while he stood in awe of its power, and had reason to fear the consequences of its hostility, he continued to flatter and amuse its ministers with protestations of regard and assurances of friendship. The journey which Haugwitz took to Paris, opened the eyes even of that minister to the sincerity and value of these declarations. But the first public act of Napoleon, which gave serious offence and alarm to Frederick-William and his cabinet, was the investiture of his brother-in-law, Murat, with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited Frederick-William. While Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging its ministers to persist in the measures they had adopted for retaining Hanover, Lucchesini discovered at Paris, that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain the complete restitution of his Electoral dominions.

Thus, after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself, on the eve of a general peace, about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so mean, treacherous, and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character, or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately for her, the negotiation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by its minister. But this event, while it opened to Frederick-William the prospect of assistance in case he should be driven into a war with France, disclosed to him further proofs of the secret enmity of Napoleon, and of his readiness to abandon his interests. Two other causes contributed materially to the determination of Frederick-William to commence war against France: the one, by its effect on the public mind; the other, on account of the injury done to Prussia. The occupation of Cattaro by the Russians had served as a pretext to Napoleon, not only for retaining possession of Brennau in the hereditary states of Austria after the term stipulated for its surrender by the peace of Presburg, but for keeping on foot

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an immense army in Germany, which he maintained at the expence of the free towns and states of Swabia and Franconia. The presence of so large an army on its frontiers excited the jealousy and awakened the fears of the Prussian cabinet. To overawe Prussia, rather than to recover Cattaro, seemed to be the object of assembling so great a force in that quarter; and when troops were collected in Westphalia, the suspicion was converted into certainty. Complaints were addressed from every quarter to Berlin, of the severity of the French contributions, and of the insufferable burden of supporting their armies. The barbarous murder of Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, for an alleged libel on Napoleon, excited universal indignation, and roused every pen in Germany to call down vengeance on such atrocious and unwarrantable acts. All eyes were turned to Prussia, imploring of the King assistance and relief; while the bitterest reproaches were uttered against that selfish and temporizing policy, which had subjected Germany to such calamities and disgrace. The popular feeling at Berlin, in the court, in the army, and among the burghers, was loudly and unequivocally expressed against the base, unprincipled, truckling policy of the government since it had been directed by Haugwitz, Lombard, and others. The surprise and indignation which the scandalous traffic of the Prussian provinces for Hanover had excited at first, subsequent events had not allayed; every day had brought the news of some fresh encroachment on the part of Napoleon, of some new insult or mortification to Prussia. The young officers, inflamed with military ardour, were eager to distinguish themselves against the conquerors of Austria. The old generals, who recollected the glorious days of Frederick the Second, forgot their age and infirmities, as well as the immense changes which had taken place since that time both in France and Prussia, and joined in the cry for war. Prince Lewis of Prussia, who had a few years before been called the Prussian Duke of Orleans, took the lead in inspiring these sentiments, and diffusing them among the young men of his rank. The Queen, young, beautiful, and amiable, listening to her indignation at the atrocities, usurpations, and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause.

cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, hated and despised, were unable to resist the torrent which hurried the Prussian monarchy to destruction, and deprived the King of nearly half his dominions, and left the remainder at the mercy of his conqueror.

At what time all hopes of peace were abandoned, and hostilities finally resolved upon by Frederick-William, is uncertain. Prussia began to make preparations about the middle of August 1806, and to put her army on the war establishment. Knoblesdorff was sent to Paris in the beginning of September, for the purpose of gaining time. Lucchesini, who had been long the Prussian minister at Paris, when he foresaw that war was inevitable, had contrived that one of his dispatches to his court, full of complaints against the French government, should fall into their hands. Incensed at the tone of his dispatch, Napoleon demanded his recal, and imputed to his misrepresentations the misunderstanding that had arisen between France and Prussia. With this demand the court of Berlin readily complied, and congratulated itself upon the success of a stratagem which, it hoped, had given a false direction to the suspicion of its enemy. To prolong the deceit, it made choice of General Knoblesdorff to be its minister at Paris, a warm partisan of France, and sincerely attached to peace, and quite unsuspecting of the artifice he was sent to practise. The professions of peace which he made by the desire of his court, after it had determined on hostilities, were on his part perfectly sincere; and so little was he aware of the secret designs either of his own government, or of that to which he was sent, that when Napoleon left Paris to take the command of the army against Prussia, Knoblesdorff inquired, with the greatest simplicity, whether he should not accompany his Majesty the Emperor to head-quarters. Such a negotiator might be duped by his employers, but could not long deceive the penetration of Napoleon, and his sagacious minister, Talleyrand. Knoblesdorff arrived at Paris on the 7th of September, with a letter from Frederick-William to Napoleon, full of civil and friendly professions; to which corresponding returns, probably *equally sincere*, were made. On the 11th a note was addressed to him by Talleyrand, complaining of warlike preparations in Prussia, which were publicly stated at Berlin to
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be directed against France; and adding, amidst professions of regard for Frederick-William, and of regret that he should listen to counsels so much at variance with his true interests, that the Emperor had ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army. Knoblesdorff, in reply, assured Talleyrand, that his master had entered into no concert with the enemies of France; and that the war-like preparations of Prussia had arisen from a misunderstanding, which the Emperor's late interesting conversations with himself and Lucchesini, he had no doubt, would remove. On receiving these assurances, Napoleon declared, that he should make no public declaration on the subject of his differences with Prussia, till the effect of Knoblesdorff's report at Berlin was known. A second communication from Talleyrand, complaining that the intelligence from Berlin wore every day a more hostile aspect, and expatiating upon the natural ties between France and Prussia, "war between which," he said, "appeared to the Emperor a political monstrosity," maintained for some time longer the appearance of a negotiation with a view to peace. But, in the meanwhile, the French troops were continually advancing to the future scene of action; and, on the 24th of September, Napoleon left his capital to take the command of his army, having three days before summoned the confederates of the Rhine to furnish their contingents.

On the 1st of October, the mask which Prussia had so ineffectually worn, was at length laid aside. A note was presented by Knoblesdorff, demanding, as a preliminary to negotiation, that the whole of the French troops should immediately pass the Rhine; and that the basis of the negotiation should be the separation of Wesel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three abbeys by the French troops. To these demands Napoleon did not even deign to answer; but Talleyrand, in a report on the causes of the war, dextrously availed himself of them to shew, with some degree of plausibility, that, had France been willing to gratify the unjust ambition of Prussia at the expence of her weaker neighbours, the flames of war would not have been rekindled upon the continent.

It was a great fault in Frederick-William, when he determined upon war with France, to continue the same persons

persons in his government who had directed his councils during the late disgraceful proceedings. These persons had given abundant proofs of incapacity, in all the negotiations they had conducted; and such was their reputation, that they had no means of inspiring other governments with confidence in the sincerity of their professions, but by embarking their master, alone and unassisted, in a contest with Napoleon. Whether it was from this conviction, or from a vain hope, in which they indulged to the last moment, of adjusting their differences with France, they were strangely remiss in communicating to other powers their intention to go to war. It was from the Emperor Alexander only that Frederick-William could expect, in the first instance, to receive effectual aid: but, though a letter from his Prussian Majesty had informed the Emperor Alexander, in the month of August, of the relations in which he then stood towards France, no intimation was given to him of the approaching war; nor was any measure taken for obtaining from him assistance till the 18th of September, when Count Krusemach left Berlin for St. Petersburg, charged with such a commission. Krusemach arrived at St. Petersburg on the 30th. Orders for marching, though expedited immediately after his arrival, could not reach the Russian army in Poland till the 5th or 6th of October; nor could that army arrive at the scene of action in Germany till the middle of November: so that Frederick-William voluntarily exposed himself and his country for a whole month, without assistance, to resist the best army and the best generals in Europe. With such men as Haugwitz, Lombard, and Beyma, at the head of affairs, it ceases to be a matter of surprise, that no overtures of friendship and alliance had been proposed to the court of Vienna, nor even an attempt made to sound the dispositions of that government; but, considering of how much importance, in the then circumstances of Prussia, was a good understanding between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, it is surprising that Frederick-William should have retained ministers in his confidence, whose presence in his councils was sufficient to prevent so desirable an end from being attained.

Bad as had been the conduct of Prussia towards England, and unwilling as she still was to give up Hanover, the

the desire and hope of a subsidy got the better of every consideration, and induced her ministers, when they sent Count Krusemach to St. Petersburg, to communicate to Mr. Thornton, the British minister at Hamburg, the disposition of Frederick-William to accommodate his differences with his Britannic Majesty. A desire was expressed, that some person should be authorized by the English government to open a negotiation for that purpose; but no communication was made to Mr. Thornton of the nature of the differences with France, nor assurance given of their readiness to adopt for the basis of negotiation the restitution of Hanover. The British ministry, though they had reason to believe that the quarrel between France and Prussia originated in the offer of the former to give back Hanover to the King of Great Britain, hesitated not a moment to comply with their request, but appointed Lord Morpeth to proceed without delay to the Prussian head-quarters, there to enter on negotiations for peace. Lord Morpeth immediately proceeded on his mission, and arrived at Weimar on the 12th of October. This promptitude did not suit Frederick-William and his ministry. They were on the eve of a great battle, which might decide the fate of the campaign; and they were unwilling, while the event was uncertain, to pledge themselves to an act of justice, or entangle themselves in a connexion of no immediate utility: if victory remained to the Prussians, Hanover might still be their's; if defeated, they were afraid lest their having contracted engagements with England might be prejudicial to them, should they be compelled to solicit peace from Napoleon. Persisting to the last in his duplicity, so dishonourable to Frederick-William, Haugwitz, who had been appointed to negotiate with the English minister, contrived, by breaking his word, and by other disingenuous shifts, to avoid seeing him at Weimar and Erfurt, and subsequently to the battle of Auerstadt; but, while the result of that battle was unknown, Lord Morpeth having asked Lucchesini, whether the court of Prussia was ready to enter on immediate negotiation, the Italian unguardedly replied, "that it would depend on the issue of the battle which had just been fought."

After the review of the conduct of Frederick-William, which

which led to a war with Napoleon, and which annihilated his power, it must be admitted that the provocations which he received from France were great, numerous, and galling; but we should look in vain for such an open insult, or impending injury, as left no other alternative than an appeal to arms. If the indulgence of his resentment was his object in commencing hostilities, prudence should have restrained his anger till means of gratifying it had been secured. If his motive in going to war was an honourable desire of asserting the liberties of Europe, and setting bounds to the encroachments of Napoleon, greater caution might have been expected from him than to have embarked with such inadequate means in so arduous an enterprise. But if Hanover was the cause of his quarrel, nothing could be more absurd than to make war in order to maintain his pretensions to a country which he must begin by ceding to its lawful sovereign for his assistance to enable him to carry on the contest.

War with France having been resolved on, the Prussian government committed a capital error in the choice of its General. It was at first settled that Frederick-William, assisted by a council of general officers, should take the command in person; but this arrangement was liable to many objections. A military council, composed of general officers among whom there was no marked superiority of rank or character, and controlled by a monarch unexperienced in war, diffident of his abilities, and therefore unsteady in his determinations, governed by ministers equally timid and irresolute as himself, was a most unfit instrument to oppose to so great a military genius as Napoleon. But, exceptionable as was the plan of a military council to direct the operations of the war, it may be questioned whether it was not exposed to fewer objections than the appointment of such a commander as the Duke of Brunswick to be Generalissimo of the army. A more unfortunate choice for that important situation it was impossible to have made. The Duke of Brunswick had distinguished himself in early youth under his uncle, Prince Ferdinand, as an active successful partisan, and had afterwards gained a high reputation in courts by the prosperous issue of his expedition against the Dutch Patriots in Holland. But that reputation, which among military men had been always some-

what equivocal, he had subsequently forfeited by his mis-carriages in France; and on no occasion had he displayed the talents of a great general, or shewn a mind sufficiently capacious and comprehensive to direct the movements of a great army. A well-disposed sovereign, and well-bred courtier, he was neither a good general nor a great man. Elevated to his present high command, not by the opinion of his merit, or the recollection of his services, but by his skill and management of intrigue, it was soon evident that the narrowness of his mind was unequal to the magnitude of a situation, which he had ambition to covet, but wanted ability to fill. Wrapped up in mystery and concealment, he had little intercourse with officers of merit, and admitted no generals to his councils of war, but Mullendorf, where he discussed military plans with Frederick-William, Haugwitz, and Lucchesini. Immersed in details, he bestowed on inferior concerns the time which should have been occupied with business of importance; and yet so deficient was he in method and arrangement, that the sole result of his labours was confusion and discontent. Unable to form and combine a well-digested system of operations for the conduct of the campaign, his perplexed and contradictory orders, the irregular marches and countermarches of his troops, shewed too plainly that he pursued no steady plan, nor had any well-defined object in view. Disconcerted and alarmed at every movement of the French, it was manifest that he had not penetrated the designs of his enemy, nor provided against their success. So obvious was his incapacity, that his army quickly perceived his unfitness to command them, and lost all confidence in their general. Such was the commander, to whom Frederick-William entrusted the destinies of his house; and the result proved, when too late, how calamitous a choice he had made.

Early in October, the Prussian head-quarters were at Naumberg, where also their principal magazines were collected; and their army extended itself in the country bordering on the Saale, in Upper Saxony. On the 4th of that month, their head-quarters were removed forward to Erfurt; and, on the 10th, to Weimar. Their left, commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, under whom were General Tauenzeln and Prince Lewis of Prussia, occupied

pied Saalfeld, Schleitz, and Hof; and its advanced post extended to Munchberg and Culmbach. Their centre, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, Marshal Mülendorf, and Frederick-William in person, was distributed in the neighbourhood of Erfurt, Weimar, Gotha, and Eisenach; and its vanguard, under the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was stationed at Meinungen, on the Werra. Their right, commanded by General Ruchel, extended to Mulhausen. From this disposition of the Prussian army, it is probable that, had not the Duke of Brunswick been anticipated by Napoleon, it was his intention to have begun hostilities by bearing down with his right on Frankfort, with his centre on Wurtzberg, and with his left on Bamberg. A separate corps, under Blücher, which had been stationed at Gottingen, for the protection of Westphalia, joined the main army before the battle. Hesse was neutral; but the Saxons acted as auxiliaries to the Prussians, and served in the left under Prince Hohenlohe. The reserve of the Prussian army, under Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, did not arrive from Custring till after the battle of Auerstadt. The whole force of the King of Prussia, including the Saxons, did not amount to less than 150,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. While this immense army remained inactive on the banks of the Saale, the French were collecting their scattered troops, and concentrating them in the neighbourhood of Bamberg. On the 6th of October, Napoleon arrived in that city; and, on the 8th, he put the French army in motion to attack the Prussians. Why the Duke of Brunswick suffered them peaceably to assemble their forces, without any movement to attack them, before the divisions of their army had formed a junction, it is difficult to explain. If offensive operations did not enter into the plan of the campaign, why did Prussia hurry on the war so unnecessarily? why advance beyond the frontiers to meet an enemy whom she had determined not to attack? Was it to get the start of Napoleon in Saxony, and prevent its Elector from acting towards her the part which the Elector of Bavaria had, the year before, done towards Austria? But had that been her motive, would Prussia have consented to the neutrality of Hesse, for no better reason than to indulge the avarice of the Elector, who hoped

hoped to obtain from England, by an affected backwardness in the war, a larger subsidy for his assistance. And, after all, what were the Saxons and Hessians, in comparison of the Russians, from whom every step taken by the Prussians in Thuringia, was removing them to a greater distance. If the Prussians were too weak to attack the French before the armies of the latter had united, they were still less able to resist them after their junction; and, in that case, nothing remained for the weaker party, but to fall back on the allies who were coming up to its aid.

The position of the Prussian army was strong and impregnable; but a wise general, attentive to every danger to which his troops are exposed, should have reflected on the possibility of the enemy's turning their flank, getting possession of their magazines, shutting them up in a country without resources, and forcing them to fight at a disadvantage, and, if defeated, without the possibility of escape. The magazines at Hof Zwickau, Weissenfels, and Naumberg, were left without protection, exposed to the attacks of the French; and, when cut off from these, the Prussians had no alternative but to fight or starve. There were no resources in the barren country of Weimar for maintaining so large an army, and numerous cavalry, as the Prussians. There was no bread, no beer, no brandy, for their men; and no fodder for their horses. When their cavalry took the field on the morning of the battle of Auerstadt, the horses had been without corn, and the men without food, for two nights and a day. Another fatal error in the disposition of the Prussian army was its encampment on the left bank of the Saale: by which the electorate of Saxony, the chief fortresses of the Prussian states, and the capital itself, were laid open to the French; and the Prussians, in case of disaster, were cut off from the strong fortress of Magdeburgh, the only rallying point where they could assemble, or place of refuge where they could be in safety.

Such were the errors of the Prussian commander. With respect to the French, it is needless to repeat their positions and operations, as they have been fully noticed in our Memoirs of Napoleon. The battle of Jena, which was the result of these operations, it is hardly necessary to repeat here, was fatal to the Prussian army, and no less

so to the Prussian monarchy. The loss to Frederick-William was 20,000 Prussians killed or wounded, and from 30 to 40,000 prisoners. The Duke of Brunswick and Lieutenant-General Schmettau were mortally wounded; above 20 generals and lieutenant-generals were made prisoners; and 300 pieces of cannon, and 60 standards, were taken.

Many were the errors of the Prussian generals in the battle of Jena. In addition to those we have already noticed in this narrative, the most fatal were, their omitting, on the day before the battle, to possess themselves of the impregnable heights and defiles of Koesen; their neglecting to have any corps in reserve to support their battalions against the double reserve of the French; their leaving the Duke of Saxe Weimar with 16,000 men at Meinungen, where he remained until next day, unacquainted with what had passed; the absence of all concert and co-operation between the two divisions of their army principally engaged; and the unprepared state in which they were found by Napoleon when the battle began. After the Duke of Brunswick was carried off the field, there was no commander-in-chief to issue general orders to the army. The corps fought singly, without plan or combination, or attention to the movements of the French. When the action was lost, the troops who escaped from the field of battle fled in different directions, and ultimately were all taken prisoners, or dispersed, because no rallying point to retreat upon had been settled in case such a disaster should befall them.

After the fatal battle of Jena, Frederick-William, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole affair, arrived at Charlottenberg, near Berlin, on the 17th; and from thence he continued his route to Custrin, on the Oder. From Custrin he soon after repaired to Osterode, in West Prussia; and from Osterode to Königsberg, where he remained at the end of the year, without having again joined his army. He was followed to Custrin by the garrison of Berlin, which was withdrawn from that city on the 21st, and a provisional administration appointed to maintain the public tranquillity till the arrival of the French. This last event was not long delayed. On the morning of the 25th, the corps of Marshal

shal Davoust entered Berlin, and was next day followed by that of Augereau.

Napoleon had arrived on the 24th at Potsdam, where he stopped to examine the apartment, and visit the tomb, of the great Frederick. He ordered the sword of that great warrior, his scarf, the ribband of his order the Black Eagle, and all the colours he took in the seven years' war, to be sent to the Hotel of the Invalids at Paris, as a present to the old soldiers who had served in the Hanoverian war, and memorial of one of the greatest generals recorded in history. He had already seized an opportunity of gratifying the long-wounded vanity of his countrymen, by taking down the monument erected in commemoration of the battle of Rosbach, and ordering it to be conveyed to Paris, as a proof that the disgrace which that day had brought on the French arms was at length effaced. At Potsdam he was informed, that Spandau had surrendered, though held by a strong garrison, and amply provided with stores and ammunition. On the 27th he made his public entry into Berlin: and, the next day, he gave audience to the foreign ministers, in amity with France, resident in that city; to the Lutheran and reformed consistories, whom he assured of his protection; to the members of the court of appeal, to whom he gave instructions how to administer justice; and to the civil authorities of the city, to whom he recommended strongly to maintain a vigilant police. "I will not suffer any windows to be broken," said he. "My brother the King of Prussia ceased to be a King from the day when Prince Lewis Ferdinand was bold enough to break the windows of his Majesty's ministers: his Majesty should have ordered him to be hanged." Some of the persons who presented themselves before him on this and other occasions were received with bitter taunts and studied mortifications, on account of the share which they had in lighting up the flames of war; but no one was forbid his presence except Prince Hatzfeldt, head of the provisional government of Berlin. That nobleman, accused of acting as a spy for Prince Hohenlohe, and of sending him intelligence from Berlin of the military movements of the French, was a few moments afterwards arrested, and delivered over to a military tribunal; by which he would have been inevitably condemned to death,

death, and in a few hours executed, but for the intercession of his wife, the daughter of the minister Schulenberg, whose grief and despair extorted his pardon from Napoleon.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, Frederick-William applied to Napoleon for an armistice; and though his request of a cessation of hostilities was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the French head-quarters, to negotiate peace. Lucchesini was accordingly dispatched thither without delay; and, arriving there on the 22d of October, Duroc was named on the part of Napoleon to negotiate with him. At first the Prussian minister was amused with hopes of concluding a peace on the terms he was authorized to offer: but, as the situation of Frederick-William became every day more desperate, by the capture of his armies and surrender of his fortified places, the demands of the French rose in proportion; and at length Napoleon explicitly declared, that he would never quit Berlin, nor evacuate Poland, till Moldavia and Wallachia were yielded by the Russians in complete sovereignty to the Porte, and till a general peace was concluded, on the basis of the restitution of all the Spanish, French, and Dutch colonies and possessions, taken by England during the war. With this declaration, all hopes of peace vanished: instead of which, an armistice was proposed by the French, and, after much fruitless negotiation, concluded by Lucchesini, on terms so disadvantageous and disastrous to Frederick-William, as well as impossible for him to execute, that, reduced as he was by misfortune, he refused to ratify it. The terms of the armistice are sufficient to excuse him in the eyes of all impartial persons: in order to obtain a suspension of arms, without any hope of peace, and with a reservation to France of a right to renew hostilities after ten days' notice, he was to surrender Dantzic, Colberg, Breslau, and, in a word, almost all the fortified places in his possession, besides engaging—what he could not perform—to prevent the entrance of the Russian troops into his dominions. Desperate as was the chance of war, it was better than submission to such conditions; and Frederick-William, relying upon the co-operation of the Emperor Alexander, was determined once more to stake his fortune upon the issue of another campaign.

After the battle of Pultusk, which ended in the almost entire dispersion of the few troops that Frederick-William had been able to preserve after the defeat at Jena, he, with his Queen, the ministry, the treasure, his most valuable property, and a select guard of 1500 horse and foot, retreated to Memel. The other forces which the once mighty kingdom of Prussia now possessed were as follows: there were 5000 troops under the command of General Lestocq, the greater part of which remained in Königsberg; there was a garrison of 6000 troops in Dantzic, 2000 at Colberg, and 3000 at Graudentz; and from 15 to 20,000 were dispersed in the different garrisons of Silesia. The only hope, therefore, of Frederick-William was in the cordial support and co-operation of the Emperor Alexander; and, to keep him from sinking into absolute despair, a military officer from England promised him assistance, both of money and troops, and an immediate advance of £80,000 was made him to support his garrisons in Silesia. The battle of Friedland, however, and the treaty of Tilsit, which immediately followed it, destroyed all the hopes of Frederick-William, and laid the Prussian monarchy at the feet of the victorious Napoleon.

Napoleon, with his guards, entered Tilsit on the 19th of June; the Emperor Alexander, who had been in that place with Frederick-William for three weeks, having left it in great haste. On the same day, an armistice was proposed by the Russian commander-in-chief, and agreed to on the 22d of June, between the Russian and French armies. It was settled also, that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and Prussian armies in the course of five days; that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by each party for the salutary work of a pacification; and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners. The boundary between the French and Russian armies, during the armistice, was the Thalivag, or middle of the stream of the Niemen, from the Kurisch-haff, where it falls into the sea, to Grodno, and a line from thence to the confines of Russia, between the Narew and the Bug. Such was the formidable position of the French, while nothing remained to the unfortunate Frederick-William, king of Prussia, but the small town and territory of Memel. It

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was settled, that half the town of Tilsit should be considered as neutral ground, and be occupied by the Emperor of Russia, with the officers of his household and body-guards. Great were the mutual courtesies, and expressions of kindness and respect, that ensued among the French, Russians, and Prussians, of all ranks; and the town of Tilsit exhibited a continued scene of visiting, feasting, and all kinds of entertainment and festivity that could be thought of. A magnificent dinner was given by Napoleon's guards to those of the Emperor Alexander and Frederick-William. At this entertainment they exchanged uniforms, and were to be seen in the streets in a motley kind of dress, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. But, amidst all this festivity and joy, and apparent cordiality, the most disastrous and unfortunate treaty to Prussia was negotiating. This treaty was signed on the 7th July 1807, between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon: and as the contest between Russia and France related not to any direct interests of their own, but wholly to those of their respective allies, there was nothing to be adjusted between them on their own account, farther than that there should be henceforth perfect peace and amity between them; that all hostilities between them should immediately cease, at all points, by sea and land; and that, for this purpose, couriers should be dispatched to their respective generals and other commanders. The great sacrifice to peace was the kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to that of a secondary power of Europe; and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandisement of this monarchy by the great Frederick, in the course of twenty years, undone in one day.

Frederick-William, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost nearly half of his yearly revenues, and five millions of his subjects; and Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which it was on the 1st of January 1772, before the first partition of Poland. The greater part of those provinces which on that day formed a part of the kingdom of Poland, and had since at different times been subjected to Prussia, were given to the King of Saxony, with power of possession and sovereignty, under the title of the *Duchy of Warsaw*,
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and were to be governed by a new constitution, or system of fundamental laws, that should secure the liberties and privileges of the people, and be consistent with the security of the neighbouring states. The city of Dantzic, with a territory of two leagues round it, was restored to her former independence, under the protection of Frederick-William and the King of Saxony, to be governed by the laws by which she was governed at the time she ceased to be her own mistress. For a communication between the kingdom of Saxony and the duchy of Warsaw, the king of Saxony was to have the free use of a military road through the states of Frederick-William. This road, the number of troops to be allowed to pass at once, and the resting-places, with magazines, to be fixed by a particular agreement between the two sovereigns, under the mediation of Napoleon. Neither Frederick-William, the King of Saxony, nor the city of Dantzic, were to oppose any obstacles to the free navigation of the Vistula, under the name of tolls, rights, or duties. In order, as far as possible, to establish a natural boundary between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, a certain territory, heretofore under the dominion of Frederick-William, was to be for ever united to the Russian empire: this territory comprised a population of 200,000 souls. Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburgh Schwerin, were each of them to be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their estates; but the ports in the duchy of Oldenburg to remain in the possession of French garrisons till a definitive treaty of peace should be signed between France and England; for the accomplishing of which the mediation of Russia was to be accepted, on the condition that this mediation should be accepted by England in one month after the ratification of this treaty. Until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace between France and England, all the ports belonging to Frederick-William, without exception, were to be shut against the English. The Emperor Alexander acknowledged the Confederation of the Rhine, Joseph Buonaparte as King of Naples, Louis Buonaparte as King of Holland, and Jerome Buonaparte as King of Westphalia—a kingdom to consist of the provinces ceded by Frederick-William on the left bank of the Elbe, and other states then in possession

possession of Napoleon. These were the most important articles in this famous treaty ; there were others, relating to private estates and other property, more interesting, no doubt, to individuals. The time and manner in which the different stipulations in the treaties were to be carried into execution, were fixed by a special convention between France and Prussia.

The Prussian fortresses in Silesia that held out the longest against the French were Glatz and Silverberg. Graudentz and Colberg, though vigorously besieged, still held out when the negotiations for peace were entered upon at Tilsit. The siege of this last place was fatal to thousands of the French. If all the governors of the Prussian fortresses had been animated with the fidelity and persevering courage of Blucher, the issue of the war might have been very different; and had Frederick-William found it necessary to conclude a peace, the terms could not have failed of being considerably more favourable to him. Neither the loss of so much and so fine a territory, nor of revenue, nor of population, was so severe a wound, at least a wound so severely felt by Frederick-William, as the degrading conditions on which he was suffered to retain what remained:—a military road through Silesia, for opening and maintaining a communication between the King of Saxony's German dominions and his new Duchy of Warsaw; and the shutting up of all the Prussian ports against England—those very ports through which he had just received arms and other succours. The fine duchy of Silesia would not, it may be presumed, have been restored to Frederick-William, if in his hands it had not been calculated to serve as a constant source of hostility between the courts of Berlin and Vienna, which would essentially serve the views and policy of Napoleon. The military highway across Silesia was, in like manner, calculated to foment jealousy and discord between the courts of Berlin and Dresden, while it was to be at the same time wholly under the mediation, or, in other words, the control of France.

The Confederation of the Rhine, strengthened by the creation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was rendered too powerful to be shaken by any aggression on the part of Austria on the one hand, or of Russia on the other; and nothing but
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the mad ambition of Napoleon could ever have dissolved this master-stroke of policy. The kingdom of Westphalia, which, it seems, was intended to be pre-eminent among the other members of the Confederation, was to receive further accessions of territory by the annexation of other states, as might suit the convenience and pleasure of Napoleon; and the Emperor Alexander engaged to recognise the new limits, whatever they might be. The combination of this article with a passage in Napoleon's address to the Senate a month after, gave rise to very serious reflection and anticipation. "If," says he, the house of Brandenburg, which was the first to conspire against our independence, yet reigns, it owes this to my sincere friendship for the powerful Emperor of the North. A French Prince shall reign on the Elbe: he will know how to conciliate the interests of his new subjects with his first and most sacred duties."

It was too late, after the fatal battle of Jena, for the Elector of Saxony to refuse any thing that Napoleon thought it politically wise to offer him. But it is deeply to be regretted, that so many sovereign princes, after the first partition of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, did not take the alarm.

By the peace of Westphalia, in 1648, there was a kind of confederation among the European powers established on a moral basis, the laws of reason and justice, which are immutable and eternal; not on private and partial interests, which are for ever in a state of fluctuation. The sages of ancient Greece, which was divided into a vast number of co-ordinate states, considered politics as intimately connected with moral science. So also, till about fifty years ago, there was a public law, a law of nature and nations, universally acknowledged throughout the great European republic: a good understanding, and a constant regard for the individual interests and rights of every kingdom and independent state of Europe, was the support and security of the whole. But, after the treaty of Westphalia, when the grand league of Europe was broken through by the scandalous partition of Poland, the affairs of the continent fell into ruin and confusion, and every moral tie that binds states together was swept away; one half of mankind being allured or driven to arms, for the purpose of subduing or enslaving the
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the other. One preponderating power operating on the unprincipled and blind cupidity of others, had no hesitation in admitting them to a share of the plunder; but, while the preponderancy of that power was maintained, the temporary boon might at any time be revoked. If the French had not taken care to retain the lion's share for themselves, their overbearing power and influence would have been maintained by making even equal divisions with the dupes whom they made subservient to their boundless views of ambition. It is a geometrical axiom, that if equal things be added to unequal, their wholes will be unequal. But the moral and political power of a great and preponderating government is not augmented merely according to the augmentation of its physical force, but in a much higher proportion. Every addition of territory offered to the sovereigns of Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, and other states, ought to have reminded them of the precarious tenure on which, if the rights of nations were no longer to be respected, they held what they already possessed.

The whole history of Prussia, for the last half century, shews that her invariable policy was directed to her own aggrandisement. The great Frederick encouraged scepticism in matters of religion, and made no scruple to acknowledge that he was a robber by profession. Frederick was allowed to be a man of wit and genius; but he would have shewn greater wisdom if, instead of scoffing at, he had revered the great moral law: through the precepts thereof he would have got understanding; it would have made him wiser than his enemies. His house was not built on a moral basis, the rock of ages. Like a foolish man, "he built his house upon the sand: and the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house, and it fell; and great was the fall thereof." The Prussian monarchy had witnessed with pleasure successive dismemberments of the Austrian empire, and had been the uniform friend of all the successive governments of France since the revolution. Provoked at last to phrenzy by the insolent aggressions of a power, whose policy, unrestrained, like her own, by any considerations of right or wrong, pursued only its own aggrandisement, Prussia rushed into arms, and met her fate.

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The conduct of Frederick-William and his cabinet, which had so long been regarded with detestation, became now, when followed by its consequences, an object of contempt, scarcely mingled with any degree of pity for the King or Royal family, though there was a general sympathy with the inhabitants of the Prussian states, who were burdened with the maintenance of 40,000 French troops, distributed in four or five different garrisons, besides an annual contribution of five millions of crowns, over and above all taxes paid for the support and service of the Prussian government, until all the demands of Napoleon should be satisfied.

But though Frederick-William had followed the miserable system of his predecessors, and, from a hatred of Austria, and a short-sighted selfishness, connived at the encroachments of France on her neighbours till it was too late to resist them; he roused himself at last from the lethargy into which he had fallen (perhaps, from the facility of his disposition, and the indolence of his nature, and in which he had been encouraged by weak and wicked ministers), and displayed in his real character, when he assumed the government of himself, the sentiments of a patriot, and the firmness of a hero. A confederacy had been formed between Russia and Prussia for opposing a barrier to the continued torrent of French usurpation; and Prussia, though by far the weakest, was forced by her situation to sustain the first shock, by which she lost the greater part of her states. In this disastrous situation, Frederick-William refused to listen to overtures of peace, but magnanimously retired, with the broken remains of his army, to the extremity of his kingdom: where he was joined by his ally, the Emperor Alexander. The struggle was renewed in vain: peace was dictated by the conqueror, not far from the frontier of Russia. From Memel, Frederick-William, on the 24th of July, addressed to the subjects of his ceded territories the following most affecting proclamation, which, no doubt, contributed, with French oppression, to attach them still more to their lawful monarch:—

*“ Dear Inhabitants of faithful Provinces, Districts, and Towns—*My arms have been unfortunate: the efforts of what remained of my army have been of no avail. Driven to the utmost boundaries of my empire, and
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seeing my powerful ally conclude an armistice, and sign a peace; it only remained for me to imitate his example. Peace was concluded, necessarily, upon terms prescribed by circumstances. It has imposed on me and my house, it has imposed on the whole country, the most painful sacrifices: the bands of treaties and of reciprocal love and duty, the work of ages, have been broken asunder. My efforts have proved in vain—fate ordains it; and the father parts with his children. I release you completely from your allegiance to me and my house. My most ardent prayers for your welfare will always attend you in your relations to your new sovereign. Be to him what ye have been to me. Neither force nor fate shall ever efface the remembrance of you from my heart.”

This affecting proclamation was followed by another of the same date, allowing the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Prussian army, born in the provinces of Southern Prussia and New Eastern Prussia, to go home to their friends and families; and the officers and cadets had the King's leave to enter into the service of the new sovereign of those provinces. This was an act of paternal consideration and goodness on the part of Frederick-William; as the officers and cadets might not, so easily as the privates, have found otherwise suitable means of subsistence.

At the same time, Frederick-William both recruited, and carried on the reforms that he had begun to introduce into his army in the month of December 1806. Having experienced, in the late calamitous and disastrous war, how little dependence was to be placed on foreign adventurers in his service, Frederick-William decreed that no strangers thenceforth should be admitted into the Prussian army. He made another regulation, of equal or greater importance: promotions in the army, even to the first stations, was opened to persons of distinguished merit of all ranks, without any consideration of birth or fortune; and punishments were inflicted on treachery, in both civil and military departments. The punishments inflicted on traitors in Prussia were, no doubt, regarded with an evil eye by Napoleon; and the vigour and magnanimity of Frederick-William was probably not soon forgotten by him.

In the mean time, the French troops remained longer than the periods fixed by treaty for their removal; and the multiplied exactions, on various pretences, of the French intendant, Daru, were an intolerable burden to the oppressed people. The King strained every nerve, through the intercession of the Emperor Alexander, and by all other means that he could devise, to obtain some mitigation of those cruel contributions.

When Napoleon's grand attack upon the Russian empire was made, Prussia was compelled to join him; but when the failure of his ambitious schemes took place, Frederick-William promptly availed himself of the opportunity of retrieving his fallen fortunes. The first indication which the French received of the defection of their ally, was in the convention of General D'Yorck with the Russians. The latter having succeeded in cutting off the Prussian division from the corps of Marshal Macdonald, General D'Yorck entered into a convention with them, by which he agreed to remain neutral, with the troops under his command, consisting of about 15,000 men, cavalry and infantry. The terms were highly liberal towards the Prussians, who were scarcely regarded as enemies; and though Frederick-William was necessitated to seem to disapprove of the conduct of D'Yorck, it can hardly be doubted but that he secretly concurred in it. On the contrary, the French, who probably regarded this step as the commencement of a general defection on the part of Prussia, loudly condemned it as a piece of treachery. D'Yorck, in acquainting Macdonald with the convention, said, "as to the judgment the world may pass on my conduct, I am indifferent to it. Duty to my troops, and the most mature deliberation, dictated it; and, whatever be the appearances, I was guided by the purest motives."

The situation of Frederick-William was at this period singular and critical. His capital was possessed by a French garrison, while the inhabitants, looking out for the arrival of the Russians, as their deliverers from an odious and oppressive yoke, displayed their hatred to the French by frequent popular insurrections, which compelled the latter to keep within their barracks. At Königsberg, a regency was established in the name of the
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the King, which issued a proclamation, calling on the loyal people of Prussia to come forward for the rescue of their king and country from French bondage; and a number of young men obeyed the call, and joined the troops under General D'Yorck, who had been declared Commander-in-Chief of the patriotic army. Frederick-William himself, having now probably made his determination as to the part he meant to act, withdrew, in the end of January 1813, from Potzdam, where he felt himself entirely in the power of the French garrison at Berlin, and suddenly removed to Breslau. At that city he issued a proclamation, summoning all his subjects to take up arms in defence of their king and country, but without declaring against whom they were to be employed. Eugene Beauharnois, however, who was left commander of the French armies, and was now at Berlin, comprehending the purpose of these levies, forbade the recruiting in that capital.

The Russians continued to advance, the Emperor being at the head of the main army. They spread over a large extent of country, and carried on a variety of operations at once, which might have been regarded as imprudent had they not relied upon a general insurrection in their favour. The Austrians gradually retired before General Miloradovitch, abandoning their posts on the Narew; and that commander, on the 8th of February, entered Warsaw, being met at some distance by a deputation from the different orders of the city, who presented him with the keys. On the same day the town of Pillau was surrendered to the Russian arms. Thorn, as well as Dantzic, was invested; and, on the 6th of February, the Emperor Alexander, at the head of his army, arrived at Polotzk. The Austrians concluded an unlimited truce, and withdrew into Galicia. The Saxons, under Regnier, endeavoured to profit of this circumstance by retiring towards their own country, behind the Austrians; but, being pursued and overtaken by General Winzingerode, as they were endeavouring to form a junction with a body of Poles, they were attacked, and a great many officers, and 2000 privates, with seven pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the Russians.

Frederick-William now assumed the office of a mediator between the belligerent parties; and he made a proposal for a truce, upon condition that the Russian troops should retire behind the Vistula, and the French behind the Elbe, leaving his dominions entirely free from foreign occupation. It does not appear, however, that either party paid attention to this proposal, which was probably thrown out only for the purpose of a temporary demonstration of neutrality; for, on the 22d of February, a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, between the Emperor Alexander and Frederick-William, was signed. The two sovereigns had an interview, the next month, at Breslau; from which place Frederick-William issued a proclamation to his people, dated the 17th of March, briefly touching upon the motives which had induced him to join his arms to those of Russia, and animating his people to make the necessary sacrifices for a contest which, he represented, must be decisive for their existence, their independence, and their property. The true motive may be regarded as avowed in the following paragraph: "We bent under the superior power of France. That peace, which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings; on the contrary, it was more injurious to us than war itself." It may, indeed, be added, that the occupation of the greatest part of his country by the Russian troops, and the impossibility of observing a neutrality, were other powerful inducements for Frederick-William to act as he did. The detailed justification of this measure presented by the Prussian minister at Paris, and its elaborate confutation by the Duke of Bassano, were therefore a mere formality. It was easy, on one part, to shew the abuse of power exercised by the French, in their arrogant treatment of an humiliated nation; and, on the other, to point out instances of the vacillating policy of Frederick-William, and his breach of engagements. But circumstances were now entirely changed; and when did a vanquished power like Prussia decline a favourable opportunity for recovering its consequence, and annulling forced concessions. Further, at this time, a prospect was opened of liberating all Germany from the yoke imposed on it by unjust and insatiable ambition; and this was a cause which, independently

ently of private interest, might kindle a flame in every breast susceptible of generous impressions.

The French, who for a time appeared to intend making a stand at Berlin, now finding every thing hostile to them in the Prussian territory, quitted that city in the night of the 3d of March; and the Russians entered it as friends on the following morning: and thus the capital of Frederick-William was once more purged of its oppressors, never again to be visited by them. On the 11th, General Witgenstein made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people.

From this time Frederick-William was zealous in his co-operation with the allies; and the exertions and public spirit of his people made ample amends for all the errors committed for a series of years by his cabinet. The glory of Prussia, which the victories of Napoleon had extinguished is again revived; and she now stands on much higher ground than ever. The lessons which adversity has taught its illustrious sovereign, will not be thrown away; and that selfish policy, which was the main cause of his misfortunes, will, no doubt, give way to a more enlightened and liberal system of government.

The moral character of Frederick-William is such as would do honour to the most dutiful, affectionate, and tender of all sons, fathers, husbands, or brothers; and had it not been for his early and unfortunate predilection in favour of the French, his ministers, courtiers, and subjects, would at all times have been not only respected, but happy, had they taken their sovereign for their model.

It was formerly his daily custom to walk out for some hours, unescorted, attended only by an *aide-de-camp*, or accompanied by one of his brothers; and his subjects might approach him, not only without fear, but with confidence. The simplicity and regularity of his life exhibits a striking contrast to that of his father and predecessor. The order and economy of his reign, while the profusion and extravagance of his father were yet fresh in remembrance, were blamed by many, who looked upon them as littleness and unbecoming covetousness in a great monarch, whose love of money when
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young, it was feared, might increase with age, and become avarice—a passion which dishonoured the great Frederick, his grand uncle.

Frederick-William was married to a beautiful and accomplished princess of the house of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. She, in the early part of the reign of her husband, was much attached to the French interests; but, afterwards, was as hostile to it. She did not long survive the calamities of her country, but died, as is supposed, of a broken heart, on the 19th of July 1810; leaving two sons and two daughters, the former of which accompanied their royal father in his visit to Great Britain.

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL BERTHIER,
PRINCE OF NEUFCHATEL.

MARSHAL BERTHIER, whose untimely death we have so recently heard of, was one of Buonaparte's most confidential ministers, and, equally with Talleyrand, enjoyed the utmost confidence of his master. Born a gentleman, and destined from his youth for a military career, Berthier received that brilliant education which fortune, guided by judgment, can bestow, and early made a progress, which announced genius, seconded and improved by diligence and assiduity. His father was Governor of the Hotel of the War Office, an important and profitable place under the monarchy. By the favour of Louis XVI. he was, at the age of eighteen, made joint governor with his parent, and soon after placed on the staff of the army sent to assist the Americans.

It was in America that Berthier formed his political connexions with La Fayette, with Rochambeau, with the La Methes, and with other men who figured in the first three years of the French revolution. He served in America under the elder Rochambeau with such distinction, that he returned to Europe with the rank of a Colonel, and was made a Knight of the Orders of St. Louis and Cincinnatus.

At the beginning of the revolution, he embraced with ardour the principles of the democratical party; but conducted himself, notwithstanding, with greater moderation than any of his associates. When D'Estaing was chosen the commander of the National Guard at Versailles, Berthier was appointed his Major-General; and, as such, opposed the motions of some incendiaries among his men, who, on the 3d of October 1789, proposed to force the King's Body Guard to exchange their white cockades of loyalty for the tri-coloured ones of rebellion. On the
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9th of September 1790, he presented himself at the head of a deputation of the same National Guard, at the bar of the National Assembly, and demanded "that, in remembrance of the late *patriotic* occurrences at Nancy, in Lorraine, a *simple* but *majestic* pyramid should be erected at one of the gates of that city, with this inscription—'Many citizens soldiers, and soldiers citizens, perished here for their country, in the second month of the second year of French liberty.'—"

Disgusted with the repeated insurrections, continual cabals, and want of subordination, among the citizen soldiers of the national guard at Versailles, he resigned his place in June 1791, and was succeeded in his command by Le Cointre, a bankrupt linen-draper, and a flaming patriot. In December of the same year, his friend, Louis de Narbonne, then a minister of the war department, nominated him Adjutant-General, and charged him to carry to Metz, and present on the part of the King, the Field-Marshal staffs to the Generals Luckner and Rochambeau.

In 1792, when the Brissot faction, as the only means to prevent or retard the punishment due to their treachery and conspiracy, determined upon an universal war, and forced the unfortunate Louis XVI. to attack the House of Austria, Berthier obtained the place of a chief over the staff in the army collecting under Luckner; but, from the intrigues of contending factions, and from the various changes of plans of campaigns, of ministers, and of generals, he had neither opportunity, nor perhaps inclination, to exhibit those talents which have since procured him so much admiration, and to which Buonaparte is principally indebted for all his brilliant successes in Italy, during 1796, 1797, and 1800. He was, besides, firmly attached to La Fayette, and an enemy of Dumourier and other ambitious persons, who, at that period, plotted to supplant his friend both in popularity and command, even at the expence of monarchy and of sacrificing their prince. And when, after the 10th of August, La Fayette in a cowardly manner deserted his army, and left a country which his rebellion, vanity, and ignorance, had made wretched, Berthier intended to join him; but was prevented by the vigilance of the spies who surrounded him, and by the account of the well-deserved reception
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that La Fayette had experienced from Austria and Prussia.

After the insurrection, in 1793, of the royalists in La Vendée, Berthier was dispatched thither to serve under Saùterre. All well-informed officers, formerly in the service of Louis XVIII. were then regarded as enemies to the republic; and it was as dangerous for them to owe to their abilities and courage any advantages, as to suffer a repulse from not daring to employ them. Berthier has more than once acknowledged, that he now tried to find a death in the field which he believed awaited him on the scaffold; and therefore, on many occasions, fought as a desperate adventurer, who had a character to gain, rather than as a general who had a reputation to lose. At the taking of Saume, he had three horses killed under him; and, in every action during this murderous campaign, he had aides-de-camp shot by his side, horses under him, and his clothes pierced with bullets; but he was never once wounded.

The decree which proscribed all noblemen and gentlemen, and their relatives, deprived him of his military rank, and forced him to exchange the bustle of camps for the melancholy indolence of a prison. Though his name was upon the fatal list of victims for the guillotine, the death of Robespierre, and his own prudence and moderation, saved him from an exit which Custine, Houchard, Dillon, Westerman, Beauharnois, Biron, and so many other generals, made.

His release from confinement, which soon followed the interruption of the reign of terror, was accompanied by an offer from the Committee of Public Safety of employment again in the armies of the republic. Fatigue, ill-treatment, and anxiety of mind, however, having impaired a constitution strong by nature, he declined all service, until the ill-success of the campaign of 1795 in Germany made him think it his duty to try to repair the losses of his country, and to prevent those laurels from withering which Pichegru, with so much labour and honour, had conquered and preserved. He accepted therefore, in 1796, the command as chief of the staff in the army of Italy, commanded by Napoleon; who, when Berthier occupied the same station in the army under Field-Marshal Luckner, was then only sub-lieutenant

tenant of artillery. It was thus that Napoleon availed himself of the superior skill and knowledge in the science of war that belonged to Berthier; and the latter was contented to serve under a commander that, by the regular rules of gradation, he had a right to command. With capacity to plan the most extensive and intricate campaign, to execute with vigour and judgment the plans of others, to command the most numerous armies, to direct with order and regularity their civil and economical as well as military department and details, Berthier yet possessed a weak and contracted mind, and was not sufficiently confident in himself. To his great talent and ability may, in a great measure, be attributed the brilliant advantages obtained by Napoleon during his celebrated campaign of 1796; who, being unacquainted with the *ensemble* of the rapid, but difficult, movements of an army combating in a mountainous country, or in places interspersed with numerous rivers, was under the necessity of trusting entirely to the advice and councils of Berthier; who, not satisfied with regulating the important transactions and proceedings of the staff, often exposed himself bravely in the most destructive attacks, as a general heading his division. On the 12th of May 1796, after 4000 grenadiers had been completely swept away by the grape-shot of the Austrians, on the bridge of Lodi, Berthier exhorted the generals Massena, Cervoni, and D'Allemagne, to start with him from the ranks, and to invite the troops to renew the attack: by his example he set them instantly in motion, seized upon the artillery that had so lately spread death, terror, and destruction among them, and stopped their progress. At the action of Rivoli, on the 14th of January 1797, the courage and presence of mind displayed by Berthier changed the fortune of the day in the most critical moment. Berthier, making a charge with the cavalry, obliged an enemy who thought himself victorious to retreat with precipitation to the heights of Cortona. On all occasions he shewed the same activity, the same powers; which induced the army to call him Napoleon's *right arm*.

When Napoleon, after the treaty of Campo Formio, resigned his command in Italy, Berthier was appointed to succeed him. Joseph Buonaparte was at that period the French republican ambassador at Rome; and by his plots

plots and intrigues it was, that a pretext was afforded to the French army to overrun and lay waste the Papal dominions. The French general Duphot, who was an instrument on this occasion, was killed by mistake in an insurrection at Rome, which was instigated by French emissaries. Orders were immediately issued by the French government to Berthier to revolutionize Rome, and give up the country to pillage; and though his friends have endeavoured to excuse his conduct on this occasion, as acting under the orders of his government, it will ever remain subject to the most just reproaches. A few days before his arrival with the French army, the Pope deputed Prince Belmonte, the Neapolitan minister, to learn from him his precise instructions; and, with a most unjust duplicity, he seized the opportunity of making the conquest more easy, certain, and profitable. The only design of the French Directory, he said, was to apprehend those who were accessory to the death of General Duphot. His Holiness might rest assured of the utmost security; the existing government, the Catholic religion, and all property, public as well as private, should be respected; and that he would not even enter the city. To impress greater confidence, he delivered these declarations in writing; requiring at the same time that his Holiness should issue an edict to tranquillize the people, and prevent the effusion of blood. He repeated, that nothing should be removed from the museums, the libraries, or the picture-galleries. The commands of Berthier were observed with punctuality; but his promises were violated without scruple. His Holiness removed no part of his property, nor took any measure for his personal safety; but published an edict exhorting all his people to tranquillity, and forbidding them even to talk on their affairs in such a manner as might give offence to the French.

In the mean time, Berthier advanced to Rome by forced marches, summoned the castle of St. Angelo on the 10th of February 1796, allowing only four hours for its evacuation by the Papal troops. The convicts were set at liberty; the gates of the city secured by the French; and Pope Pius VI. all the Cardinals, and the whole people of Rome, made prisoners at discretion. On the 15th, Berthier made his triumphal entry into

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Rome; and, a tree of liberty being planted in the Capitol, he pronounced an address to the shades of the Catos, the Pompeys, the Ciceros, and the Hortensii. "The descendants of the Gauls," said he, "have come with the olive of peace, to rebuild the altars of liberty erected by the first Brutus. And you, people of Rome, who have now recovered your ancient rights, recollect that blood which flows in your veins; survey all these monuments of glory by which you are surrounded; resume your pristine greatness; and emulate the virtues of your ancestors." As a means of acquiring these honourable distinctions, they were to undergo a modern republican reform, suitable to the views of their invaders. A proclamation was issued, declaring them a free and independent republic, under the special protection of the French army: the government of the Pope was suppressed, and a provisional government established in its stead. The people, however, were so little concerned at the bright and glorious prospects which were held out to them, that even Berthier's procession to the Capitol was languidly attended, and but few appearances of approbation or applause were exhibited. The tree of liberty, far from being regarded with rapture, was scarcely observed with moderate curiosity. But Berthier, supported as he was by military force, cared little about popularity, provided he obtained the ends he had in view. The deposition and subsequent treatment of the sovereign pontiff, who was then in the eighty-second year of his age, was rendered excessive by every species of wanton and unnecessary insult. The anniversary of his accession to the Popedom was particularly selected for announcing to him the termination of his authority. Instead of his tiara, General Cervoni, a Sardinian deserter, offered him a national cockade; and his Swiss guard was replaced by republican troops. A prisoner in his own palace, which Berthier had turned into barracks, he saw seals of confiscation put upon all his effects, not excepting even the furniture of his apartments. The property of his subjects was no more spared than his own: they were pillaged by demands of loans, of presents, and of requisitions. The Vatican and Quirinal palaces were stripped of all their most costly and valuable articles, of the most beautiful paintings, and incomparable tapestry.

tapestry. Nothing escaped the rapacity of the French, from the most precious furniture of the state-chambers, to the most trifling utensils in the kitchen. All other palaces, churches, chapels, convents, and villas, underwent the same fate. Berthier also permitted the new government to tax the possessors of money with an unlimited authority. The acts of extortion were finally practised to such an unprincipled extent, that not only gold and silver, but even copper, was exhausted. The French shewed in all their proceedings an unprincipled eagerness for plunder. On the 23d of February, a grand funeral was celebrated in honour of General Duphot; and while the people crowded the piazza of St. Peter, which was chosen for the scene, parties of Frenchmen plundered every church in the city of its plate, not even excepting those belonging to the chapels of Spain and the Emperor, who were then at peace with the French republic.

Before Berthier left Rome, he contrived to establish, in imitation of the new French constitution, a federation, a constitution, and a Jacobin Club. The first was a mixture of ostentation, profaneness, and pe-lantry: the constitution, a mere repetition of the anarchical code of France; and the Jacobin Club shewed a rapid proficiency in the principles of its great parent at Paris. Berthier was recalled from Rome, having been chosen by Napoleon to accompany him in the expedition to Egypt. His conduct while in command at Rome created the greatest indignation and surprise among all persons in France who had formerly known and esteemed him. In a few weeks he had surpassed the outrages of years. The apology of his friends was, "that he left Rome no richer than he entered that city; and that all the horrors committed there were the consequences of the superiority which General Cervoni and the commissary Haller had assumed over his feebleness and inconsideration, and the opinion he had that those two possessed the entire confidence both of Napoleon and the Directory." But, supposing even this to be the case, the man in power who lends his name or authority to such atrocious actions is certainly more culpable than the persons who advise or commit them, and he deservedly bears the whole blame and detestation which accompany them.

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In the expedition to Egypt, Berthier took a conspicuous part; and the world is indebted to him for a luminous and full account of it, which is written with great knowledge and ability. When Napoleon abandoned his army in Egypt, Berthier accompanied him in his flight, and was extremely useful and instrumental in the subsequent revolution which overthrew the Directory, and placed Napoleon on the consular throne. After this event he was appointed minister of war, which was, however, soon after resigned to Carnot; and Berthier was sent to command the army of reserve assembled at Dijon, where he arrived on the 20th of March 1800. He was in the great battle of Marengo, where he, as usual, greatly distinguished himself; and, on the return of Napoleon to Paris, whom he accompanied, he was again made minister of war, Carnot not being found so pliable as Napoleon could wish.

In the war of the third coalition, Berthier attended Buonaparte as his military counsellor, and was extremely useful in the brilliant and short campaign which ended in the humiliation of Austria by the treaty of Presburg. As a reward for his eminent services and uniform attachment, Napoleon gave him the principality of Neufchatel, and created him Prince of that territory, which title he thereafter assumed.

Berthier continued to enjoy the confidence of Napoleon; and when the latter intended to espouse the Archduchess Maria Louisa, Berthier was selected to demand her in marriage at the court of Vienna. In Napoleon's grand attack upon the Russian empire, Berthier accompanied him in his expedition, and to the last proved himself faithful to the fortunes of his master. It was only until the latter had absolved him from his oath, that he adhered to Louis XVIII.; and it certainly redounds greatly to his honour, that his fidelity to Louis was marked with the same zeal as had distinguished his conduct for so many years under Napoleon.

His death, which has recently taken place at Bamberg, was occasioned by his fall from a two-pair-of-stairs window, from which it is said he precipitated himself at the moment the Russian troops were passing through that town; if so, it is not unlikely that the misfortunes of his country, which the rash attempt of Napoleon had plunged

plunged it into, might have affected his mind, and led to the melancholy event which terminated his existence.

From what has been shewn of his character, it cannot be called an hazardous, but an impartial conclusion, to say, that, had he served under a Henry the Fourth, he would have been loyal; under a Gustavus Adolphus, religious; under a Condé, generous; under a Turenne, humane; under a Charles the Twelfth, temerarious; under a Marlborough, avaricious; under an Eugene, vindictive; under a Frederick the Great, an atheist; under a Mareschal de Saxe, a libertine; under a Dumourier, an intriguer; under Pichegru, modest; under Moreau, ambitious, but amiable and insinuating. He would have butchered under Marius, proscribed under Sylla, fled under Pompey, and pardoned under Cæsar; in short, that, placed under whatever master he might be, he would have scrupulously adopted his virtues, vices, or failings.

Memoirs
OF
FOUCHÉ, DUKE OF OTRANTO,
FRENCH MINISTER OF POLICE.

FOUCHÉ is equally indebted to the French revolution and to his own talents for the distinguished rank he now holds. He was born in 1748, of poor parents, vintagers, in a village near Nantes, in Brittany. A beggar-boy in the streets of that city, he was noticed, and adopted out of charity, by the friars of the order called *Oratoire*. Uniting with great ability equal cunning and hypocrisy, he insinuated himself so far as to be, at a very early age, received as a novice, and afterwards a member of the order. Several years before the revolution, he spread disunion and discontent amongst the order; and although his superiors condemned him, at different times, both to severe penance and close confinement, it did not appear to have much effect upon his conduct. After the destruction of the order of Jesuits, the education of youth in France was entrusted to their rivals, the friars of the order of *Oratoire*. The principles of Fouché may be observed in the conduct of those pupils who were placed under him: during the civil troubles in Brittany, in 1788, most of them went from Nantes, to join the revolutionary standard at Rennes; some of them, in consequence, attained considerable honours, and others were consigned to the scaffold. No sooner were the monastic institutions abolished by the National Assembly, than Fouché apostatized, and married. Having thus, by this step, exposed himself to the severest punishment in the event of a counter-revolution, he became, from fear and necessity, a violent republican, and of course adopted all the most violent proceedings of the Jacobins.

At the first establishment of the Jacobin Club at Nantes, in 1789, Fouché was the first friar of his order, and one
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of the first of the clergy in Brittany, who enrolled his name as a member of the club: he was, in consequence, immediately elected one of its secretaries, and chosen its third president. The most sanguinary and violent measures were proposed and recommended by him. He particularly distinguished himself for his persecution of the clergy, and for his hatred to his own order. When the national seal was affixed to that religious abode where his youth had been cherished and protected, he headed, as a deputy from the Jacobins, the detachment of the National Guards commanded on this duty; and hunted out of their retreat, and turned upon the world, without mercy, men who had renounced it for ever, who were afflicted by sufferings, and weakened by age, without the means of subsistence, without strength to labour, or without knowledge and intelligence how to be industrious. Amongst others of those unfortunate fathers, he dragged forward the venerable old man, Father Cholois, who had been his patron and protector, and who, thirty years before, had picked him up in the streets a beggar-boy, the solitary victim of want and disease.

In 1792, when the National Convention was called, Fouché was elected a member for Nantes; and, to shew with what principles he was sent up, it is asserted that, in the afternoon of the day of his election, a general massacre of the priests and nobles confined in the prisons at Nantes took place, among the victims of which was Father Cholois, Fouché's benefactor.

Arrived in the French capital, and strongly recommended by the Jacobins at Nantes to their brethren in Paris, he, on the 19th of September 1792, made his first entrance at the Jacobin club; and, in a violent and revolutionary declamation, he extolled the bloody and ferocious deeds of the Septembrizers, and seconded Marat in demanding the trial of the King and Queen (who were then prisoners in the Temple), and the punishment of the aristocrats, their adherents. From the first sittings of the National Convention, Fouché joined the Mountain party, composed of Danton, Robespierre, Marat, and their accomplices; and with them he voted for the death of Louis. Observing, from the malignity and agitation of the different factions, and their consequent instability, that it would be safer, and more conducive to his advancement,

vancement, to be employed in missions to the departments, he intrigued a long time, and at last, in July 1793, he was sent as a Conventional deputy, first to the department of the Rhone, and afterwards to the departments of Allier and Nièvre.

When Fouché first arrived before Lyons, the chief city of the department of the Rhone, it was in open insurrection against the authority of the National Convention. Lyons was without ramparts, ammunition, artillery, and provisions; and had no other garrison, soldiers, or defenders, but its own inhabitants, mostly manufacturers and mechanics, accustomed to a sedentary life, which usually as much enervates the mind as it relaxes the body. But the Lyonese underwent a long and glorious siege; and shewed so many traits of valour, skill, and intrepidity, that it occupied the republicans a longer time, and cost them more lives, to enter this open and defenceless city, than it cost them in taking many a fortified place with a strong garrison in the subsequent wars: and had the Lyonese been properly assisted with a regular force of Swiss or Piedmontese troops (which, as lying in their neighbourhood, might have been sent to their assistance), they would doubtless have greatly contributed to establish a regular government in France, and would have prevented all the havoc and desolation which for so many years after afflicted that country and all Europe; for, at this time, the royalists in La Vendée were in open arms, and victorious, and Toulon was occupied by the English; and thus, by a combination of all these elements, the revolutionary government might have been overturned, and a free monarchical constitution established in its place. Unfortunately, however, these effects did not take place; and it was left to after-times, when experience had taught Europe the necessity of a just and vigorous combination, to annihilate a system of government engendered by the revolution, and which was found incompatible with the safety of all others.

After a brave and noble resistance, the Lyonese were forced to open the gates of their city; and then it was that a dreadful and indiscriminate punishment ensued. Political fanaticism, aided and attended by the fury usual to faction, and the cruelties always accompanying civil wars, ordered not only the destruction of the
citizens,

citizens, but of their dwellings and city. A letter from Collot d'Herbois and Fouché may give some idea of the severities used on this occasion. It is as follows:—

“CITIZENS COLLEAGUES—We proceed in our mission with the energy of republicans who are penetrated with a profound sense of their character; this we shall retain. Neither shall we descend from the exalted situation to which the nation has raised us, to attend to the puny interests of some individuals, who are more or less guilty towards their country. We have dismissed every one of them, as we have no time to lose, no favours to grant; we are to consider, and only do consider, the republic and your decrees, which ordain us to set a great example, to give a signal lesson. We only listen to the cries of the nation, which demands that all the blood of the patriots should be avenged at once in a speedy and dreadful manner, in order that the human race may not lament its being spilled afresh. From a conviction that this infamous city contains no one that is innocent, except those who have been oppressed and loaded with irons by the assassins of the people, we are guarded against the tears of repentance; nothing can disarm our severity. This they are well aware of, who have obtained from you a decree of respite in favour of one of our prisoners. Who has dared to do this? Are we not on the spot? Have you not invested us with your confidence? And yet we have not been consulted. We cannot forbear telling you, Citizens Colleagues, that indulgence is a dangerous weakness, calculated to rekindle criminal hopes at the moment when it is requisite to put a final end to them. It has been claimed in behalf of one individual; it has been solicited in behalf of every one of his species, with a view of rendering the effect of your justice illusory. They do not yet call for the report of your first decree relative to the *annihilation of the city of Lyons*; but nothing has hardly yet been done to bring it into execution. *The mode of demolishing is too slow*; republican impatience demands more speedy execution. *The explosion of the mine, and the devouring activity of the fire, alone can express the omnipotence of the people*; their will is not to be checked like that of tyrants; it must have the same effect as thunder.”

It was hardly possible to suppose that men could be found who would wish to improve upon the summary
 H H 2 punishment

punishment commanded by the National Convention; yet Fouché and Collot D'Herbois, their two deputies, were desirous of carrying republican vengeance still further. The Convention had sentenced its devoted victims to perish by the guillotine; but Fouché and his fellow-colleague invented other means, more terrible and expeditious, to desolate the unhappy city, and to punish their fellow-citizens. They ordered the shooting in mass of hundreds of persons at the same time; or, as they wrote to the National Convention, they had found means "*de vomier la mort à grand flots.*" In another letter to the Convention they say—

"CITIZENS COLLEAGUES—No indulgence, no procrastination, no tardiness in the punishment of crime, if you wish to produce a salutary effect. *The kings used delay when they had punishment to inflict, because they were weak and cruel*; the justice of the people ought to be as quick as the expression of their will. We have adopted efficacious measures to manifest their omnipotence, so as to serve as an example to all rebels."

In inflicting their punishments, sometimes several hundred persons, tied together with ropes fastened to the trees of the *Place de Brotteaux*, were shot by picquets of infantry, which made the tour round the place, and, at a signal, fired on the condemned. At other times, when the proscribed were killed by cannons loaded with grape-shot, they were tied two and two together on the same place, and ranged along the edge of a grave, or rather ditch, digged after Fouché's orders, by their nearest female relatives or friends, the day before their execution, and destined to receive their corpses. As it often happened that the grape-shot wounded and maimed more than it killed, the bayonets and swords of the revolutionary army dispatched those still alive, and suffering from the wounds of the cannon. One hour after the execution, those females who had digged the graves (most of them mothers, sisters, and wives) were forced by Fouché's satellites to fill them up, and to cover with earth the mutilated corpses of their fathers, husbands, and brothers, who were always previously stripped naked and plundered by a band of females in the pay of Fouché's revolutionary judges, called the *furies of the guillotine*. It is difficult to say, which inspires more compassion or abhorrence, whether the dreadful situation of the female relatives

relatives of the sufferers, or the barbarous conduct of the furies of the guillotine, who regularly accompanied all condemned persons from the tribunal to the place of execution, hooting, shouting, insulting, and often calling to their remembrance the objects of their affection and tenderness, in order to sharpen their cruel sufferings, and to render death more terrible. One piece of cruelty has been particularly recorded. It is asserted, that when, one day in November 1793, near 300 Lyonesse citizens were ordered to be shot in mass, the wife of one of them (Daunois) had, according to the orders of Fouché, been sent the night before to dig her husband's and brother's grave. She was young and beautiful, and had only been married four months. In being dragged to the Place de Brotteaux, she miscarried, and was brought home senseless. When Daunois was marched to execution, the furies of the guillotine had Fouché's orders particularly to torment him; and, amongst other things, they told him that his wife, whom he was passionately fond of, was, next decade, to be married to one of the *sans-culottes*, his executioner, whom they pointed out: and it has been further asserted, that Fouché actually put her in requisition for this man, but she expired at the sight of him when he presented Fouché's order.

The same summary vengeance and execution was practised at Toulon as well as at Lyons. After one of these executions in mass at the former place, Fouché wrote thus to Collot D'Herbois, his friend, who had been made a member of the Committee of Public Safety—"And we likewise, my friend, have contributed to the surrender of Toulon, by spreading terror amongst the traitors who had entered the town, and by exposing to their view the dead bodies of thousands of their accomplices. Let us shew ourselves terrible; let us annihilate, in our anger, and at one single blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture, of punishing them as kings would do. Let the perfidious and ferocious English be assailed from every quarter; let the whole republic turn into a volcano, and pour forth the devouring lava upon them. May the infamous island that produced these monsters, who no longer belong to the human species, be buried for ever in the waves. Farewell, my friend!—tears of joy run from my eyes,
and

and overflow my heart. P. S. We have but one way of celebrating our victory, we shall send 213 rebels this evening to the place of execution: our loaded cannon are ready to salute them."

Having portrayed the cruelty of Fouché, his sacrilegious conduct has not passed without notice by those who have given to the world his memoirs. The following instance of it has been particularly remarked. Challier, a Piedmontese by birth, had, from the beginning of the revolution, been the tormentor and tyrant of all the loyal and peaceable inhabitants of Lyons, at which place he was established as a merchant. Every insurrection, and the continual agitation of this populous city, were the work of this man, and of the Jacobin emissaries of Paris, assisted by some of the worthless and bankrupt inhabitants. In December 1792, when it was difficult to find a respectable character to appear as a candidate for any public employment, Challier was, by some of the Jacobins, first nominated a municipal officer, and afterwards a judge. As a recommendation to public favour, he distributed his own portrait with the following inscription, as the best means of attaining among the corrupt and profligate part of the population his desired object: "Challier, an excellent patriot, has passed six months at Paris, as an admirer of Marat, and of the Mountain of the National Convention." Challier's first act as a public functionary was an order to imprison twelve hundred citizens, whom he had proscribed as traitors to the republic, because he suspected them to be his private enemies. Despairing, from the courageous resistance of the Mayor, Nievre Chol, of being able to send them to the scaffold, he, on the 6th of February 1793, presented himself in the Jacobin Club with a dagger in his hand, and caused to be decreed in that assembly, "That a tribunal, similar to that which condemned the prisoners at Paris on the 2d of September 1792, should immediately be instituted, with a guillotine on the bridge of St. Clair; that nine hundred persons, whose names he gave in, should there be beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the Rhone; and that, in want of executioners, the members of the club should perform this office." Fortunately, the Mayor and armed citizens prevented this shocking decree from having its effect. Some time afterwards, Challier was
deposed

deposed by the citizens at Lyons, but restored by the Convention: and, in the daily contests between the two parties, the Jacobins and the Royalists, he was by turns victorious, and by turns defeated. At last the citizens of Lyons became exasperated, and erected the standard of revolt against the National Convention; Challier was arrested, condemned, and executed on the 17th of July 1793. No sooner had Fouché and Collot D'Herbois entered the city of Lyons, than the busts of Challier were carried in triumph, and placed upon the altars of the churches, and upon the tables of the tribunals and municipality. Fouché took upon himself the apotheosis of Challier, at a civic feast decreed in honour of his memory. Fouché ordered the celebration of this feast to take place on the 1st of November 1793, a day consecrated by the Roman Catholics to prayers, and to the memory of all saints. Early in the morning, the sound of cannon announced the festival; and men and women carried, with an air of respect, adoration, and pomp, the image of Challier; whilst other apostates and enemies to Christianity brought consecrated vases, surrounded a jackass covered with an episcopal gown, a mitre fastened between its two ears, and dragging in the dirt the Bible fastened to its tail. After the burning of Challier's pretended corpse, of which the ashes were *piously* distributed among the sectaries of his and Fouché's morals, the Bible was thrown into the fire; and, as it arose into the air in smoke, the ceremony ended with the ass drinking from the sacred chalice. In his letter to the National Convention, dated from Lyons on the 10th of November, and which was printed in the *Moniteur*, Fouché said—"The shade of Challier is satisfied; his precious remains, religiously collected, have been carried in triumph. It is upon the place where this holy martyr was immolated, that his ashes have been exposed to public veneration, to the religion of patriotism. At last the silence of sorrow was interrupted by the cries of *Vengeance! vengeance!* Yes, we answer that the cries of the people shall be avenged! This soil shall be overthrown; every thing which vice has erected shall be annihilated; and, on the ruins of this superb city, the traveller shall find only some simple monuments, erected in memory of the martyrs of liberty."

Having

Having shewn himself such a violent stickler for liberty, Fouché was thought by the National Convention a fit and proper person to execute their vengeance and hatred at Moulins and in La Vendée. It would be impossible to credit the excesses of Fouché in his different missions, had not his active correspondence with Robespierre's Committee of Public Safety been preserved in the *Moniteur* and other papers published at that time. In a letter to the National Convention, of March the 28th 1794, he says—"The day before yesterday, I had the happiness to see 800 dwellings of the brigands destroyed by fire; to day, I have witnessed the shooting of 900 of these brigands; and for to-morrow, I and Carrier have prepared a civic baptism (drowning) of 1200 women and children, mothers, sisters, wives, daughters, or sons of the accursed brigands from La Vendée. In two days three impure generations of rebels and fanatics have ceased to be any more." In another letter from the department of Nièvre, he wrote—"Let us have the courage to march upon the bodies even of our fathers, brothers, and sons, to arrive at liberty; let us brave death ourselves by inflicting it on all the enemies of equality, without any distinction of sex or age, relatives or strangers."

At Lyons, as well as in La Vendée, Fouché had, in the name and for the use of the republic, confiscated all the property of those whom he ordered to be executed; but Robespierre, by his spies, found out that Fouché had appropriated a considerable part of this national plunder: he therefore denounced him in the Jacobin Club; and his name was struck out as a member in its matricular register. Robespierre never forgave any peculator; but, fortunately for Fouché, the death of Robespierre soon after saved him from sharing the fate of Danton, Chaumette, Chabot, Hebert, and others.

After the death of Robespierre, and during the succeeding factions, denunciations against Fouché poured in from all the departments where he had been a deputy, and all manner of accusations were preferred against him. The National Convention also, finding it necessary to make an example of some of its members in order to obtain the applause of the people, sent Carrier and Le Bon to the scaffold, and declared others, for their crimes
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under the reign of Robespierre, unworthy of a seat in the Convention. Fouché, after the report of Tallien, was amongst those expelled, being denominated "a thief and a terrorist, whose barbarous and criminal conduct would cast an everlasting dishonour upon any assembly of which he was suffered to be a member." After another report by Dentzel, on the 8th and 9th of August 1795, Fouché, with Lequinio and eight other terrorists, were ordered to be arrested; and they remained in prison until released by the amnesty granted by the National Convention some time before it finished its sittings.

From October 1795 to September 1797, Fouché had no particular employment; but when the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, year 5, took place, and his friends again came into power, he was made a Commissary in Italy; and afterwards, in the winter of 1798, he was appointed Ambassador to the Batavian Republic. He was recalled from this office in 1799, and appointed Minister of Police of the French Republic—an office at all times of great consequence, but more particularly in a government founded upon usurpation, and against which plots and conspiracies would be continually hatching. Fouché continued to hold this office; and when Buonaparte usurped the Consulship, he was bribed over with 600,000 livres, and a promise to have his place secured to him for four years.

Fouché's celebrity, as minister of police, has been long and universally established; and to his reputation and talents for this office he is most probably indebted for the favour of Louis XVIII. who would hardly have again countenanced a man who had so recently betrayed him, unless the strongest motives possible existed for such a step. The organization of the French police was the work of Fouché; and as the system, as well as the author of it, will most likely be continued, a few particulars of it may not be uninteresting to our readers.

During the French monarchy, before the revolution, the general police of France belonged to the ministry of justice and the interior. Paris, Lyons, and other large cities, had their *lieutenants de police*, as they were called; but the *lieutenant de police* at Paris was the principal one; and, some time before the revolution, that office

was a certain recommendation to advancement and promotion. The police ministers at that time could have no direct correspondence with the King's civil or military governors, parliaments, intendants, bishops, &c. &c. the ministers occupying those situations disdaining to communicate with an officer whom they considered as the chief spy, or the chief of the French spies: but, when Fouché's regulations were adopted, any petty commissary had more power to do what he pleased, without the fear of punishment, or of being called to an account, than the King's *lieutenant de police* ever possessed. If the latter were guilty of any abuse of authority, he was not only reprimanded, but fined, by the then existing parliament and the King's privy council: but so formidable had this office become under Fouché, that there was not a man in France, either judge or counsellor of state, who did not tremble at his very name, or his police commissaries. In the year 1801, the Mayor of Brussels, Lacoué, the secretary to the Consular council of state, his *chefs de bureau*, and the judges of the tribunal at Brest, were all prisoners in the Temple for not obeying the arbitrary dictates of the minister of police, although they were against the laws of their country. During the monarchy, the King's minister of police had all the information he wanted in civil or political affairs through the office of the ministers of the home and foreign departments; and he was always obliged to execute their orders, or the orders of the King's commanders or governors: but, under Fouché, the prefects, generals, commanders, mayors, &c. &c. were forced not only to carry on a direct correspondence with his office, but to obey all his orders, without any representation whatever, let them be ever so unjust or tyrannical; the consequence of which was, that in many of the prisons, in the different departments of France, numbers of innocent persons, from a likeness to those that were ordered to be secured, suffered for years in dungeons, however well persuaded the governor or general who arrested them was of their innocence; because any person who was once confined by order of Fouché, could only be released by an order from Fouché himself, even though acquitted by the tribunals; and the same levity, corruption, and indifference, prevailed at his office as to the

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the liberty of the subject, as in the reign of Robespierre with respect to life itself. It was, therefore, not only difficult, but nearly impossible, to obtain such an order of release, without great loss of time, and many sacrifices.

Independent of any abuse of authority, the revolutionary laws, which with regard to the police always remained in force, gave more power to this office than any former king's minister ever possessed. Before the revolution, no man, either foreigner or Frenchman, wanted any pass to travel or to reside in France; and no where was any pass ever demanded: a traveller only told his name, or what name he chose, if he was interrogated in passing though some of the fortified places; and at Paris he was only required to write down his name at the inn where he lodged. But, by the laws of the revolution, when more vigilance was necessary, and by the regulations of Fouché, every person, Frenchman or foreigner, must have a pass, or be exposed to imprisonment, if only three miles from his home or residence, should any capricious or tyrannical commissary of police, or even *gens-d'arme*, ask for it; and at Paris, as well as in every other city, town, or village, in France, the landlord of the inn to which a traveller went was to demand his pass, and copy from it the name and description of his person, age, &c. which was immediately sent to the commissary of police. If a traveller stayed longer than twenty-four hours, he was obliged to present himself to the prefecture of police at Paris, and in all other places to the police commissaries, in order to obtain permission to reside there; but which was never granted until he answered different questions, as to his business, acquaintances, &c. and his friends were always bound to answer for his appearance; or, if he were a foreigner, the sanction of his consul or minister was necessary: and the permission which the person obtained to stay any where, contained in the margin an order of arrest, should the bearer pass the limits of a city, town, or village. The permission to reside any where was fixed for a certain number of days, at the expiration of which it was obliged to be renewed. In some places, as at Marseilles, foreigners were obliged to renew their permission every five days, although they had the security of their consuls:

even captains, and masters of vessels, were obliged to submit to the same slavish and troublesome regulations, although they resided on board their ships.

Formerly, under the old monarchy, no public gambling-houses were permitted in France: but, under Fouché, the privilege of keeping gambling-houses were let out as openly and as publicly as were formerly farmed out, by the King's ministers, the duties upon salt, tobacco, or wine, to the farmers-general of the revenue. Cards of address to gambling-houses were distributed in all parts of France in the same manner as quack-bills in London. This licensing of so corrupt and immoral a practice brought into the office of minister of police a revenue of £10,000 a month, and was therefore no small temptation for adopting so lucrative an expedient to gain money. Besides what the farmers of the gambling-houses paid to Fouché every month, they were obliged to hire and keep in pay 120,000 persons, employed in those houses in Paris and in the provinces as croupers, from half-a-crown to half-a-guinea a-day; and these 120,000 persons were all spies for Fouché: and it has been said, that, although he took care to charge the government for them, he never brought these sums to account.

To such a degree had Fouché organized the police, that he not only caused his spies to be protected, but likewise feared and respected. A known spy, who under the monarchy would have been insulted and every where despised, was under Fouché not only feared but caressed. The general mistrust and want of confidence, which every where prevailed amongst the leading men in France, induced all of them to keep their spies: Fouché, however, so long as he was minister of police, had most of them under his own immediate control, as much by his bribes as by his power. It was by these means that, in the year 1800, he gained over the spies of Lucien Buonaparte, and was enabled to inform the First Consul of all Lucien's plots and intrigues: it was in the same manner he detected all the conspiracies of the royalists and Jacobins.

Before the revolution, common women were obliged to give in their names and places of abode to the police office of the city or town in which they resided; and, when sick or disordered, they were taken care of by medical

dical men, who were paid by the government. Under the system of Fouché, these unhappy women, all over France, were ordered, under pain of being flogged or confined to hard labour in the House of Correction, to take out a licence to be common street-walkers: this licence they were obliged to renew every month; and for which they were charged at the rate of from five shillings to ten guineas every three decades, or a month, according to the age, beauty, or fashion, of the unfortunate object. Besides this contribution to Fouché, each girl paid five shillings a month, whether she was ill or well, to some of the minister of police's spies, called by him *agents of health to the police*, who were to visit them twice in the decade, and to enquire into the state of their health.

Besides the 320,000 registered spies which were in the pay of the police, there was not any person in Paris or France, who obtained their livelihood by means of a licence from the minister of police, but was obliged, directly or indirectly, to be its spy. Itinerant musicians, who paid Fouché twenty-pence a day; ballad-singers, who paid him ten-pence a day; old-clothes men, who paid him twenty-five pence a day; hackney-coach men, who paid him half-a-crown a day; pedlars, fruit-sellers, fish-women, carmen, &c. &c. were all registered at the police, and obliged to send or give their regular reports of what they heard, saw, or observed; and often, when Fouché thought proper, were obliged to pass days, and even weeks together, in serving him without any reward. One instance is recorded of the great effect of this system of police:—In the year 1801, Fouché's ordinary spies had, for several weeks, attempted in vain to find out one of the chiefs of the Chouans, whom Fouché knew to be concealed somewhere in Paris, and who was suspected to have conspired against Napoleon. One of his spies in the Temple (for he had spies even in the prisons) heard another arrested Chouan say, that this his friend was a great lover of music. No sooner was this fact reported to him, than Fouché put into requisition six of the best music-grinders at Paris, who were ordered to play before or in the court-yards of the hotels, every day, in every street, by turns; and, having given them the description of the person he wanted, they were to observe all persons coming to the windows to look out or to listen to the music;

music: and by these means, those musical spies discovered the Chouan chief, who was immediately arrested, and transported to Cayenne.

Before the revolution, there were no more than 64 guard-houses at Paris; and nobody was stopped, either in the day or at night, to give an account of himself. But, under the police of Fouché, there were 162 guard-houses, 20 of which were round the Palais-Royal alone, where in 1789 there were only two. After eleven o'clock at night, all persons were exposed to be asked by the *patroies*, *centinels*, or *corps de garde*, for their pass, or citizen's or foreigner's card: and if they were without it, they remained prisoners in the watch-house until the next morning, and were then marched between soldiers to the prefecture of police; where, if it happened to be a holiday, or a day of much business, they remained confined among thieves and murderers for twenty-four hours, and often three times twenty-four hours, before they were examined or released, in particular if they wanted money to purchase their liberty, or powerful friends to claim them.

A few instances and anecdotes of Fouché's power as a minister, and of his influence over Napoleon, are deserving of notice.

Napoleon having determined to make the situation of the Castle of the Thuilleries strong enough to resist any sudden or unexpected attack, ordered, by the advice of some officers of engineers, a number of houses, public and private, in the neighbourhood of the castle, to be demolished. One of the owners of these condemned houses insisted, before any demolition took place, upon having in ready money the sum he had himself paid for his house 26 years before. The treasury, from the constant demands made upon it, being always empty, his demand could not be complied with. To cut the business short, the owner of the house was, by the order of Fouché, arrested; and, upon his appearance before him, was told, "that his name being upon one of the numerous lists of emigrants, he might transport him, or otherwise punish him as such, and dispose of his property as belonging to the nation; but, in consideration of his age, being nearly 80, his name should be erased from the fatal list, if he would consent to take for his house an annuity

annuity of 2000 livres a year. The old man having children, grand-children, and great grand-children, this offer of Fouché's was rejected; who therefore sent him, without further ceremony, accompanied by two *gens d'armes*, as a returned emigrant without permission, to be transported to the other side of the Rhine, although he could prove that, for the last forty years, he had not once been for twenty-four hours out of Paris. At the common prison at Metz, on his way to Germany, Providence put him out of the reach and malice as well of Fouché as all other tyrants: the old man died there of a broken heart. Of his house not a stone remained; and not a shilling was paid for it to his ruined and distressed family.

When Napoleon assumed the Consular dignity, he was advised by Fouché to pacify the royalists in the different departments of France. Fouché, by his intrigues, soon embroiled and divided the chiefs; and, having succeeded in disuniting them, he gained over the greater number by some momentary pecuniary sacrifices. Bourmout, D'Autichamp, and some others, received a considerable sum; but George and Frotté declined. However, when Frotté found himself deserted by all the other chiefs and the greatest part of his army, he proposed to lay down his arms, on condition that he and his friends might enjoy their property without being obliged to reside in the republic. The republican general, Guidal, who commanded against Frotté, consented to the terms proposed, and sent Frotté a safe conduct for himself, his staff, and followers, to go to Alençon, where General Guidal's head-quarters were, to sign the treaty, and their submission to the authority of the republic. At the time appointed, Frotté and his friends arrived, and, from the inn where they lodged, sent word to General Guidal of their arrival, who, by one of his aides-de-camp, invited them all to his house. General Guidal had regularly informed the French government of the progress of his negotiation with Frotté, and had received its orders to conclude it; but Fouché wrote at the same time to General Guidal, that General Chamberlai, who had arrived at Alençon, the day before Frotté was to surrender himself, was to sign on the part of the French republic, together with Guidal, the peace with these royalists, although the latter continued to keep

keep the command. General Guidal behaved to Frotté and his followers with great politeness, and he was determined strictly to fulfil his agreement with them. But when they were at supper with him, and after six o'clock the next morning had been fixed upon to sign the peace, one of General Chamberlai's aides-de-camp entered the room, and desired some private conversation with Guidal, whom he informed, that Chamberlai had at that moment received a courier from Fouché, with orders to arrest, and the next day try by a military commission, Frotté and the royalists who accompanied him; and, without waiting for an answer from General Guidal, he ordered twelve grenadiers, concealed in the next room, to rush upon the royalists, and to make them prisoners. Although General Guidal protested against this treacherous conduct, which implicated his own character as a commander and a man of honour, Frotté and his companions were all tried and shot. Fouché, in order to screen his own perfidiousness, and that of the French government, in this shameful transaction, ordered his obsequious tool, Chamberlai, to make a false report of these royalists, as if they had been surprised in a castle in the country; when, in reality they were taken in the very house of the republican general, Guidal, at Alençon, the head-quarters of the French republican army, and Frotté had this general's safe conduct or passport in his pocket at the very time he was so basely seized and butchered. General Guidal, for his opposition to this unheard-of piece of treachery, was ordered on an inferior command to the army of Italy; and Chamberlai, for his services, was promoted to the rank of a General of Division, and appointed commander of Metz.

As minister of police, Fouché had a considerable influence over the commercial affairs of the French republic. The exportation of rags from Brabant and Flanders to foreign countries had always been strictly prohibited. Owners of paper-mills, therefore, used regularly to agree with merchants or collectors of rags to furnish them with a fixed quantity at a fixed price; and these, in their turn, were accustomed for years to deliver their paper to dealers, either wholesale or retail, at a certain profit. Contracts of this description were made in general for five or ten years. At the moment peace

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was concluded with Great Britain, a house at Ghent, in Flanders, paid one of the agents of Fouché 25,000 crowns for the privilege of exporting to England (where rags that sold in Flanders for one guinea fetched sixteen guineas), during a limited time, a certain quantity of rags. The consequence of this monopolizing privilege was the rise of the article upwards of 400 per cent. in a month, to the ruin of many, and to the great loss of all those concerned in that branch of commerce. Other persons in the same manner bought exclusive permission, either from Fouché, or the minister of the home department, to export several prohibited articles, as wool, corn, raw silk, &c. and to import foreign productions or manufactured goods, to the great detriment of their interdicted fellow-citizens.

In most of the provinces Fouché's commissaries of police improved upon his plan of private and extraordinary contributions. In 1801 Lecointre Puyravaux, Fouché's commissary of police for Marseilles and its department, amongst other impositions, laid the bakers of that city under a tax of 30,000 livres a month; and, to enable them to discharge it, he consented to an advance of the price of bread from three to five sous a pound, when at Paris and other places the pound of bread was only two sous and a half. Lecointre also ordered, in June 1801, his subaltern commissaries of police, and the *gens d'armes*, under the pretext of protecting the merchants who visited the fair of Beaucaire (one of the most frequented in France, kept in July every year), not to suffer any person to attend it who was not provided with a pass from him; and this pass cost three livres, or half-a-crown English. In consequence of this arbitrary regulation, Lecointre signed, in twelve days, 46,000 passes; and thus put as many half-crowns in his own pocket or private treasury.

In August 1801, Lecointre being offended with some of the merchants of Marseilles, because, in a private dispute between him and La Croix the prefect of the department, they did not make his cause their own; to punish them, and to display his own power, he invented and decreed a new ordinance respecting the exchange hours and commercial transactions. By the new regulations he introduced, all merchant's clerks, or sons, except

one, were deprived of the permission to frequent the exchange; and Lecointre, or, if he was prevented, one of his agents or spies, was always to be present, to demand the licenses, passes, or cards, of those citizens whom they thought proper to exclude, or suspected to be excluded by Lecointre's regulations: and, as it had been stipulated in them, that the exchange hours were to be between the hours of one and three o'clock in the afternoon, every day, a quarter before three o'clock, two drummers entered the exchange beating their drums, thus absolutely drumming the merchants from the place.

The vexations and extortions of Fouché, and his commissaries of police, when he held that office under Napoleon, were as numerous and various as they were extensive; reaching not only over France, but extending over Germany, Italy, Holland, and Switzerland. On the 15th of August 1801, a commissary of police at Aix in Provence, at half past eleven o'clock at night, forced forty passengers at an inn to rise from their beds, and to shew their passes. During this visit, the inn, situated in the suburb of Aix, was surrounded and guarded by fifty *gens d'armes*. As it was a breach of the constitution to make any domiciliary visits at night, the landlord was asked the reason of such an unlawful step; he answered, that this commissary was a *protégé* and favourite of Fouché, who regularly visited three or four times in the decade all the different inns at Aix, not to look for or to arrest any suspected persons, but to lay those passengers under contribution who had no passes, or whose passes were too old, or wanted any of the numerous and oppressive formalities to which all persons travelling were obliged to submit. The landlord added, this commissary did not make it a secret, that these tyrannical and unlawful domiciliary visits realized him a yearly revenue of 1000 louis d'ors. Notwithstanding such violations of public liberty, and such extortionate practices on the part of the commissaries of police, no man, or body of men, dared at that time to make any formal complaint to the government; so great was the influence of Fouché, and the dread he had inspired.

After the peace of Luneville, Fouché, assisted by Talleyrand, made out a list of all known persons in Europe,

rope, statesmen, politicians, and authors, who had either written or spoken for monarchy, morality, religion, or who had published opinions in favour of the French revolution, and extolled its past and present leading men. This list, beginning with the letter A, and ending with Z, was left with the commissaries of police in all the frontier towns of France. In the margin, opposite to each name, were instructions for the police commissary how to act towards travellers: if they were royalists, they were either to arrest them or affront them, to send them back with insult, or to permit them to continue their way with precaution, accompanied by *gens-d'armes*; but if they were modern patriots, and had approved of the revolution, they were to receive them with more or less distinction, either by the commandant and the municipality *en masse*, or only to honour them by a visit of the commissary of police. This curious list, besides the names of several foreigners, contained the names of state creditors: these were to be stopped under various pretences, and were by no means to be permitted to go to Paris. If they were troublesome, they were to be escorted to the other side of the frontiers by *gens-d'armes*, and forbid to return under pain of being regarded and punished as spies.

As in all revolutionary governments the natural effect is to raise obscure individuals to the highest offices of the state, and as the hopes and expectations of numbers are thus raised, in order to keep up this natural expectation, and divert the minds of those who might be inclined to look a little into public abuses, Fouché had ordered a number of his spies to become fortune-tellers, most of whom had printed answers agreeable to the age, sex, condition, or appearance, of the persons wishing to have their fortune told. These answers uniformly foretold prosperity and success. At the bottom of the printed answers were always some numbers for the lottery, which were called fortunate for the purchasers. The Boulevards, and all public places and squares at Paris, abounded with those fortune-tellers; and in the provinces they relieved each other, so that if the credit of any one should happen to diminish, another took his place. In every city, town, or large village in France, some of them were always to be found. At Paris, the prices paid to those

attending the most frequented walks were from two to six sous; but in the country they were less. Although these itinerant fortune-tellers had only the lower sort of the people to do with, yet, at fixed places of abode, which were frequented by people of rank and fortune, there were several of them who received from six livres to a louis d'or. They were all registered as spies to the police, and were obliged to pay a monthly sum to Fouché's agents for protection.

Such were the means which this minister had recourse to, in order to detect any plots and conspiracies against the government, and to keep the public in humour with a system which could only be advantageous and profitable to the principal actors in it. To have acquired a considerable fortune by such means, and with such opportunities, cannot be wondered at; and it is asserted, that the fortune alone of Fouché, without his salary, &c. acquired by means which he can best explain, was five hundred thousand livres per annum. His salary, as minister of police, no one knew to a certainty; and it was very dangerous in France to speak upon that subject, as the following example will shew: but we do not vouch for its truth and accuracy, having it, as we do, from a source which seems to have imbibed a strong prejudice against the French minister of police.

A young clerk at one of the first banking-houses at Paris, had the imprudence, in the spring of 1802, to mention, at a *restaurateur's*, "that he was sure the house he belonged to had bought up for Fouché, since the peace, upwards of five millions of stock in the foreign funds, under different names." Some few days after this declaration, the young man disappeared; and, the ninth day after he had conversed about Fouché's property, his body was found in the river near St. Cloud: he had been murdered, and his body thrown into the Seine.

The Jacobin party, who in 1799 forced Talleyrand to resign the foreign department, promoted Fouché, who was one of their distinguished partisans, to the ministry of police. After the revolution, which ended in the consular government, Napoleon continued Fouché in the office of minister of police, and recalled Talleyrand to the foreign department. It was not to be expected, that two such intriguing characters, whose revolutionary principles

ciples were so opposite to each other, would long agree in the same councils, without attempting to supplant each other. Those about Napoleon could easily discover, from his hatred to the Jacobins on one hand, and apprehensions of the Royalists on the other, whose influence was the greatest, and whose reports were most believed. Talleyrand constantly insisted that the Royalists were not dangerous, whilst Fouché assured him that the Jacobins had neither the means nor the inclination to trouble his government. Until the plot of Arena, whether real or fictitious, had been forgotten by the First Consul, Talleyrand successfully excluded Fouché for some time from Buonaparte's favour: Fouché, in his turn, on the discovery of the infernal machine, caused Talleyrand to be both slighted and neglected. Their jealousies and disputes were carried so far, that it was expected that one of them would be forced to resign. Talleyrand, however, got so far the better of his rival, that, contrary to the wishes and interest of Fouché, a prefect of police was nominated for Paris; and, what was of greater consequence, this prefect of police was one of Talleyrand's creatures. From this Fouché was led to conclude, that the instant he was no longer wanted, he would be dismissed, notwithstanding he had been promised his place for four years by Napoleon. In order, therefore, to retain his situation, the best way was to endeavour to make his services necessary, by keeping his master in continual alarm and fear of plots, intrigues, and conspiracies. Twice in every decade, Fouché had orders to present his report of the public opinion, or what was otherwise interesting concerning the safety of the First Consul and his government. Those reports belonged to the secret police of the interior; and Napoleon therefore never shewed them to any body. One day, when his daughter-in-law, Fanny Beauharnois, who was married to Louis Buonaparte, and who was a great favourite with the First Consul, observed him much agitated in reading a paper, which at her approach he put over the chimney-piece, curiosity, or perhaps instigated by somebody, made her contrive to penetrate into the cause of her father's uneasiness. In playing with him, as she often did, she got hold of this paper; and, to prevent any suspicion, she tore another paper near it to pieces, and threw them through

through the window, exclaiming, "Dear father! I hope you are not angry that I have destroyed the villainous paper, which made you so uncomfortable." Napoleon freely forgave her, when, in presence of her mother, she mentioned what she had done. The paper she had concealed was found to be one of Fouché's reports, instilling fear and suspicion into the mind of the First Consul, of the persons even the nearest and dearest to him. What most surprised Madame Buonaparte was, that Fouché mentioned those informations as extracted from the report made to him by Dubois the prefect of police. Madame Buonaparte knew that Dubois owed his place to the protection of Talleyrand, and that Fouché was Talleyrand's enemy; she therefore sent for him, and presented him the report of the police minister. In a few hours after, Talleyrand informed her, that the whole was an invention of Fouché to make himself necessary; but that he should take care the First Consul should not long continue the dupe of this man. It was said, that this report was transmitted to Buonaparte in the morning of the 8th of August 1802; and that, in consequence, he wrote for the *Moniteur* of the next day a most violent philippic against England; Fouché having reported amongst other things, that English travellers in France, and George, and the French Chouans in England, were closely connected, and conspired with those disaffected persons who were about him. On the 15th of the same month, the birthday of Napoleon, Talleyrand congratulated the First Consul upon the tranquillity that reigned every where, and the union of all parties under his mild but firm government, which he had heard with so much satisfaction from Dubois the prefect of police, who assured him that for the last six months he had not received any intelligence of discontent or disaffection either amongst foreign or intestine rivals or enemies. This compliment made Napoleon thoughtful; and, the next morning, he ordered Dubois to send to him for the future his police accounts in secret, and to continue to forward them to Fouché, as was his duty. Soon after this, for some cause or other, which remains unexplained, Fouché was dismissed from the office of minister of police, and appointed a senator, a place at that time of little profit, and more honourable than important.

When

When the constitution of Switzerland was about to be altered, conformable to the views of the First Consul, Fouché was appointed one of the consular negotiators on that occasion.

In the year 1805, Fouché was again made minister of police; his services in that department being too important to be dispensed with by the Emperor Napoleon.

At the restoration of Louis XVIII. Fouché, as well as his rival, Talleyrand, were each entrusted with their important offices; necessity enforcing a policy that was found essential to the existence of the government: and, notwithstanding his defection when Napoleon again seized upon the government, and his eagerness to be employed under his old master, yet so important are his services considered, and so necessary is it to have an efficient and vigorous police in the corrupted and depraved capital of France, that Fouché is again, to the surprise of the real supporters and well-wishers of the monarchy, appointed to the office of Minister of Police.

Fouché is distinguished by an insinuating manner, and a certain mode of expressing himself easily and agreeably. He writes and executes with great facility, and has a deep knowledge of the characters of all those who have in any manner distinguished themselves since the breaking out of the revolution: he knows their foibles, their passions, and their vices, and how to turn them to the best advantage. Hence it is that he has ever been found of essential service to the government; and in vain would Louis look out for another man so well skilled as Fouché in the important office entrusted to him.

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN JERVIS,
EARL OF ST. VINCENT, K.B.

IF we are to ascribe the proud pre-eminence of Great Britain, and the exalted rank she holds among the nations of the world, as much to the valour and intrepidity of her fleets and armies as to the wisdom of her councils and the beauty and structure of her constitution, she confessedly owes a large share of gratitude to the noble and venerable subject of our present biography, who may justly be ranked amongst the foremost of her heroes, and the most respectable of her legislators.

This illustrious Admiral is descended of an ancient family in the county of Stafford, and is the second son of Swynfen Jervis, Esq. barrister at law, some time counsel to the Board of Admiralty, and auditor of Greenwich Hospital. He was sent at a very early age to a celebrated school at Burton-upon-Trent: his whole education was directed to the object of the law, for which he was originally intended. He quitted this seminary when ten years old, in consequence of his father having, in conformity to his own inclination, determined to educate him for the sea service. He was rated a Midshipman about the year 1748-9, and served in that capacity on board the Gloucester, of 50 guns, the commanding ship on the Jamaica station. After an almost uninterrupted series of service, he was, in the year 1755, promoted to the rank of Lieutenant; and, not long afterward, selected by the late Sir Charles Saunders to serve on board his ship.

He accompanied Sir Charles as his first lieutenant in the expedition against Quebec; an expedition which, though successful in its termination, displayed, for a considerable time, nothing but a series of disappointments,

ments, and difficulties, that, had they not been combated by the utmost exertion of human ability, gallantry, and perseverance, might have proved insurmountable. He was made Captain of the Porcupine sloop in a few days after the admiral got up to the north end of the Isle of Orleans. His former commander, who had become intimately acquainted with his merits, appointed him Acting Captain of the Experiment, a post ship, mounting 20 guns, during the indisposition of Sir John Strachan; which event happened two years before he was made a commander. This temporary promotion was extremely fortunate to Mr. Jervis; who, having been ordered out on a Mediterranean cruise, had the fortune to fall in with a very large xebec trader, Moorish colours, though it was very evident the whole of her crew was French. The superiority possessed by the enemy in point of natural force was so great, that the event of the contest would at best have been doubtful, had not that enemy been resisted, on the part of the English, by the most consummate ability, joined to the most active intrepidity. The xebec, exclusive of the advantage she derived from her low construction, particularly in smooth water, and those light winds which prevailed at the time of the attack, mounted 26 guns of very heavy calibre, besides a considerable number of large swivels, or patararoes. The crew, which was nearly three times as numerous as that of the Experiment, consisted of men selected from the hardest class of society, on whom the appellation of desperadoes might be very aptly and justly bestowed. The grand objects of their ferocious minds were rapine and plunder. Lawless in their pursuits, insatiable in their avarice, and most intemperate in what they considered their pleasures, they attempted (instead of displaying that cool and dignified conduct which, when he contends on honourable terms, excites our admiration even of an enemy) to dart on their prey with the savage spirit of vultures, thirsting to satiate their voracious appetites. The conflict, though furious, was short: determinate bravery prevailed over fury; and the assailants considered themselves extremely fortunate in not being so disabled as to prevent them from taking the advantage of a light and favourable breeze of wind, which in all

probability preserved them from a discomfiture much more serious, if not a capture.

Captain Jervis, having returned to England, he commanded the Unicorn, by order, till the 13th of October 1760, when he was promoted to the rank of Post Captain by commission appointing him to the Gosport, of 40 guns. He was present at the retaking St. John's, Newfoundland, and convoyed the trade from Virginia afterwards. He continued in the Gosport till the end of the war, but without any opportunity being afforded him of displaying his talents and bravery.

After having remained some time on the home station, Captain Jervis was ordered to the Mediterranean, whence he did not return till the conclusion of the war; and, being then paid off, held no subsequent command till the year 1769; when, being appointed to the Alarm frigate, of 32 guns, he was again ordered to the Mediterranean.

While on this station, in the month of August 1770, being at Villa Franca, he had the honour of entertaining on board his ship the Duc de Chablais, brother to the King of Sardinia, who expressed himself most highly gratified at his reception; having found, not improbably with surprise, that elegance of manners, and the most polished behaviour, were not incompatible with the character of a naval officer. His Royal Highness shewed the greatest curiosity to be informed of the use of every thing he saw: he desired the chain-pumps to be worked, and a gun to be exercised; and, between the several motions, made the most pertinent remarks. Having satisfied his curiosity, he testified his gratification by the magnificent presents he made on that occasion. To the Captain he gave a diamond ring, inclosed in a large gold snuff-box; to the two lieutenants, a gold box each; to the lieutenant of marines who mounted the guard, the midshipman who steered his Royal Highness, and those who assisted him up and down the ship's side, a gold watch each, one of which was a Paris repeater, and another set with sparks; together with a large sum of money to the ship's company. His Royal Highness stayed about two hours; and was saluted, on his going aboard and coming ashore, with one-and-twenty guns.

Not long after the return of Captain Jervis to England, where he arrived in 1774, he was promoted to the Foudroyant,

droyant, of 84 guns, a ship originally belonging to the French, and captured from them in the year 1758, by the Monmouth of 64 guns. This appointment was a convincing proof of the estimation in which he was held by the Board of Admiralty; for the Foudroyant was considered the finest two-decked ship belonging to the British navy. For some time after he received the command of this ship, he was employed to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, in order to prevent as much as possible all intercourse between France and the then revolted colonies of America.

Soon after, the Foudroyant was ordered to join the fleet equipped for Channel service, under the command of Admiral Keppel; and Captain Jervis was selected by that gentleman to be one of his seconds. In the partial action that ensued between the French and British fleets, on the 27th of July 1778, his gallantry was very conspicuous; and when the indecisive issue of the action had raised the clamour of party against Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, the Vice-Admiral preferred five articles of accusation against him. Captain Jervis's evidence, on this occasion, was spirited and impartial. Upon the following questions being put by the Admiral, he answered as follows:—

Q. Your station being nearest me during the pursuit of the enemy, and after the action, which gave you an opportunity of observing my conduct, and of seeing objects nearly in the same point of view with myself, I desire you will state to the court any instance, if you saw or knew of any such, in which I negligently performed my duty, on the 27th or 28th of July.

A. With great respect to you, Sir, and deference to the court, I hope I shall be indulged with having that question put by the court.

The Judge Advocate, *mutatis mutandis*, then put the question.

A. I feel myself bound to answer that question; I believe it to be consonant to the general practice of sea courts-martial. I cannot boast of a long acquaintance with Admiral Keppel; I never had the honour of serving under him before; but I am happy in this opportunity to declare to this court, and to the whole world, that, during the whole time that the English fleet was in sight

of the French fleet, he displayed *the greatest naval skill and ability, and the boldest enterprise, upon the 27th of July, which, with the promptitude of Sir Robert Harland, will be subjects of my admiration and imitation as long as I live.*"

From the evidence given upon this trial it appears, that the Foudroyant, which had got into her station about three, and never left it till four the next morning, was very closely engaged, and in a most disabled state. Her main-mast had received a shot very near through the head, which lodged in the cheek, and passed through the heart of the mast, and several other shot in different places; her fore-mast had also received several shot; a large excavation had been made in her bowsprit near the centre; the fore top-mast was so disabled, that it was totally useless; every rope of her running rigging cut, and her shrouds demolished; no braces or bow-lines left, and scarcely any halyards, forestay, spring-stay, and top-sail tics; and the foot rope of the fore top-sail shot away: her sails also were very much shattered. In this shattered state, the Foudroyant was not in a condition to chase; but she kept her station next the Victory as far to windward as possible: "*I was covetous of wind,*" said this brave officer, "*because, disabled as I then was, I conceived the advantage of the wind could carry me again into action.*"

Being asked some questions relative to the position of the Vice-Admiral and his division, his Lordship pointedly replied, he was not a *competent judge of that part of the fleet; he was very attentive to the Admiral.*

From the whole of the evidence, the sentence of the court was, "that the charge was malicious and ill-founded; it having appeared, that the Admiral, so far from having, by misconduct and neglect of duty, lost an opportunity of rendering essential service to the state, or tarnished the lustre of the British navy, behaved as a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. The court, therefore, unanimously and honourably acquitted Admiral Keppel of the several articles of charge contained against him." Sir Thomas Pye, the president, on delivering to Admiral Keppel his sword, addressed him in the following words:—"Admiral Keppel, it is no small pleasure for me to receive the command of the court,
that

that, in delivering your sword, I am to congratulate you on its being restored to you with so much honour, hoping ere long you will be called forth by your sovereign to draw it once more in defence of your country."

Captain Jervis continued employed on the different services allotted to the home or Channel fleet, commanded in succession, after the resignation of Admiral Keppel, by Sir Charles Hardy, Admirals Geary, and Darby. The absence of an enemy precluded a possibility of contest; and the events of war, so far as they regarded this consequential armament, were confined merely to a dull monotony of carrying into execution every service on which it was ordered, without ever beholding a foe, at least any one that merited so dignified an appellation.

In the month of April 1782, a slight interruption was given to this long-continued scene of tedious inactivity. Intelligence having been received, that a French armament, consisting of four or five ships of war and several transports, was ready for sea at Brest, destined for the East Indies, a squadron, consisting of several ships of the line, was ordered out, under the command of Vice-Admiral Barrington, for the purpose of intercepting them. The experiment proved in a great measure successful; and the most brilliant part of that success was attributable to the activity and spirit of Captain Jervis. The part he so honourably bore in this affair will be best explained by the account given by his commanding officer of the transaction, and that singular method he adopted of doing honour to his gallantry, in declining to give any other account of the transaction than what had been, in such modest terms, transmitted to him by Captain Jervis himself.

Extract of a letter from the Honourable Vice-Admiral BARRINGTON, to Mr. STEPHENS, dated on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, the 25th of April 1782.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on the 20th instant, Ushant bearing N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. twenty three leagues, at one P.M. I perceived the Artois, Captain Macbride, with a signal out for discovering an enemy's fleet, but at such a distance, that it was with the utmost difficulty I could distinguish the colour of the flag.

flag. It was then calm ; but a breeze soon springing up, I made the signal for a general chase, the enemy at such a distance that I could but just discover them from the Britannia's mast-head at three o'clock. At the close of the evening seven of our ships had got a good distance a-head of me, the Foudroyant (Captain Jervis) the foremost; and in the night it coming to blow strong with hazy weather, after having lost sight of his companions, at forty-seven minutes after twelve, brought the Pegase, of 74 guns, and 700 men, to a close action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when the Foudroyant having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the Frenchman struck. My pen is not equal to the praise that is due to the good conduct, bravery, and discipline of Captain Jervis, his officers, and seamen, on this occasion; let his own modest narrative, which I herewith inclose, speak for itself.

The next morning, soon after day-break, the wind then at south, blowing strong, it shifted in an instant to the west, and with such violence, that it was with difficulty I could carry my courses to clear Ushant, and get the Channel open; which being accomplished by noon, I brought to, and remained so until the evening of the 22d, to collect the squadron.

" By the accounts of the prisoners, there were eighteen sail laden with stores, provisions, and ammunition, under the convoy of the Protecteur of 74 guns, Pegase 74, L'Andromache 32, together with L'Actionnaire, a two-decker, armed *en flute*, all bound for L'Isle de France. They left Brest the 19th instant.

" I cannot pretend to give their Lordships a particular account of the number of prizes taken, but must refer them to that which they may receive as they arrive in port, though I believe there are ten at least."

" Proceedings of his Majesty's ship under my command from the 20th instant.

" Near sun-set on the 20th, I was near enough to discover, that the enemy consisted of three or four ships of war, two of them at least of the line, with seventeen or eighteen sail under their convoy, and that the latter dispersed by signal. At half-past nine, I observed the smallest of the ships of war to speak with the headmost,
and

and then bear away. At a quarter past ten, the sternmost line-of-battle ship, perceiving we came up with her very fast, bore up also. I pursued her, and at forty-seven minutes after twelve brought her to close action, which continued three quarters of an hour; when, having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the French ship of war, *Le Pegase*, of 74 guns, and 700 men, commanded by the Chevalier de Cillart, surrendered.

"The discipline and good conduct of the officers and men under my command will best appear by the state of the killed and wounded, and of the damages sustained in each ship.

"I am happy to inform you, that only two or three people, with myself, are slightly wounded; but I learn from the Chevalier de Cillart, that *Le Pegase* suffered a great carnage, and was materially damaged in her masts and yards, the mizen mast and the fore top-mast having gone away soon after the action ceased.

"It blew so strongly yesterday morning, that I with difficulty put eighty men on board the prize, but received only forty prisoners in return; in performing which I fear two of our boats were lost. The disabled state of the prize, together with the strong wind and heavy sea, induced me to make the signal for immediate assistance, which Commodore Elliot supplied, by making the Queen's signal to assist the disabled ship.

"At eight o'clock last night, they bore S.S.W. four miles distant from us. We lay to till ten, in hopes of their joining; but, not perceiving them, we bore up, and ran N.E. twenty-three miles till day-light; when seeing nothing of them, we brought to, and at half-past eight made sail to join the squadron.

"By all I can learn from the prisoners, this small squadron, composed of *Le Protecteur* (Monsieur de Soulangue, Commodore), *Le Pegase*, and *L'Andromaque* frigate, was making a second attempt to proceed on an expedition to the East Indies. Some of the troops having been before captured under that destination by the squadron under the command of Real-Admiral Kempenfelt, in the presence of the above-mentioned ships of war.

Foudroyant, April 23, 1782.

J. JERVIS."

The slight wound he received was occasioned by a splinter, which struck him on the temple, and so severely affected

affected him as to endanger his eye-sight; the consequences of which he has never entirely got rid of. For his services on this occasion he received the Order of the Bath.

The Foudroyant accompanied Lord Howe, who was sent with the Channel fleet to relieve the strong and important fortress of Gibraltar, which was then very closely pressed on the land side by a powerful Spanish army, while the combined armaments of France and Spain, amounting to nearly fifty sail of the line, attempted to blockade it by sea.

Immediately on the return of the fleet to England, Captain Sir John Jervis quitted the Foudroyant; and, being advanced to the rank of Commodore, hoisted his broad pendant on board the Salisbury, of 50 guns, being chosen to command a small squadron, which was to have consisted of nine or ten ships and vessels of war, with a number of armed transports, on a secret expedition. The peace, however, superseded the necessity of carrying the object of it into execution.

His professional duties having ceased, he obtained a seat in parliament for Launceston; and, at the general election which took place in 1784, he was chosen for the town of North Yarmouth. As a legislator, he displayed considerable abilities, and a persevering zeal in what regarded the welfare of his country, and in particular its naval concerns.

On the 24th of September 1787, a promotion of flag-officers took place, in consequence of which Sir John became advanced to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, as he afterwards was, on the 21st of September 1790, to the same rank in the White Squadron. A dispute with the Court of Spain, relative to Nootka Sound, had, for some months previous to the last promotion, rendered it more than probable that a rupture would take place. A formidable armament was accordingly equipped, to be in readiness for immediate action the moment such an event should take place. The chief command was given to Admiral Barrington; and Sir John most readily accepted of the highly honourable station of First Captain, or Captain of the fleet, under his old friend and commander. The impending storm of war having dispersed, Admiral Barrington struck his flag in the month of November; and

and Sir John, taking upon himself the command of the fleet till the whole should be ordered to be dismantled, hoisted his own flag on board the same ship, the *Barfleur*, which had in the first instance been appointed for the commander-in-chief. The certainty of a continuance of peace soon produced the same effect with regard to Sir John that it had done to Admiral Barrington; and after that time he most diligently and uninterruptedly confined himself to his senatorial duties, till the month of February 1794. He then accepted of the command of a squadron equipped for the West Indies, and destined to act in conjunction with a formidable land force, sent thither at the same time, under Sir Charles Grey, against the French settlements in that quarter.

The whole armament having rendezvoused at Barbadoes, operations were immediately commenced by an attack on Martinico. It fell after a short, but vigorous contest: and this was followed by the speedy reduction of St. Lucia and Guadaloupe. This current of success was, however, but of short duration; for the French government having secretly fitted out a small armament with 1500 troops on board, it had the good fortune to evade the British fleets and arrive at Guadaloupe in safety. This event, so totally unexpected, gave a sudden and unfortunate turn to the campaign. But it was not at all attributable to the gallant commanders, whose exertions had been so uninterruptedly crowned with success. Not the smallest information had reached them that such a force was on its passage; nor could they possibly conceive, considering the relative state of the French and British navies, that it was possible to send out a force without the absolute certainty of its being captured before it arrived at its point of destination.

The conduct of Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis in this joint expedition was subjected to much unmerited reproach; and accusations against them, both in and out of parliament, were brought forward. The charges against them will be best understood from the following short extract of a letter to the Duke of Portland, written jointly by both commanders:—

“MY LORD—We take the liberty of troubling your Grace on the subject of the memorials which have been presented to your Grace by the West India planters and
VOL. III. M M merchants,

merchants, and others, respecting our proceedings and conduct as commanders-in-chief, upon and subsequent to the conquest of the French West India islands. Some of those memorials were presented during our commands in the West Indies; and, if we are correctly informed, they were preceded by personal communications made to his Majesty's ministers upon the authority of private letters from merchants and traders in the West Indies. How far these representations and memorials have been acted upon by his Majesty's ministers, we are uninformed; but, from the nature of the allegations contained in them, and the objects which the memorialists profess to have in view, we assure ourselves that they cannot be countenanced; if they are, it places us in this singular dilemma, that in the discharge of our public duty, as commanders-in-chief in the West Indies, we could not avoid either disobeying the instructions and frustrating the views of his Majesty, or exposing ourselves to censure, by disappointing the wishes and expectations of merchants and traders connected with the West Indies.

“ The West India merchants appear to be apprehensive only of the consequences which may result to them from any precedent established by our conduct, upon which the French government may act towards them in case of a reverse of fortune. ‘Should the fortune of war,’ they say, ‘be reversed in that quarter, and any of the British islands be captured by the enemy (an event to be apprehended from the reduced state of the British forces in those islands, and from the untoward accidents which have prevented the departure of the reinforcements provided), retaliation, however temperate in its principle and extent, will be little short of total ruin to the fortune of your memorialists, and to a very considerable portion of his Majesty’s subjects.’

“ The ground upon which this complaint is founded, we take to be totally distinct from that which has been more generally and most loudly urged (which we shall observe upon afterwards), *viz.* that the property of emigrants, or those who were friendly to the British government, and contributed their assistance as far as they were enabled, or allowed to do, to the conquest of the French islands, were subjected to indiscriminate confiscation. The fear of retaliation must arise not from our treatment
of

of the enemies, but of the friends of the French government. The apprehension stated is, that, in case of a reverse of fortune, that government may treat our subjects as we have treated theirs'. To this we can give no other answer, than that the peculiar nature of the war, and the orders transmitted to us by his Majesty's ministers, left us no discretion as to the treatment either of that government or its supporters. Upon a reference to our secret instructions, your Grace will perceive that government to be represented as an usurpation, having no legal authority, and its supporters as rebels and traitors. We are directed by an order of council to prevent foreigners resorting to the islands without licence; and that order, by a letter from one of his Majesty's confidential servants, is explained, as 'clearly making the intentions of the British government to keep out of the conquered islands all persons whose principles were in the least degree to be suspected;' and he adds, 'I hope you have driven out of them all persons of this description.' We certainly acted in conformity to the policy here laid down in many instances. The subjects of the French government, or the pretended National Convention, as it is termed in the proclamation, were, in many instances, sent away, and their estates sequestered: this became necessary for the security of those islands, which, in all our letters and instructions, we considered ourselves directed to secure as a permanent acquisition to the crown of Great Britain. It became the more necessary, as our force became weaker. But for the precedent established by these proceedings, we are not responsible: and to the sequestered estates receivers were immediately appointed for the benefit of government; they still continue, we believe, to receive for government the profits of those estates, from which the captors have in no one instance derived any advantage or emolument of any kind to themselves.

"Having made these observations on the principles avowed by the memorialists, we must beg leave to call your Grace's attention to a statement of our proceedings in the conquered islands."

The letter then goes on most satisfactorily to rebut the charges; and it was deemed so conclusive, that several of those persons who had inconsiderately joined in the clamour, as an act of justice, waited on Sir John Jervis, and,

after an appropriate declaration of their high sense of his important services, requested his acceptance of a valuable piece of plate, accompanied with their entreaties that he would solicit his re-appointment to that station, which he had held with so much honour to himself and benefit to his country.

The House of Commons, also, after a considerable debate, passed the following honourable resolution—"That the House cordially perseveres in the vote of thanks unanimously passed to Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, with the officers and men under their command, for the eminent and distinguished services which they had rendered to their country."

This was followed by a public entertainment given to the joint commanders by the Grocers' Company; the freedom of which, as well as of several others, and, above all, of the city of London itself, was unanimously voted them. On this occasion, the celebrated Mr. Wilkes, the chamberlain, thus addressed them:—

"Permit, Gentlemen, the city wreaths to be mixed with the laurels you have fairly won, and which a general applause must more and more endear to you. These sentiments of gratitude pervade the country in which we live, while they animate the metropolis of our empire. They give a full indemnity against the slanderous breath of envy, and the foul calumnies of the envenomed serpent tongue of malice, which in these latter times has scarcely ceased to detract from, and endeavour to wound superior merit."

After the re-establishment of his health, which had suffered severely from the West India climate, not a little augmented by the anxiety of mind which he had suffered, Sir John Jervis was appointed commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet. He proceeded to this station on board a frigate; and, immediately on his arrival, Admiral Hotham, his predecessor, resigned to him this important command. Notwithstanding the severe blow the French marine in that quarter had sustained, in consequence of the partial destruction of the arsenal as well as the fleet at Toulon, the exertions of France were so extraordinary and unprecedented as to appear almost incredible, having refitted and collected a force of nearly twenty ships of the line. During the period of Admiral Hotham's command, this

this fleet had been hardy enough to venture out; and though two slight discomfitures had served in some measure to prevent a repetition of the same presumption, yet that very circumstance rendered the future operations in the same quarter much more irksome to the British commander-in-chief than a situation attended with more danger, and requiring far superior exertions, would have been.

The French fleet lay ready for sea, in a tolerable state of equipment. The inattention of a few hours might enable it to escape from that inglorious state of inactivity in which it was held, and effect considerable mischief on some vulnerable territory belonging to the allies of Great Britain. The unremitting attention of Sir John operated successfully to the prevention of any such disaster; and the British commerce, with the exception of a few insignificant captures by small vessels, experienced an uninterrupted prosperity in every part of the Mediterranean Sea.

Spain, towards the latter end of the year 1796, having abandoned her alliance with England, and joined France, without doubt as much contrary to her inclination as it was to her best interests, the situation of the British fleet in that quarter, under the orders of Sir John Jervis, was suddenly rendered extremely critical. Though the state of the Toulon squadron was insufficient to create any alarm in his mind, yet the fleet at Cadiz alone, which was in the most perfect condition for service, more than doubled his force. The political situation of Great Britain at this time rendered the greatest exertions necessary on the part of her naval defenders. A formidable combination was raised against her; and the fleets of Holland, France, and Spain, had they all been able to unite, would have composed an immense armament, consisting of nearly 100 sail of the line. The commotions which had for some time agitated Ireland, appeared to afford the enemy their greatest hopes of success, provided it were possible for them to put on shore any considerable body of regular troops to support the malcontents.

An attempt was made by France, immediately after Spain became her ally, to carry this project into execution: and though it had completely failed, there was little reason to expect, that the want of success on that occasion

occasion would so far intimidate the enemy as to prevent a repetition of it. Regarding therefore the general posture of public affairs, it appeared evident that the immediate execution of some grand and decisive measure, which might contribute to dispel that gloom which hung over Great Britain, was absolutely necessary. Sir John was perfectly well assured of this; but little relief could be expected, highly as the abilities of its commander might be estimated, from a squadron consisting of 26 ships of the line, and 10 frigates, which, putting the French force at Toulon totally out of the question, had to contend with an enemy of three times its own force.

This disparity of force, however, was in some degree reduced by the arrival of Rear-Admiral Parker from England, who formed a junction with Sir John on the 6th of February. Still, however, his force was so very unequal to that of the enemy, that nothing but the existing case could have warranted an attack, nor any thing short of the greatest exertions in regard to professional knowledge and gallantry could have rendered its event successful. Independent of that superiority which the enemy possessed in respect to force, they had the additional satisfaction of being so near to their own ports, that, even in case of discomfiture, they could retire, without dreading the consequences of pursuit, and moor in safety under the cannon of their own fortresses, in a less space of time than would be required to refit the rigging of a frigate, after an hour's contest with a vessel of equal force. The magnitude of the object, a firm reliance on the intrepidity, as well as activity of those whom he commanded, and a proper confidence in his own judgment, contributed to make the British Admiral despise all the surrounding difficulties, and determined him to attempt a new mode of attack, which he had long arranged in his own mind as practicable, should fortune ever favour him with an opportunity of carrying it into execution. He had long entertained very sanguine hopes it would be crowned with the most brilliant success; and the instant he received the augmentation of force by the junction of Admiral Sir William Parker, as well as became apprised of the situation of the enemy, he delayed not a moment his attack. The event is well known; but the

the leading particulars will be best explained by the official narrative of Sir John himself.

“ Victory, in Lagos Bay, Feb. 16.

“ SIR—The hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet, expressed in my letter to you of the 13th instant, were confirmed that night by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote, of his Majesty’s ship *Niger*, who had, with equal judgment and perseverance, kept company with them for several days on my prescribed rendezvous, which, from the strong south-east winds, I had never been able to reach; and that they were not more than three or four leagues from us. I anxiously awaited the dawn of day; when, being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing E. by N. eight leagues, I had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south-west to south, the wind then at W. by S. At forty minutes past ten, the weather being extremely hazy, *La Bonne Citoyenne* made the signal that the ships were of the line, twenty-five in number. His Majesty’s squadron under my command, consisting of the fifteen ships of the line, named in the margin, were happily formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy’s fleet at half-past eleven o’clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline, of the officers and men I had the happiness to command, and judging that the honour of his Majesty’s arms and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprise, I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system, and passing through their fleet in a line formed with the utmost celerity, tacked, and thereby separated one-third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction till the evening; and by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ships named in the margin* were captured, and the action ceased about five o’clock in the evening. I in-

* *Salvador del Mundo*, 112 guns; *San Josef*, 112; *San Nicholas*, 84; *San Ysidro*, 74.

close the most correct list I have been able to obtain of the Spanish fleet opposed to me, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line* ; and an account of the killed and wounded in his Majesty's ships, as well as in those taken from the enemy. The moment the latter, almost totally dismasted, and his Majesty's ships the Captain and Culloden are in a state to put to sea, I shall avail myself

* *Comparative View of the Force of the British and Spanish Fleets.*

British Line of Battle, as formed.		Spanish Fleet opposed to the British.	
Ships.	Commanders.	Ships.	Guns.
Culloden - - -	Capt. T. Troubridge.	Santissima Trinidad -	130
Blenheim - - -	Capt. J. L. Frederick.	Conde de Regla - - -	112
Prince George {	Rear-Admiral W. Parker.	Salvador del Mundo -	112
	Capt. J. Urwin.	Mexicana - - - - -	112
Orion - - - - -	Capt. Sir Jas. Saumarez.	Principe de Asturias -	112
Colossus - - - -	Capt. George Murray.	Conception - - - - -	112
Irresistible - -	Capt. George Martin.	San Josef - - - - -	112
	Admiral Sir. J. Jervis, K. B.	San Genaro - - - - -	74
Victory - - - -	Capt. Sir. R. Calder, Knt.	San Firmin - - - - -	74
	Capt. G. Grey.	San Ildefonso - - - -	74
Egmont - - - -	Capt. J. Sutton.	San Juan Nepomuceno	74
Goliath - - - -	Capt. Sir C. Knowles, Bart.	San Francis de Paulo -	74
Britannia - - -	Vice-Adm. C. Thompson.	San Ysidro - - - - -	74
	Capt. John Foley.	San Antonio - - - - -	74
Barfleur - - -	Vice-Adm. Waldegrave.	San Pablo - - - - -	74
	Capt. J. R. Dacres.	Atlante - - - - -	74
Captain - - - -	Commodore Nelson.	Glorioso - - - - -	74
	Capt. R. W. Miller.	Conquistador - - - -	74
Namur - - - - -	Capt. J. H. Whitshed.	San Nicholas - - - -	84
Diadem - - - -	Capt. G. H. Towry.	Oriente - - - - -	74
Excellent - - -	Capt. C. Collingwood.	Infanta de Pelayo - -	74
		Firme - - - - -	74
		Soberano - - - - -	74
		San Domingo (<i>flute</i>) -	58
		San Juan - - - - -	74
		Names unknown - - {	74
			74
Frigates.		Frigates.	
La Minerve - -	Capt. Geo. Cockburn.	Perla - - - - -	34
Southampton -	Capt. James M'Namara.	Ceres - - - - -	34
Lively - - - -	Capt. Lord Garlies.	Matilde - - - - -	34
Niger - - - - -	Capt. Samuel Foote.	Paz - - - - -	34
Bonne Citoyenne - - -	Capt. Lord Mark Kerr.	Mercedes - - - - -	34
		Diane - - - - -	34
Raven - - - - -	Capt. William Prowse.	Antiocha - - - - -	34
Fox Cutter - -	Lieutenant Gibson.	Brigida - - - - -	34
		Dorotea - - - - -	34
		Vigilante (brig) - - -	18
			of

of the first favourable winds to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, in my way to Lisbon. Captain Calder, whose able assistance has greatly contributed to the public service during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly describe to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the movements of the squadron on the 14th, and the present state of it. I am, &c.

“ J. JERVIS.”

“ *Evan Nepean, Esq. &c.*”

Independent of the information which this dispatch furnishes us with, there are other particulars not less interesting to the reader. It appears, that when the Spanish reconnoitring vessels were distinctly perceived, several British ships were immediately ordered to chase: so that, on the appearance of the enemy's van, it became necessary to form the line a-head and a-stern of the Admiral, as most convenient, without respect to the order of battle. This was done by signal at five minutes past eleven. The signal to cut through the enemy's line was made by the Admiral at thirty-five minutes past eleven; and this was immediately followed by that to engage. These signals were obeyed with equal ardour and celerity by Captain Troubridge, in the Culloden, followed by the Blenheim, Prince George, and the other ships, as they had formed.

The moment the enemy's line was broken, all the ships to windward wore; some in succession, others two or three together, as their fears or necessity compelled them. The signal was then given for the British fleet to tack in succession. This was immediately done by the greater part of the line; but the Captain, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Nelson, being in the rear, wore and pushed on, with a view to support the Culloden, and prevent the seventeen Spanish ships already cut off from rejoining their van. This manœuvre completely succeeded. He was soon followed by the Excellent, and presently after by the Diadem and Namur. At one o'clock, the Britannia's signal was made to tack, the headmost of the British ships having so much damaged the Spanish van, that it began to move off, and the principal force becoming, in consequence, necessary for the succour of the Captain and the Culloden, with the other ships that were then commencing their attack upon the enemy. On the Britannia's putting her helm a-lee, the

Barfleur instantly wore, and, being a faster sailer, soon reached within a cable's length of the Victory, directly in her wake; which station she maintained till the end of the action, about a quarter of an hour's interval excepted, when the Namur, from her swift sailing, was enabled to push between her and the Victory. The Spanish ships being thus cut off, and prevented from rejunction during the battle, by the quick and well-directed fire of the Prince George, the Culloden, Blenheim, Orion, Irresistible, and Diadem; the rest of the British squadron fought with the others, and, before sun-set, took possession of the Salvador del Mundo, and San Josef, of 112 guns, the San Nicholas of 84, and the San Ysidro of 74; the Santissima Trinidad, the Spanish flag-ship, escaping with considerable difficulty, and in the most shattered condition.

At this period, nine or ten of the Spanish ships that had been separated, and, therefore, unengaged during the whole contest, having at length effected a junction with their van, were preparing to come down and renew the action. It was here that the great skill of Sir John Jervis displayed itself to advantage. With the most prompt resolution he brought to, and made so able a disposition for the defence of the ships under his care, that, though still superior in number, they thought proper to leave their friends, and avoid the danger with which they were threatened.

The consequences of this victory were as important, as the circumstances attending it were glorious. The joy with which it was received in England was in no degree inferior to its magnitude and importance; nor was public gratitude backward in rewarding such great merit. Sir John received from his grateful sovereign the dignity of a Baron, and Earl of Great Britain, by the titles of BARON JERVIS, of Meaford, the place of his birth, and EARL OF ST. VINCENT, the scene of his glory. A pension of £3000 a year was also voted him, by parliament. Besides these national marks of gratitude, many other testimonies of inferior note were bestowed upon him, sufficiently evincing the gratitude of his countrymen.

Upon the motion of thanks, in the House of Lords, for the glorious victory over the Spanish fleet, the Duke of Bedford proposed, as this differed from every other, to introduce

introduce an amendment, expressive of its characteristic distinction. The Duke of Clarence supported this proposition; and, in his speech upon this occasion, gave several instances, from his own knowledge, of the excellent state and discipline in which the men and ships under his Lordship's command were invariably kept; "and," continued his Royal Highness, who had served some time under him, "without giving the slightest offence to any other, I do not hesitate to declare Sir John Jervis the very best officer in his Majesty's service."

Earl St. Vincent was twice chosen a representative of the borough of Great Yarmouth; and, in consequence of the recommendation of his intimate friend and early patron, the late Marquis of Lansdown, was first introduced to the Whig party in that town. At a subsequent election, he declined in favour of his colleague, Mr. Beaufoy, and was returned, with Sir Francis Baring, for High Wycombe. Upon the death of Lord Charles Townshend, his Lordship was again proposed for Yarmouth; but, although this friendly effort did not succeed, it ought in justice to be observed, in testimony of his distinguished merit on the one side, and the grateful sense entertained of it by his former constituents on the other, that, in his absence, without any solicitation, even without his knowledge, and without expence, he was put in nomination. Indeed, so firm was his Lordship's attachment to this ancient borough, that he wished to have taken the title of Earl of Yarmouth; but, upon being informed that his title was that of St. Vincent, his Lordship observed, that he was very well satisfied, as that title belonged to *every officer and seaman of his fleet*.

His Lordship continued, during the space of two years, blockading the Spanish fleet off Cadiz, during which operation he detached Lord Nelson, with part of his fleet, in quest of the French expedition to Egypt; and thus, by selecting an able officer for this service, he was the means of acquiring for his country a victory which has hardly a parallel.

His health having suffered greatly by his active duties, he was compelled to return to England in the year 1799. On the 18th of August, his Lordship landed in the dock-yard at Portsmouth, and went to the house of Sir

Peter Parker, where he was waited upon by the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, with the following address:—

“MY LORD—Impressed with the most grateful sense of the high services rendered to our country, by the glorious victory obtained by the fleet under your command, over that of the enemy, on the 14th of February 1797, the mayor and aldermen of this borough have elected and appointed your Lordship a Burgess of our ancient corporation. They now take the earliest opportunity to shew their high esteem and regard, by congratulating you on your safe return; sincerely wishing your Lordship may be speedily restored to health, that your country may again be benefited by fresh victories obtained by the fleet under your command.”

To which his Lordship returned the following answer:—

“I am very happy on this occasion to repeat the sense I entertain of the great honour done me by the mayor and aldermen of the borough of Portsmouth, in electing and appointing me a Burgess of their ancient corporation, and in assuring them that I shall be ready on all occasions to promote the interest of the borough.

“I return you many thanks for your congratulations on my return to England, and kind wishes for the speedy recovery of my health, *which if it please God to restore, the remainder of my life will be devoted to the service of my king and country.*”

Lord St. Vincent, has always sided with the old opposition; and though he would not withhold his services at the season when they were so greatly needed, he yet could never be induced to acknowledge either the justice or the policy of the late disastrous and expensive war.

In consequence of the retreat of Mr. Pitt and his party from office, Lord Sidmouth became prime-minister, on which occasion he selected the subject of this memoir as one of his colleagues. Lord St. Vincent accordingly succeeded Earl Spencer at the Admiralty Board; and, notwithstanding the state of his health was far from being flattering, he performed the arduous and important duties of his office with a perseverance and zeal truly astonishing.

During the summer of 1802 he undertook a most extensive

tensive tour, and personally inspected all the principal dock-yards in the kingdom. He investigated their management and internal economy with a scrutinizing eye, remedied many evils, and exterminated a multitude of abuses. But his chief glory is perhaps derived from the appointment of a board to inquire into the frauds committed in the naval department, which soon detected such a scene of plunder as had never been witnessed before in this country.

On the return of Mr. Pitt to power in 1805, Lord St. Vincent retired: but, on the death of that minister, early in 1806, his Lordship was selected by the new administration as a proper person to command the grand fleet.

On Saturday the 8th of March, he accordingly repaired to Portsmouth, and was cheered by the ships at Spithead as he passed, all the yard-arms being manned on his approach. On his arrival on board the *Hibernia*, where the union flag was hoisted at the main top-mast head, a general salute was fired.

On the 12th of March Lord St. Vincent sailed from St. Helen's, on which occasion all his orders were issued as "Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's fleet in Channel soundings, or wherever else the service may require."

His Lordship has for some time retired from public life, carrying with him the affection, esteem, and veneration of his grateful country. His generosity and magnanimity has been lately strikingly manifested in a noble donation of £500 to the Waterloo subscription, which will do honour to his memory.

Memoirs
OF
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
SIR THOMAS PICTON.

ALTHOUGH we do not profess to give the Memoirs of deceased characters, yet a deviation from this rule may sometimes be excused, particularly where a personage remarkably distinguished becomes the subject of our biography, and whose actions have attracted the notice of the world. Upon this principle we conceive we shall gratify our readers in presenting them with the Memoirs of Sir Thomas Picton, who held so high a military character, and who fell so gloriously in the discharge of his important duties.

Sir Thomas Picton entered the army, in the year 1771, as an Ensign in the 12th regiment of foot: he served in Gibraltar under Generals Sir Robert Boyd and Lord Heathfield, from the year 1773 to 1778. He got his company in the 75th regiment, and remained a Captain for the long period of sixteen years, from 1778 to 1794. In 1783 he commanded the 75th regiment, then quartered at Bristol; and, by an intrepidity of conduct, and a daring resolution of mind, which, on every perilous emergency, mark the character and features of superior men, quelled a mutiny which broke out in that regiment, and which, from the complexion it had assumed, promised the most disastrous consequences. For this example of a true military spirit, he received the Royal approbation, through the then Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal Conway.

From the year 1783, when his regiment was reduced, he remained on half-pay until the year 1794, and resided chiefly in Pembrokeshire, where his ancestors, an ancient and most respectable family, had long lived in the esteem and affections of a numerous circle of relations and friends.

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In 1794, tired of inaction, and zealous for service, while yet a half-pay Captain, he embarked for the West Indies, trusting to his fortune and his conduct for that promotion, to which a period of sixteen years, with the rank only of Captain, certainly entitled him. Here he was soon distinguished by a great natural superiority of mind and information; and Sir John Vaughan, who then commanded in chief in the West Indies, gave him a majority in the 68th regiment. He also made him his Aide-de-Camp; and having now a closer opportunity of discerning his activity of mind, and talents for public business, he appointed him Deputy Quarter-Master-General (by which situation he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel), and in which department he acquitted himself with the greatest credit and honour. On the appointment of General Knox to the head of the Quarter-Master-General department, he intended to return to Europe, but was requested by Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived in the West Indies in the year 1796, to remain, hoping, as that distinguished officer very graciously expressed, "to give him an opportunity of returning in a way more agreeable to him," if he would remain the campaign. This invitation was too flattering not to be accepted, and he embarked with him on the expedition against St. Lucia, where the General signified in public orders, "that all orders coming through Lieutenant-Colonel Picton should be considered as the orders of the Commander-in-Chief." On the capture of this island, the General, without any solicitation whatever, recommended him for the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 68th regiment. From St. Lucia, Colonel Picton sailed with Sir Ralph on the expedition to St. Vincent's, which was taken by storm; and, upon the conclusion of this short but brilliant campaign, he went with Sir Ralph to Martinique, and from thence to England.

Sir Ralph Abercromby again sailed for the West Indies, attended by Colonel Picton, and arrived in Martinique in January 1797. The expedition against Trinidad being at this time determined on, the armament sailed for that island in the following month; and, the conquest of the colony being completed, Colonel Picton was, without any recommendation, or even the least previous notification, appointed Governor. When he waited on Sir Ralph to return his acknowledgments, the answer of that great man

man is worthy of being recorded; it was—"Colonel Picton, if I knew any officer, who, in my opinion, could discharge the duties annexed to this situation better than you, to him would I have given it: there are no thanks due to me for it."

From the period of capitulation to the year 1802, when the government of the island of Trinidad was unhappily put in commission, Colonel Picton discharged the duties of Governor and Captain-General, and received the thanks of the different commanders-in-chief on the station, and the approbation of his Majesty's ministers.

The subsequent transactions, in consequence of the appointment of the ill-fated commission, are sufficiently known to the public: the characters of his accusers have also been recorded; and we cannot more appropriately convey the language of our feelings, than by adopting the words of the *Anti-Jacobin Review* of last April, illustrative of the conduct of this gallant officer. "In the important operations of the siege of Badajos, and its subsequent capture by storm, the whole of the officers and men employed conducted themselves with such consummate skill and bravery, that it would be highly presumptuous in a public writer to raise any distinction between them. But the readers of this *Review* will readily pardon us for indulging a feeling of self-gratulation, in contemplating the conduct of an officer, whom we, from a pure regard for justice and for truth, contributed to rescue from the impetuous current of public prejudice which was let loose against him, and from the destructive effects of popular clamour, to which he had been most unjustly consigned. We opposed, to the polluted but furious torrent, a firm rampart of truth; we met the senseless, but outrageous clamour, with the commanding voice of justice. The law, at length, in tardy reparation of his injuries, proclaimed the innocence, and vindicated the honour, which, from the beginning of the contest, we had plainly described, and boldly defended. We had described, even in the representation of his enemies, and in the conduct which formed the ground of their charges against him, indisputable proofs of that manly, honourable, and resolute spirit, which has since been unequivocally displayed in the field of glory, to his own honour, and to the advantage of his country."

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In 1809 General Picton commanded a brigade employed at the siege of Flushing, of which fortress he was afterwards appointed Governor; where, by every humane exertion, he contributed to the wants of the sick soldiers, and alleviated, as much as possible, the miseries of the inhabitants. From that desolating scene of sickness and calamity he returned home, alarmingly ill with fever and ague; and his health was scarcely re-established before he was placed on the staff of the army in the Peninsula. In this army he was soon appointed by the Marquis of Wellington to the command of the 3d division, which was always selected upon every occasion of active service, "not (to use the expression of a distinguished officer) because the troops of the 3d division were better, but because the general was so good."

On the colonelcy of the 12th regiment becoming vacant, by the death of the late General Picton (14th October 1811), the Commander-in-chief recommended Major-General Picton to the Regent's attention, and he was gazetted Colonel of the 77th foot, *vice* Sir Charles Hastings, appointed to the 12th regiment.

This meritorious officer eagerly embraced the opportunity of serving his country in the late memorable but short campaign, which terminated the war, and restored the Bourbons to the throne of France. He fell gloriously in the discharge of his duty; and it is a satisfaction to know, that a public monument has been voted to him by parliament, in testimony of his great merit.

We shall close our account of him by quoting the words of the Earl of Liverpool in the House of Lords, in moving the thanks of that House to the army for their gallant conduct, immediately subsequent to the affair of Badajos, and in the justness of his Lordship's handsome eulogium we most implicitly coincide:—"The conduct of General Picton had inspired a confidence in the army, and exhibited an example of science and bravery which had been surpassed by no other officer: his exertions in the attack on the 6th could not fail to excite the most lively feelings of admiration."

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS GRAHAM,
LORD LYNDOK, K.B.

THIS justly celebrated officer, who has been lately raised to the peerage, is descended from a family of great renown and antiquity in Scotland. He was born at Balgowan, in Perthshire, in the year 1750. His father, a gentleman of primitive habits, lived on his estate in a style somewhat resembling the feudal state of the Scottish lairds: he married Lady Christiana Hope, sister to the late Earl of Hopetown; and the subject of this biography was the third son of that marriage. The family of Lord Lyndoch derives its descent from a very remote period; being descended from the renowned hero of the name of Graham who made the first breach in the wall of Severus, between the rivers Clyde and Forth: he served as a general against the Romans and Britons in the armies of Fergus the Second, king of Scotland, and married a princess of the royal house of Denmark: he afterwards held the reins of government as Regent, and guardian to the young king. William de Graham, David de Graham, and Sir John de Graham (which latter fell at the battle of Falkirk), all hold a distinguished rank in the history of Scotland. This family also produced a number of other personages who were eminent in both church and state, and who, by their intermarriages with the sisters and daughters of the Scottish monarchs, rendered the family of Graham as illustrious as any in that part of the now United Kingdom. William, fourth son of William Lord Graham and Mariotta daughter of King Robert the Third, was another of the Graham's of Balgowan, which branch Lord Lyndoch (lately Sir Thomas Graham) now represents. Through a long series of patriotic exertions for the rights and independence

pendence of Scotland, the blood of the Grahams was lavishly spilt for their country, and they constantly added fresh honours and new emblazonments of the family banners.

At the age of twenty-four, Lord Lyndoch was married to the Honourable Mary Cathcart, sister to the present Lord Cathcart. Ardently attached to her, he passed the earlier years of his life in domestic enjoyment, in the management of his estates, and in the cultivation of those talents which have contributed to render him so renowned and conspicuous in the military annals of his country. After an union of eighteen years, in which he experienced every degree of happiness, he had the misfortune to be deprived by death of his amiable partner. He felt his loss as an affectionate husband tenderly attached to a most amiable woman; and he bore his loss as a Christian and a man.

Feeling his desolate state, and seeking to alleviate the gloomy reflections which pressed on his mind on this lamented occasion, he departed for Toulon in the year 1793, at the first breaking out of the French revolutionary war. It was at this place, as a mere private individual, that Lord Lyndoch (then Mr. Graham) first made a display of those native military talents which have since, by constant application, raised him so high in the estimation of his country. Lord Mulgrave, who commanded a body of British troops, was soon struck with the uncommon genius and bravery of Mr. Graham; and he anticipated the future value to the service of this distinguished officer. After the attack made, on the 1st of October 1793, on the enemy's position at Fort Pharon, in which Mr. Graham particularly distinguished himself, his Lordship issued the following general orders:—

“ Brigadier-General Mulgrave takes the earliest opportunity to return his most sincere thanks, and to offer the tribute of his warmest approbation, to Captain Moncrief, and the British officers and soldiers of the Sardinian troops who composed his column, and were immediately under his command, in the attack of yesterday, October 1st. Lord Mulgrave is at a loss to express his sense of the intrepid spirit with which the officers and men encountered danger, and of the patience and fortitude with which they suffered fatigue, hunger, and thirst, in the
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pressing service in which they were unexpectedly engaged. Lord Mulgrave begs leave, on this occasion, to express his grateful sense of the friendly and important assistance which he has received in many difficult moments from Mr. Graham, and to add his tribute of praise to the general voice of all the British and Piedmontese officers of his column, who saw with so much pleasure and applause the gallant example which Mr. Graham set to the whole column in the foremost point of every attack. Lord Mulgrave assures his fellow-soldiers of the different nations which compose the army of Toulon, that the general good conduct of which he yesterday was a witness can never be effaced from his memory."

In this first essay of arms Mr. Graham having received such conspicuous notice and such grateful commendation, he resolved to devote himself in future to a military life; and he offered to government to raise a regiment, which was immediately accepted. In this measure he proceeded in a manner natural to the generosity of his heart and the liberality of his mind. He selected his officers on account of their merit, and gave commissions to many who were highly deserving of promotion, but who did not possess the means of attaining it without his generous assistance; and, that his country might derive the earliest benefit from his exertions, he completed the two battalions of his corps in a space of time almost incredible, and which could only have been accomplished by a great expenditure of his own property in addition to the allowance of government.

In a very few months the first battalion of Colonel Graham's regiment, numbered the 90th, formed a part of the Earl of Moira's army, which was encamped at Netly Common, exhibiting one of the finest regiments, complete in numbers, perfect in equipment, and rapidly advancing in discipline under its commander, whom a stranger would have supposed could never have lived out of a camp, or directed his attention to aught but the profession of arms.

The extent of service which fell to the share of the 90th, from its joining this army, was its passing the summer of 1795 in the Isle de Dieu; and, soon after, it was ordered to Gibraltar. The duty of this fortress being only such as a strong garrison demanded, which ill accorded

corded with the physical and mental powers of Colonel Graham, he obtained permission to join the Austrian army, where he continued during the memorable summer of 1796. The intelligence of the military operations and diplomatic measures adopted by the continental generals and princes were transmitted to this country by Colonel Graham with a fidelity, perspicuity, and dispatch, which have never been surpassed by any minister.

Colonel Graham was afterwards attached to the Austrian army of Italy, and was shut up with General Wurniser during the investment of that city by Napoleon. Here, accustomed to the daily intercourse of the first military commanders of the age, and opposed to the flower of the French army, under their successful and victorious leader, he profited by the practical knowledge thrown in his way, and cultivated with the most assiduous attention the military profession which here presented itself to him. The city of Mantua still continuing in a state of siege, and a mere defensive warfare not being agreeable to his views of active service, Colonel Graham resolved at all hazards and risks to depart from the besieged garrison, and seek for renown and glory in more active operations. With a noble disdain of personal danger, and an unconquerable determination to overcome every obstacle rather than lose an opportunity of acquiring experience in the art of war, he, on the night of the 24th of December, quitted Mantua, with every obstacle of the elements opposed to his bold undertaking, in a deluge of rain, and with only one attendant. Mantua being seated on a lake formed by the Mincio, and the regular channels with the main land being in possession of the besiegers, it was only by embarking in a boat that the Colonel could effect his purpose of escape: and such was the impenetrable darkness of the night, that the vessel landed several times on the islands of the lake or river before the point he wished to reach could be discovered. Having after much difficulty obtained a landing on a desirable spot, this intrepid adventurer travelled during the night on foot, wading through mire and swamps, and in momentary danger of losing his way, with the additional apprehension of falling ingloriously by a shot from the numerous picquets posted in every part, or of being stopped and detained as a British officer,

cer, as he wore his uniform. At break of day, he sought safety in concealment, and at night he again resumed his journey. A river lay in his way, which he was obliged to pass; and here his life would in all probability have been sacrificed to his zeal, had not a heavy fall of rain driven the centinels from their posts, and admitted of a passage in comparative safety.

Colonel Graham, in consequence of the pacific turn which affairs took on the continent, returned to his native country early in the year 1797; and, in the autumn, he went out to his regiment at Gibraltar, from whence he proceeded to the attack of Minorca with the late Sir Charles Stuart, who, on the reduction of that island, gave much and deserved commendation to the great exertions of Colonel Graham. After the debarkation of the troops, innumerable difficulties opposed themselves to their operations: there is not in any part of Europe to be found greater difficulties or more natural obstacles to an invading army than in this island. Reports from deserters and others, contradictory in their purport, rendered the General for a short time irresolute, and doubtful what course to pursue. He, however, resolved to proceed by a forced march to Mercadel, and, by possessing that essential post, separate the enemy's force. To effect this object, Colonel Graham was sent with 600 men, who, by dint of the utmost exertions, arrived at Mercadel a very few hours after the main body of the enemy had marched towards Cindadella: here he made a considerable number of prisoners, seized several small depôts of ammunition, and established his corps in front of the village.

The reduction of Minorca being completed, Colonel Graham repaired to Sicily to render his assistance to the King and Queen of Naples; and such were his exertions in this service, that he had the gratification to receive repeated acknowledgments and tributes of esteem from the King and Queen.

Having been promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, he was employed in besieging the island of Malta, having under his command the 30th and 89th regiments, and some corps embodied under his immediate direction. This celebrated island, once the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottomans, the key of Egypt
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and the Levant, was cowardly surrendered to the French in their famous Egyptian expedition. The British government, justly appreciating the danger and importance of so strong and valuable an island being under French domination, and particularly at a time when the republic did not disguise their ulterior views upon Egypt and India, were resolved, if possible, to wrest it from the French; and, considering the prodigious strength of its works, they directed a blockade as the only effectual and humane method to pursue. Accordingly, the British force above-mentioned appeared before Malta in the month of September 1798; and, after an unexampled siege or rather blockade of two years, the island surrendered. General Pigott having arrived a short time previous to its capitulation, the glory of transmitting an account of the success of the British arms devolved upon him. Brigadier-General Graham was not, however, robbed of that just share of applause to which he was so well entitled; and, exclusively of the honourable mention made in the public dispatches of General Graham's zeal and intrepidity, every officer who served with him bore testimony to his gallantry. A paragraph from a letter of General Pigott on this occasion is deserving insertion. "During the short time you were here," says he, "you must have been sensible of the great exertions which Brigadier-General Graham must have made with the limited force he had, previous to my arrival with a reinforcement. He has ever since continued these exertions: and I consider the surrender of the place has been accelerated by the decision of his conduct in preventing any more inhabitants coming out of the fortress. A short time before I came here, he was sent to negotiate the terms of capitulation with General Vaubois; and I am much indebted to him for his assistance in this business."

After the successful completion of this business, Brigadier-General Graham returned to England, and arrived just in time to learn the gratifying intelligence of his own regiment, the 90th, having covered itself with glory on the plains of Egypt. This fine corps formed the advanced guard of the first line on the 21st of March 1801: the manner in which it received the charge of the French cavalry will be long remembered. On this occasion

occasion it was commanded by its second Lieutenant-Colonel, the present Lord Hill. The commandant of the French cavalry was killed in the charge; and the 90th regiment presented his sabre to their Colonel as a grateful mark of their attachment to him.

Anxious to rejoin the battalion of which he considered himself the father, General Graham again left England, and had the gratification to meet his corps soon after it had acquired so much honour. But here were no battles to be fought; and General Graham's active mind finding no employment, he quitted Egypt, and travelled to Europe with Mr. Hutchinson, the brother of Lord Hutchinson, through Turkey. He made a short stay at Constantinople; and, peace having been concluded between France and England, he made also a short stay at Paris.

During the peace, he was apprehensive that the military establishment would render it necessary to disband his corps; but the recommencement of hostilities preserved his fine regiment; and we again find its gallant Colonel at its head, in the year 1803, in Ireland, where he continued until 1805. His energies were there called forth, and found essentially useful to his country. In the camp of instruction on the Curragh of Kildare, General Graham proved himself an able tactician; and the discipline there established, laid the foundation of that practical excellence to which the British army afterwards arrived.

However employed, or wherever stationed, General Graham continued to devote his fortune, his time, and talents, to his profession. His regiment being sent out to the West Indies, he remained without actual employment till the spring of 1808. His rank, which was to have been progressive from the period of his levy, by some misunderstanding, had remained stationary; but this circumstance did not abate his ardour for the service. His friend, the late lamented Sir John Moore, being appointed to lead an armament to the shores of Sweden, and also entrusted with an important diplomatic mission to the Ex-King of that country, General Graham solicited permission to accompany him as aide-de-camp. The commander-in-chief having signified his consent, he embarked with that officer, who was extremely

tremely glad to obtain the support of a friend so judicious and enlightened. The expedition proceeded to Gottenburg; where the troops continued on board the transports, while Sir John Moore was negotiating with the court of Sweden. General Graham took this opportunity of traversing the country in all directions; from which he acquired much useful information, and stored his mind with many new ideas.

The misunderstanding and disarrangement between Sir John Moore and the court of Sweden having put an end to his mission, that officer was immediately ordered to Spain. In the removal of the baggage of the army on this occasion, General Graham had a very narrow and providential escape. Among the oxen employed, one, overheated, and enraged by fatigue, attacked him with savage fury; and had he not, by uncommon exertion and great presence of mind, warded off the danger, his life would in all probability have been sacrificed.

In the memorable and unfortunate retreat of Sir John Moore, General Graham was found extremely serviceable; and, at the battle of Corunna, previous to the embarkation of the British army, he most highly distinguished himself. On that solemn and afflicting day, rendered for ever memorable by the lamented death of Sir John Moore, the name of Graham received fresh lustre; and the subject of this Memoir added another wreath to the honour of his family. Sir John Hope, who commanded at the close of that day, after paying a just and noble tribute to the memory of his late commander-in-chief, failed not to mention, in the most honourable manner, the services of General Graham, who was in consequence advanced to the rank of Major-General. This promotion was very gratifying to the army, and was no less due to the services and intelligence of the object of it.

Almost immediately after being placed on the list of Major-Generals, we find General Graham commanding a division in the expedition to Walcheren; his services at the siege of Flushing were as important as any he had before performed. That dreadful disorder which proved so destructive to the British army, denominated the Walcheren fever, also seized General Graham; and, but

for his timely removal to England, he would in all probability have fallen a sacrifice to it.

Shortly after he had recovered from this disorder, a struggle for the possession of Cadiz, between the French invaders and the Spanish patriots, having taken place, Major-General Graham was sent thither to take the command of the British forces in that fortress: he had, previously to this, been appointed second in command to Lord Wellington. The only point from whence it was easy for the French to annoy the garrison was Fort Matagorda. This post was dismantled at their approach; but when it was perceived that they began to re-construct it, Major-General Graham determined to dispossess, and even endeavour to maintain it against them. This was accordingly done under his direction: it was defended for two months, with a bravery that excited the admiration of the Spaniards, and taught the French what they were to expect if they attempted the Isle de Leon.

We now come to the most memorable event in the life of Lord Lyndoch, and which has raised his military fame to the highest pitch, and would have done honour to any commander, ancient or modern: this was the battle of Barrosa, in which his warlike genius and self-command were eminently conspicuous. Towards the close of February 1810, the Spanish government determined on an expedition for the purpose of making a combined attack on the rear of the French army blockading Cadiz. A British force of 3000 men, commanded by Major-General Graham, and a body of 7000 Spaniards under General La Pena, were embarked in Cadiz Bay, in order to form a junction with the Spanish forces under St. Roche: they disembarked at Algeiras, and being all united at Tariffa, moved from thence on the 28th of February. On the morning of the 5th of March, the allied army, after a march of sixteen hours from their camp, arrived on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the south of Santi Petri. An attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, by the Spanish vanguard, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, Major-General Graham received directions from General La Pena to move to a position about half-way from Barrosa to that river. On his march, he received information that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and

and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa. Conscious of the importance of this position, as being the key to that of Santi Petri, General Graham immediately countermarched, in order to support the troops left for its defence; and, before he was clear of an intervening wood, the troops were seen retreating from Barrosa Hill, and the French were ascending it. With the promptitude of consummate skill and presence of mind, General Graham immediately determined on attacking the enemy; for a retreat, under such circumstances, would have endangered the safety of the whole allied army. The troops with whom he was engaged were the two divisions, Rufin and Laval, of Victor's army: the former of these, which had gained the ascent of the hill, was attacked by the British right wing under Major-General Dilkes, while the latter was engaged by the left wing, supported by a battery of ten guns. In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy were in full retreat on all sides, leaving behind them one eagle, six pieces of cannon, two generals wounded and another taken, with many officers killed, and a great number of prisoners taken, and the field covered with arms and dead bodies. The exhausted state of the British army, after this severe action, rendered pursuit impossible; and their allies were not at hand to support them, or to share the victory, though two Spanish battalions which had been attached to Major-General Graham's division, and left on the hill, from whence they had been ordered by La Pena to retire, hastened back as soon as they knew the British troops were engaged. The number and force of the French in the action was computed at 8000; and their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 3000: that of the British was also very severe, amounting to 1243 killed and wounded. In no instance during this sanguinary war was British valour more conspicuously displayed; and the conduct of their general, when contrasted with that of La Pena, filled every mind with admiration of his ability, firmness, and intrepidity. In commemoration of this brilliant victory, the Prince Regent ordered a medal to be struck, and to be worn by General Graham, and a number of officers under his command, in honour of the battle of Barrosa.

In the summer of 1811, General Graham had the satisfaction to be relieved from the defence of Cadiz: and, having joined the army under the command of the Duke of Wellington, he assisted at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and contributed greatly his aid and exertions in the operations carried on against that city; for which services he received the warm acknowledgments of the commander-in-chief.

A complaint in his eyes, which appeared of rather a serious nature, obliged him once more to return to his native country, in order to procure the best medical advice; but, fortunately, it was pronounced not dangerous, and only caused by the use of a spying glass under an almost vertical sun, together with much writing by candle-light.

Early in the year 1813, he again quitted England for the Peninsula, where his achievements had gained him so much renown. Although constantly rendering the most important services, by assisting with his advice the military operations, he was not engaged in any action of consequence until the glorious 21st of June, the day on which the battle of Vittoria was fought. On that ever-memorable occasion, Major-General Graham commanded the left wing of the British army, under the illustrious Wellington, which consisted of the first and fifth divisions, and Major-Generals Pack and Anson's brigades of cavalry, and a Spanish division under General Giron and Colonel Longa. On the day previous to the battle of Vittoria, the above corps had been moved to Margina; and, early on the following morning, it moved again from thence on Vittoria, by the high road leading from that city to Bilboa. The Spanish division had been previously detached on a different view of the aspect of the campaign, and was now recalled; and it arrived on the field in sufficient time to act under the orders of Sir Thomas Graham. A division of the enemy's infantry, with a detachment of cavalry, were advanced on the Bilboa road, their right resting on the heights which covered the village of Gamarra Maior. This village, and that of Abechuco, as also the heights already mentioned, were strongly occupied by the French, as *têtes-de-pont* to the bridges over the Zadora. These places Brigadier-General Pack and Colonel Longa, with the Spanish and Portuguese

Portuguese troops, were ordered to turn, and gain the heights. In this service they were supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the fifth division of infantry, under Major-General Oswald. This operation was executed to the entire satisfaction of Lieutenant-General Graham, who expressed his thanks in the warmest terms. As soon as the heights were in possession of the British troops, the village of Gamarra Maior was most gallantly stormed and carried by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, which advanced in columns of battalions without firing a shot, and under a heavy fire of musquetry and artillery. They took three pieces of cannon, and did great execution among the ranks of the enemy. Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham then proceeded to obtain possession of the village of Abechuco with the first division. He formed a strong battery against it; and Colonel Halkett's division advanced to the storm, under cover of Captain Ramsay's horse-artillery, and Captain Dubordieu's brigade. The village was carried with the greatest spirit; the charge by the light battalion was admirable: three guns and one howitzer were taken: and the affair was sustained by the troops to their own credit, and the entire satisfaction of their generals.

While the operations against Abechuco were carrying on, the French endeavoured to repossess themselves of Gamarra Maior; but were repulsed by Major-General Oswald, with the 6th division. On the left of the Zadora, the French had posted two divisions of infantry; they had possession of the heights; and it was found impossible to cross by the bridges of the Zadora, until the enemy had been driven through Vittoria. The whole then concentrated themselves, and pursued the flying enemy, until darkness put a stop to the operations. The movement of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham cut off the retreat of the French by the high road into France, who were, therefore, obliged to turn into that leading to Pampluna. They were unable to maintain any position for a sufficient length of time to draw off their artillery and ammunition; the whole, therefore, which remained in their possession after the battle of Vittoria, fell into the hands of the victors, with the exception of a single gun and howitzer.

In

In all the subsequent military operations Sir Thomas Graham bore a conspicuous part; and, in all the military dispatches of the illustrious Wellington, honourable mention is made of him. Sir Thomas Graham, being detached from the main army under the Duke of Wellington, and having under his command a body of troops composed of the British and allied armies, he, on the 18th of July, carried by storm, the fortified convent of San Bartolomé, and the adjoining work on the extremity of the steep hill towards the river. The natural and artificial strength of these fortified posts, occupied by a large body of troops, and the impossibility of access to either but by the fronts, made it very desirable to destroy the defences, for which purpose a new battery on the left was begun; but this work not being in readiness to open upon the convent and fort, Sir Thomas Graham determined upon an assault, which was conducted with his usual coolness and gallantry. A column, consisting of the picquet of the 4th Caçadores, 150 men of the 15th Portuguese regiment, supported by three companies of the 9th regiment, with a reserve of three companies of the Royal Scots, was formed in the night to attack the redoubt. The left column was composed of 200 men of the 13th Portuguese regiment, an equal number of the 5th Caçadores, and supported by the 9th regiment. About ten in the morning the left column began the attack upon the convent, while the right passed the ravine near the river. Both attacks were made with such vigour and determination, that all obstacles were overcome, and with inconsiderable loss, considering the strength and importance of the positions. The enemy fled in confusion down the hill, and carried with them a strong reinforcement which had just arrived from San Sebastian to their support. The troops of Sir Thomas Graham pursued with the utmost impetuosity; and to this eagerness alone was the great loss of lives to be imputed.

Sir Thomas Graham, with his detachment, still continuing the investment of San Sebastian, and having his head-quarters at Ernani, attacked the breach in the line wall of San Sebastian soon after day-light on the morning of the 25th of July, the tide having left the foot of the work dry. The troops conducted themselves with great
bravery,

bravery, and forced their way into the town; but the French having occupied in force all the defences of the place in that direction, from which, and from all round the breach, they were enabled to bring so destructive a fire of grape and musquetry, flanking and enfilading the column, and to throw so many hand-grenades among the troops, that General Graham deemed it necessary to withdraw them from the attempt. Many brave fellows, and particularly Major Frazer, fell in the breach. After this, General Graham commanded the army employed in the siege of the town and citadel of San Sebastian; the former surrendered to him on the 9th of September by capitulation, and the citadel was taken by storm on the 31st of the same month. In a military and political point of view, there was no other conquest, during the long and eventful struggle in the Spanish peninsula, that could be compared to this; it is, in short, considered as a second Gibraltar, and is deemed the key to that part of Spain. The British army may always reflect with just pride and exultation on the trophies it acquired at this celebrated siege; and, although they may have gained more splendid triumphs, yet few events can boast of more solid advantages, than resulted from the capture of this important fortress.

The river Bidassoa, the natural boundary between France and Spain, so long a subject matter of dispute between these hostile nations, was, by the order of the Duke of Wellington, to be crossed by the left of the British army, and Sir Thomas Graham had the honour to be entrusted with this service. The passage took place on the 7th of October, and was conducted in the following manner. The 1st and 5th divisions, and the 1st Portuguese brigade, formed into three columns, crossed the river, two columns above, and one below the bridge; these troops were directed by Brigadier-General Wilson, Major-General Hay, the Honourable Colonel Greville, Major-General Stopford, and Major-General Howard; and part of the 4th Spanish army, under the immediate command of Lieutenant-General Don Manuel Freyre, also crossed in three columns, at fords, above the points where the British and Portuguese had already crossed. The British and Portuguese having effected the passage, immediately attacked the enemy in his entrenched position,

tion, which they carried in spite of a most obstinate resistance, taking seven pieces of cannon; and the Spanish divisions admirably performed that part of the arrangement allotted to them, for which they had the honour of receiving the thanks of the Commander-in-chief.

Sir Thomas Graham, having led his division triumphantly across this barrier river, and firmly established it on French ground, resigned his command to Sir John Hope, in consequence of ill health, and returned to England.

The Dutch having taken advantage of the disasters of Napoleon to emancipate themselves from his yoke, a British army was suddenly sent over to their assistance, the command of which was entrusted to Sir Thomas Graham. In the course of the arduous duties attached to this command, General Graham did not experience the same success which had heretofore uniformly attended him. The attack upon the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom unfortunately failed; and the great sacrifice of lives on this melancholy occasion afforded the malignant reasons for reproaching this gallant officer with rashness and precipitation; but the best answer to these calumnies, will be found in his own dispatches to government, which we shall here transcribe.

“ Head-quarters, Calmhout, March 10, 1814.

“ MY LORD—It becomes my painful task to report to your Lordship, that an attack on Bergen-op-Zoom, which seemed at first to promise complete success, ended in failure, and occasioned a severe loss to the 1st division, and to Brigadier-General Gore’s brigade.

“ It is unnecessary for me to state the reasons which determined me to make the attempt to carry such a place by storm, since the success of two columns, in establishing themselves on the ramparts with very trifling loss, must justify the having incurred the risk for the attainment of so important an object as the capture of such a fortress.

“ The troops employed were formed in four columns, as per margin*. No. 1, the left column, attacked between

* “ 1st Column—Brigade of Guards, 1000, Colonel Lord Proby.

“ 2d Column—55th foot, 250; 69th foot, 350; 33d foot, 600—Total, 1200; Lieutenant-Colonel Morrice, 69th foot.

tween the Antwerp and Water-Port Gates. No. 2, attacked to the right of the New Gate. No. 3, was destined only to draw attention by a false attack near the Steenberg Gate, and to be afterwards applicable according to circumstances. No. 4, right column, attacked at the entrance of the harbour, which could be forded at low water; and the hour was fixed accordingly at half-past ten P. M. of the 8th instant.

“ Major-General Cooke accompanied the left column. Major-General Skerret, and Brigadier-General Gore, both accompanied the right column; this was the first which forced its way into the body of the place. These two columns were directed to move along the rampart, so as to form a junction as soon as possible, and then to proceed to clear the rampart, and assist the centre column, or to force open the Antwerp Gate.

“ An unexpected difficulty, about passing the ditch on the ice, having obliged Major-General Cooke to change the point of attack, a considerable delay ensued, and that column did not gain the rampart till half-past eleven.

“ Meanwhile the lamented fall of Brigadier-General Gore, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable George Carleton, and the dangerous wound of Major-General Skerret, depriving the right column of their able direction, it fell into disorder, and suffered great loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The centre column having been forced back with considerable loss by the heavy fire of the place (Lieutenant-Colonel Morrice its commander, and Lieutenant-Colonel Elphinston, commanding the 33d regiment, being both wounded), was re-formed under Major Muttlebury, marched round and joined Major-General Cooke, leaving the left wing of the 55th to remove the wounded from the glacis. However, the

“ 3d Column—91st foot, 400; 21st foot, 100; 37th foot, 150: Lieutenant-Colonel Henry, 21st regiment.

“ 4th Column—14th foot, 300; flank companies of the 21st and 37th foot, 200; Royals, 600—Total 1100: Brigadier-General Gore, and Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton.

“ Total force—1st Column, 1000 rank and file; 2d Column, 1200 rank and file; 3d Column, 650 rank and file; 4th Column, 1100 rank and file.—Grand Total 3950.”

Guards, too, had suffered very severely during the night, by the galling fire from the houses on their position; and, by the loss of the detachment of the 1st Guards, which, having been sent to endeavour to assist Lieutenant-Colonel Carleton, and to secure the Antwerp Gate, was cut off, after the most gallant resistance, which cost the lives of many most valuable officers.

“ At day-break, the enemy having turned the guns of the place, opened their fire against the troops on the unprotected rampart, and the reserve of the 4th column (the Royal Scots) retired from the Water Port Gate, followed by the 33d. The former regiment, getting under a cross-fire from the place and the Water-Port redoubt, soon afterwards laid down their arms.

“ Major-General Cooke then despairing of success, directed the retreat of the Guards, which was conducted in the most orderly manner, protected by the remains of the 69th regiment and of the right wing of the 55th (which corps repeatedly drove the enemy back with the bayonet) under the Major-General's immediate direction. The General afterwards found it impossible to withdraw these weak battalions; and, having thus, with the genuine feelings of a true soldier, devoted himself, he surrendered to save the lives of the gallant men remaining with him.

“ I should wish to do justice to the great exertions and conspicuous gallantry of all these officers who had the opportunities of distinguishing themselves. I have not as yet been able to collect sufficient information.

“ Major-General Cooke reports to me his highest approbation, generally, of all the officers and men employed near him, particularly mentioning Colonel Lord Proby, Lieutenant-Colonels Rooke, commanding the Coldstream Guards, Mercer, of the 3d Guards, commanding the light companies of the brigade (the latter unfortunately among the killed), Majors Muttlebury and Hog, of the 69th and 55th, as deserving of his warm praise. He laments, in common with the whole corps, the severe loss to the service of those distinguished officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Clifton, commanding the 1st Guards, and Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable James Macdonald, of that regiment. These officers fell, with many others, at the Antwerp Gate, all behaving with the greatest intrepidity; and

and Lieutenant-Colonel Jones, with the remainder of the detachment, was forced to surrender.

“ The service of conducting the columns was ably provided for by Lieutenant-Colonel Carmichael Smyth, of the royal engineers (he himself accompanied Major-General Cooke, as did also Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Wood, commanding the royal artillery), who attached officers to lead each column, *viz.* Captain Sir George Hoste, and Lieutenant Abbey, to the left, and Lieutenant Sparling to the right; and Captain Edward Michell, royal artillery, who volunteered his services, to the centre column, each having a party of sappers and miners under his command.

“ Lieutenant Abbey was dangerously wounded; and Captain Michell was covered with wounds, in the act of escalading the scarp wall of the place, but I trust there are good hopes of his not being lost to the service.

“ Your Lordship will readily believe, that though it is impossible not to feel the disappointment of our ultimate failure in this attack, I can only think at present with the deepest regret of the loss of so many of my gallant comrades. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ THOMAS GRAHAM.”

As a reward for his eminent services, Sir Thomas Graham has been raised to the British peerage, being created a Baron, by the name, style, and title, of BARON LYNDOKH, Balgowin, in the county of Perth.

Memoirs
OF
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE FREDERICK
DUKE OF YORK
AND ALBANY, K.G. K.B. &c. &c.

THE Memoirs of his Royal Highness the Duke of York are so intimately interwoven with the military character of the British empire, that we shall find it impossible to speak of him otherwise than as it regards this important part of the public service. We believe it to be universally admitted, that no man who ever held the high office of Commander-in-chief has administered it with so much advantage to his country, or satisfaction to the army, as his Royal Highness. Whether we look to the excellent system introduced throughout every branch of the service under the immediate direction of his Royal Highness, or to those noble and benevolent institutions founded and protected by his fostering care for the relief of the maimed and veteran soldiers, and the comfort of the widows and children of those who have bravely fallen for their country, we shall find reason to extol his Royal Highness, and equally to impute to him the high character of the army, as to pronounce him the best friend of the soldier. The odium which was temporarily excited against his Royal Highness, by a late investigation into his conduct, carried on from the basest and most corrupt intentions, has now happily subsided; and the country is truly sensible of the unmerited persecution which his Royal Highness was subject to on that occasion. The authors of this public prosecution have sunk into that obscurity and contempt which the exposure of their conduct has naturally and deservedly led to, and the public service is again happily benefited by the talents and industry of his Royal Highness.

From

From his youth the Duke of York was destined for the military profession, and his earliest studies were directed to that object. After he had arrived at a mature age, he was sent abroad, where he attended the reviews of the great Frederick of Prussia, at Potsdam: here he made himself acquainted with the theory of the Prussian discipline, at that time considered the model for imitation by every military person. With these advantages his Royal Highness returned to England, having previously espoused the Princess-Royal of Prussia. He arrived in England in the autumn of 1791; but nothing at that time occurred to call forth the public services of his Royal Highness, until the revolutionary war which broke out on the continent gave full scope to his enterprise and thirst of military fame. -

The British government having judged it expedient to aid the allied army which had entered France, by the presence and co-operation of a respectable force, 6000 men, under the command of the Duke of York, were dispatched for that purpose. As this was the first military essay of his Royal Highness, it is but justice to say, that he evinced great personal courage, as well as considerable military talent. After a series of advantages, the allied army sat down before Valenciennes; and such were the judicious dispositions that were made under the directions of the Duke of York, that this place, one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, surrendered in the short space of six weeks. Affairs at this time wore so promising an aspect, that the Duke of York was induced to make an attempt upon Dunkirk: he, however, failed in this enterprise; but it is to be imputed to the non-arrival of the naval armament which was destined to co-operate in the siege. In the beginning of 1794, his Royal Highness returned to England, in order to confer with the government as to the plan and operations of the ensuing campaign, and to impart his ideas to ministers. The Duke returned to his command after an absence of a few weeks; and his re-appearance failed not to inspire his army with fresh courage.

As soon as the season permitted, the allied army commenced the campaign by the siege of Landreci, which Pichegru, one of the most able of the republican generals, attempted to relieve on the 24th of April, three days
previous

previous to its surrender. For this purpose he made a desperate effort to overwhelm the allied army with superior numbers: but all in vain; his attacks upon the English army were met and repulsed with a coolness and judgment which totally disconcerted his manœuvres, and materially contributed to the success of the day.

After this event, the British troops under his Royal Highness were stationed at Tournay, while General Clairfait and the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, with their respective armies, endeavoured separately to make head against the republican forces, and maintain their ground in Flanders; but, notwithstanding the greatest exertions of those officers, they were compelled to retire: and the Duke of York's situation at Tournay being in consequence rendered extremely critical, his Royal Highness suddenly broke up from that position, and retired by forced marches to Antwerp. About the same time, the Earl of Moira landed at Ostend with a reinforcement of about 10,000 troops; and, after encountering the greatest difficulties in his march, through a hostile country, at a most inclement season of the year, his Lordship succeeded in forming a junction with the Duke of York.

The Austrians having, previous to this period, evacuated West Flanders, and the republican army now rapidly advancing upon Antwerp, being not less than 80,000 strong, the Duke of York deemed it necessary to retire from this fortress; and on the 10th of September the British army took post upon the right bank of the Maes, a short distance from the village of Graue. Whatever prudence or skill could accomplish, was resorted to by the Duke of York to retrieve the unfortunate state of affairs, and the dilemma in which he found himself placed by the unexpected retreat of the Austrians. The French, however, daily increasing in numbers, pressed rapidly upon the British troops; who now, enfeebled by disease, and suffering from the rigour of the climate, retired to Bremen, where the remains of this gallant army were embarked for England: and thus terminated this short and unfortunate campaign, which in its beginning promised to have by far a more brilliant termination. During the long and painful marches which the British troops were compelled to make, before reaching their point of embarkation, the attention of the Duke of York
was

was shewn in endeavouring, by every means in his power, to alleviate their sufferings; nor was his own example wanting to cheer the spirits of his troops, as he patiently endured all the rigour and deprivations which were common to the army.

In the year 1795, his Royal Highness was appointed Commander-in-chief of the British army, an office which he has continued to hold ever since, with the exception of a small interval of time, in which circumstances compelled him to resign. He immediately set himself about remedying abuses, and adopting such improvements in the military system of the country as naturally suggested themselves to his mind. His experience in military affairs, united to a sound judgment and pleasing manners, soon reconciled those veteran officers who affected to deprecate any change in the system they had been so long accustomed to; and his steady perseverance in new-modelling the army, and abolishing the abuses which had crept into it, was at length admitted to be productive of the most essential benefit to the service.

Whilst thus engaged in professional avocations, an expedition to Holland was resolved upon by the British government, under an impression that the Dutch would eagerly flock to the British standard in order to rid themselves of the tyranny of the French republicans. The Duke of York was appointed to take the command of a powerful army, destined, in the event of effecting the deliverance of Holland, and reinstating the Stadtholder, to co-operate with Austria in checking the encroachments of her now dreaded and powerful neighbour. The first division of the army was embarked in the month of July, the remainder in the latter end of August and beginning of September; but the unfavourable state of the weather, and other unforeseen circumstances, prevented the first division, under the command of General Abercrombie, arriving on the coast of Holland until the 27th of August, on which day a landing was effected at the Helder, in spite of the serious resistance made by a determined enemy. The British army immediately advanced, which movement hastened the surrender of the Dutch fleet in the Texel to Vice-Admiral Mitchell; and thus early a principal object of the expedition was obtained. His Royal Highness, having joined Sir Ralph Abercrombie with
the

the main body of the army, consisting of 30,000 men, including the Russian auxiliaries, lost not a moment in making the necessary dispositions for advancing into the country. The French were posted in considerable numbers at Alkmaer; but, undismayed by the strength of their position, his Royal Highness, having formed his army into four columns, on the 19th of September 1799, six days after his landing, moved forward to the attack. The leading column, under the command of the Russian General, consisting of twelve Russian battalions, the 7th light dragoons, commanded by Lord Paget, and a brigade of infantry, under Major-General Mannors, took post on the Sand Hills, closely observed by a division of the French, who had the high ground stretching down to the coast. The second division, under the orders of General Dundas, comprised two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons, the brigade of guards, commanded by Major-General Burrard, and his Highness Prince William of Gloucester's brigade of infantry. This column formed a *point d'appui* for the first, with which Lieutenant-General Dundas received orders to co-operate, after the first advantages should have been gained over the enemy. Lieutenant-General Pulteney led the third column, which consisted of two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons, Major-General Don's and Major-General Coote's brigades of infantry, and was directed to possess himself of the great road leading to Alkmaer. And Sir Ralph Abercrombie, having under his command two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and the brigade of guards, under General D'Oyley, the brigades of infantry, of the Earls of Chatham and Cavan, Major-General Moore, and Colonel Macdonald, formed the reserve of the combined army, whose main object was to turn the enemy's right flank, which rested on the Zuyder Zee. A variety of obstacles presented themselves to oppose the progress of the allied troops; yet, full of confidence in their commander, and burning with ardour to meet the enemy, the divisions commenced their march, and gained some advantages in their first attacks: but the country was so completely intersected with canals and ditches, that the Duke of York abandoned the attack, and contented himself with retaining his original position during the continuance of the rainy season.

Meanwhile,

Meanwhile, preparations were made for achieving the other objects of the expedition; and the weather having become more favourable, his Royal Highness, on the 2d of October, directed a general attack to be made on the posts occupied by the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who commanded the right wing of the army on this occasion, had the distinguished good fortune of making the first impression on the French line. Sir Ralph was ably supported by General Dundas, who commanded the centre; and Major-General Burrard, with his brigade of foot guards, made a forward movement from the left with such rapidity as to overpower all opposition: and the enemy, being totally beaten in the course of the same night, retreated from their posts on the Lang Dyke at Bergen, and along the Sand Hills, extending to Egmont op Zee. The British remained in *bivouac* during the whole of this night, and next morning, the 3d of October, advanced and occupied the enemy's former ground. This victory, obtained in a climate particularly fatal to the British troops, and under circumstances of the most discouraging nature, reflected great credit on the talents of his Royal Highness, who expressed himself under particular obligations to Sir Ralph Abercrombie and Lieutenant-General Dundas, for the very able manner in which they conducted their respective columns to the points of attack. The loss of the French was estimated at 4000 killed and 300 prisoners; 7 pieces of cannon, and several tumbrils of ammunition, were also taken: while the loss of the combined army did not exceed 1200 men in killed and wounded.

On the 6th, the Duke of York, having determined to follow up the advantages he had already gained, advanced a part of his army; and, meeting with but a trifling opposition, he obtained possession of several villages. Major-General D'Essen, who was directed to attack a height with a column of Russian infantry, in the front of the post they were intended to occupy at Borcum, experienced such a vigorous resistance that Sir Ralph Abercrombie was ordered to his support. The action then became general, and did not terminate until night; when the enemy, who had suffered considerably, retired, leaving the field in possession of the victors, whose loss on this

day amounted to nearly 2000 men, of whom two-thirds were the Russian auxiliaries.

Previous to the arrival of the Duke of York in Holland, the French armies had experienced a great reverse of fortune in Switzerland, Suabia, and Italy. General Jourdan had been defeated in Schaffhausen; the French were compelled to retreat; Marshal Suwarrow had forced the passage of the Adda; Milan was occupied, and Mantua besieged: all these circumstances, added to the advantages obtained by the Duke of York, greatly contributed to raise the expectations of the country, which were not a little heightened by the occupation of Alkmaer. The information, however, which his Royal Highness the Duke of York had now an opportunity of acquiring, in consequence of his advance into the country, was of a nature which seemed to preclude the prospect of any further advantages being gained by the allied arms. The enemy had been strongly reinforced; and the disposition of the Dutch, which had been much relied upon, and upon whose co-operation the British government had reckoned when they planned the expedition, was found decidedly hostile; and it was probably from the dread and terror inspired by the republicans, that the inhabitants of the country adopted every means in their power to harass and impede the progress of the British troops. To those disadvantages must be added the very advanced season of the year when operations had commenced; the reinforcements which the French army was every day receiving; the nature of the country, intersected with canals and ditches; the difficulty of procuring supplies, and of communication, owing to the state of the roads; and, above all, the epidemical fever incidental to that noxious climate, from which the army had already most severely suffered. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the spirit of the troops was unbroken, and their confidence in the Duke undiminished. In consequence of the intelligence which had been received from various quarters, the Duke of York was led to consider the practicability of maintaining possession of the country he had already gained, or, relinquishing the whole, embark his army for England. It was not without extreme regret that he was compelled to admit the necessity of the latter consideration; but the enemy
continuing

continuing to receive daily fresh reinforcements, and ever menacing his communication with the fleet, it became at length necessary to adopt this course, which had the entire concurrence of Sir Ralph Abercombie, than whom a more active and intelligent officer is rarely to be found. The necessary preparations being accordingly made, his Royal Highness withdrew the main body of his army from Alkmaer, and fell back upon the heights of Shakenboorg. This position proving untenable and exposed to the repeated attacks of the republicans, a further retreat was determined upon; and the left of the army accordingly retired upon Colhorn. While covering the retreat with his brigade of infantry, his Highness Prince William (now Duke of Gloucester) gave repeated proofs of courage and intrepidity, having his horse killed under him. His Royal Highness, desirous of having the sanction of government to the proposed measure of evacuating the country, which it was now impossible to hold, sent his secretary, Colonel Brownrigg, to England; and his representations produced the immediate recal of the army.

Before we leave this part of the subject, we may be allowed to make a few observations.—The disappointment of the country upon the failure of the expedition was, no doubt, very great; and the government, as well as the illustrious Commander-in-chief, were subjected to much unmerited censure. The expedition had to struggle with more disadvantages than perhaps any other that ever left the British shores. It has been universally admitted, that, to obtain all the objects of the expedition, the Duke should have been enabled to land in the month of June, when the climate might have proved more congenial to the troops; this, therefore, occasioned a loss of valuable time, which no exertions on the part of the commander could counterbalance. The only practicable object was the capture of the Dutch fleet; and many are of opinion, that the operations of the army should have finished after that event: so that, as far as regards the instructions of his Royal Highness, and the policy of the expedition, he was entirely unblameable; and with regard to his conduct in carrying those instructions into execution, and in promoting the views of its projectors, it must be allowed that, in the many trying circum-

stances in which he was placed, his Royal Highness displayed much talent and ability. The expedition was no doubt planned under a certain conviction that it had the hearty concurrence of the people of the United Provinces, and that, upon its landing, it would be eagerly joined by the inhabitants; in which case numberless difficulties which existed would have been removed. The inhabitants, however, were of too phlegmatic a character, and had imbibed too deeply French principles to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity of shaking off their yoke; and it was not until many years of oppression under their masters that they found that no happiness can exist in an enslaved country.

Having returned to England, his Royal Highness again devoted the whole of his time to the duties of his office; and nothing remarkable in his life occurred, until the investigation into his conduct as Commander-in-chief, by the House of Commons, took place. On this painful occasion, his Royal Highness behaved with the greatest magnanimity; and, finding that a torrent of misrepresentation, promoted by factious and malignant individuals, had succeeded in raising a popular cry against him, his Royal Highness wisely determined to give in his resignation, and he waited on his Majesty, his august father and sovereign, accordingly. Few events were calculated to wound more deeply the feelings of our most venerable and revered sovereign, who saw an affectionate son, zealous in the discharge of the duties of his high office, driven by a keen sense of injured honour to resign a situation which he had so satisfactorily discharged and so ably filled. It is satisfactory to know that the public delusion was not of long continuance, and that the complete exposure of the views and motives of the principal actors in this iniquitous combination, has again restored to public confidence, and to additional lustre, the character of a Prince, which no action of his life has ever sullied. His Royal Highness has been reinstated in his high office; and it must be the wish of every well-wisher to his country that he may long continue to fill it.

Before we conclude this Memoir, we shall briefly notice a few particulars respecting the manner in which his Royal Highness performs the duties of Commander-in-chief. Impressed with the necessity of paying the most
unremitting

unremitting attention to his official duties, the Duke of York is regular in his attendance at the Horse-Guards, and the greater part of every day he devotes to business. Although the officers at the head of the several departments of the army are all men of eminent talents and experience, yet every arrangement, even the most minute, is submitted to his Royal Highness previous to its being adopted. Tuesdays and Fridays are the days on which his Royal Highness gives audience; and as officers of every rank are allowed to approach his person, and state their business, the Duke, while receiving their communications, is enabled to form an estimate of the talents of those who address him; and the frequency of his levees, and the number of officers who are encouraged to pay their personal respects to him, afford him an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with the army. The selection of his Majesty's aides-de-camp is alone a sufficient proof of the anxiety manifested by his Royal Highness for the good of the service, as the officers nominated to this honourable distinction are indebted for their appointment principally to their military talents.

Memoirs
OF
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE
MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

THIS accomplished nobleman has been long considered the first cavalry officer in the British service; and we believe no man to be more justly entitled to this distinction. His gallant achievements in the Peninsula, and his more recent conduct at Waterloo, have shed a lustre upon his name which will long be the boast of his family, and the admiration of his country. As an officer, and in the campaigns of the illustrious Wellington, the Marquis of Anglesea is better known by the name of **LORD PAGET**; and it was only in consequence of his meritorious conduct at the battle of Waterloo, and his former distinguished services, that he was elevated to the rank of a *Marquis*, having before succeeded to the Earldom of **UXBRIDGE** by the death of the late Earl.

The Marquis of Anglesea was born the 17th of May 1768, and received the first rudiments of his education at Westminster; from whence he was removed to Christ Church, Oxford.

At the beginning of the revolutionary war in 1793, disdaining a life of inglorious ease, and anxious to embrace the military profession, he raised the 80th regiment of foot, or Staffordshire Volunteers, a fine body of young men, principally on his father's estates. On 600 being raised, the noble Marquis, who was then Lord Paget, was presented with a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the army; and, on 400 more being added, his Lordship was offered a Colonelcy, which he refused on the ground of his not having been then on foreign service. At this period the wholesome regulations which have been since carried into effect by the illustrious Commander-in-chief, were not in force; and Lord Paget's nomination to the
permanent

permanent rank of Field-Officer militated against no existing rule of promotion.

Three months after the letter of service, Lord Paget, with his regiment, embarked for Guernsey; and from thence, in 1794, he joined his Royal Highness the Duke of York in Flanders. In the retreat of that expedition, his Lordship, being senior field-officer, was entrusted with the command of Lord Cathcart's brigade; the latter officer having a separate corps, to which his attention was necessarily directed.

Lord Paget, who had been removed from the 80th to the command of the 7th regiment of light dragoons, accompanied the Duke of York on the expedition to Holland; and, in the general attack made on the 2d of October 1799, his Lordship was attached to the division under the command of the Russian General de Hermaun, and posted on the Sand Hills, where he had an opportunity of contributing materially to the brilliant victory that day obtained by the British troops, under circumstances of the most discouraging nature. Late in the evening of that day, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the British horse artillery, were charged by the cavalry under Lord Paget, and driven, with considerable loss, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee. In the retreat of that army, Lord Paget with his cavalry protected the rear; and some skirmishing having taken place, by which several pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy, his Lordship with one squadron made a gallant attack upon the force of General Simon, amounting to six times his own, totally repulsed them, obtained back the British, and with them several pieces of the enemy's cannon.

After the return of the army from Holland, Lord Paget devoted himself with the greatest assiduity to the discharge of his regimental duties; and, by his unremitting attention, the 7th light dragoons has become one of the first regiments of cavalry in the service.

His Lordship, with two brigades of cavalry, consisting of the 7th, 10th, 15th, and 18th regiments of hussars, followed the division sent under the command of Sir David Baird to co-operate with Sir John Moore in Spain. Lord Paget disembarked his forces at Corunna, amidst the innumerable difficulties opposed to him, from the

want

want of forage, the apathy of the people of Spain, and the tardy supplies they afforded (very different from what either the men or horses had been accustomed to); and proceeded in the route Sir David Baird's division was directed to take. On the 10th of December he arrived at Zamora; and, after a toilsome march, his troops being exposed to numerous privations and distresses, but which were very considerably alleviated through the attention bestowed by his Lordship on their comfort, and to his anxiety in procuring forage and accommodation for their horses, his Lordship was enabled to bring into the field a well-equipped body of cavalry. On the 24th of November, his Lordship's division effected a junction with Sir John Moore. At this period the critical state of affairs (occasioned principally by the lukewarm conduct of the Spaniards, the ridiculous confidence that many of them entertained of their own exertions to resist any material attacks of the French, and, moreover, by the too sanguine expectations of the English at home, who, deceived by false reports, augured even impossibilities from the supposed ability of the Spaniards to assail with vigour the armies of France, and clear their country of those modern Vandals) had determined the British commander to fall back upon Portugal. Circumstances afterwards caused this movement to be suspended; and a junction was resolved upon with the division under Sir David Baird, which was happily effected on the 20th of December.

Lieutenant-General Lord Paget was stationed with his division of cavalry 12 miles from Sahagun; at which place a body of the enemy's horse, amounting to 700, had been posted, which his Lordship proposed, by a rapid movement, to cut off from the main body of the French army. Accordingly, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, Major-General Slade was dispatched by a different route than that his Lordship proposed taking, with the 10th light dragoons, whilst Lord Paget, with the 15th light dragoons, moved with great celerity in a different direction, reached Sahagun, and surprised a picquet of the enemy. Unfortunately some men escaped, and gave the alarm, which afforded the French an opportunity of forming in an advantageous position on the outskirts of the town. The strength of the post was particularly

cularly favourable, from a hollow, which opposed any regular charge of the British cavalry; and it was therefore necessary to manœuvre so as to gain the advantages of ground for his intended operations. Here the abilities of Lord Paget were exercised with effect; and, having succeeded in improving his position, a charge was made upon the enemy drawn up in line. The rapidity with which the British cavalry rushed on to the attack, could not be withstood by the French: their line was immediately broken, and their whole force dispersed with considerable slaughter. Two lieutenant-colonels, and upwards of one hundred and ninety men, made prisoners, were the fruits of this bold yet well-planned operation. The loss of the English amounted to eight men killed, and twenty wounded.

In the disastrous retreat of Sir John Moore, Lord Paget with the cavalry brought up the rear; and his Lordship's ardour frequently exposed him to imminent danger. Skirmishes daily took place; and it may be fairly observed, that the masterly dispositions of his Lordship, and the alacrity he at all times evinced, enabled the British troops to reach Corunna with a much less loss than could have been reasonably expected, when all circumstances were taken into consideration. At Majorga, a well-directed attack was executed on a considerable force of the enemy, by the 10th hussars, under Colonel Leigh, in which the British were successful, and 100 of the French made prisoners. At Benevente, on the 29th of December, Lord Paget's division was attacked in the morning by the chasseurs of Napoleon's Imperial Guard. The picquets which were along the Eslla river having been driven in, his Lordship reinforced them with the in-lying picquets amounting to 250 men: these, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonels Otway of the 18th, and Quentin of the 10th hussars, with a part of the German hussars, gallantly kept in check six squadrons of the Imperial Guard. Lord Paget, having arrived on the spot, found them engaged in a very smart skirmish: he immediately sent for the 10th hussars, and gave orders to Major-General the Honourable Charles Stewart, to attack with the picquets the instant he had formed the 10th hussars in a second line. This attack was conducted with so much gallantry, that the Imperial Guards were

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overthrown, with the loss of General Lefebvre, several officers, and 100 men, who were made prisoners, and many killed, wounded, and drowned. The ardour of the French was manifestly damped by this fresh proof of British valour; for they continued their pursuit at such respectful distance, that the rear of the army which had been engaged with them reached Baneza that night unmolested.

This disastrous retreat, in which Lord Paget bore so conspicuous a part, as he had the charge of bringing up and protecting the rear, is so memorable, that a few particulars respecting it cannot fail of affording both interest and instruction to our readers. It had been necessary to assure the troops at Benevente, that they were not falling back upon Corunna, but that their march was only to secure a more favourable position. No affirmations, however, could make them believe this; and when Sir John Moore reached Astorga, and issued his orders, it was too manifest, that they were not merely retreating, but even flying before the enemy. Ammunition waggons were burnt here, and an entire depôt of entrenching tools abandoned; so that the army was deprived of a most important and effectual means of impeding the enemy's progress. A position at Villa Franca, which the Commander-in-chief had mentioned in his dispatches, was no longer thought of. Two brigades, under General Crawford, were detached by way of Orense to Vigo, to which place Sir John Moore had ordered empty transports to be sent, supposing it to be the best point of embarkation. General Frazer and his divisions were immediately sent forward, with orders to proceed to Lugo; he was followed by General Hope and Sir David Baird: and their instructions were, to make forced marches to the coast.

It does not appear that Sir John Moore was well informed of the nature of the country through which he had to retreat. Westward of Astorga, two great ranges of mountains spread from north to south: Puerto del Rabanal, Cruz de Ferro, and Fonchebadon, are those of the eastern branch; those of the western are the Puerto del Cebrero, Puerto del Coural, and Puerto del Aguiar; they meet on the south, with the Sierra de Sanabria, the Sierra de Cabrera, and the Montes Aguianas. The tract
which

which these mountains inclose is called the Bierzo; from summit to summit it is about sixteen leagues from north to south, and about fourteen from east to west. The whole waters of this amphitheatre have but one opening; they are collected into the river Sil, and pass, through a narrow gorge, into the Val de Oras, in Gallicia. The centre is a plain of about four square leagues. There is scarcely in Europe a more lovely tract of country, certainly no where a more defensible one. There is no other pass for an army than the main road which traverses it; and this leads along such defiles, that a thousand men might stop the march of twenty times their number. Sir David Baird's army had travelled this road; they supposed that it could not certainly be intended to fall back beyond Villa Franca. But the Commander of the forces saw no security till he should reach the coast; there he hoped to find transports ready, or if not, to take up some defensible position till they arrived. The same difficulties which affected him must affect his pursuers. It was not probable that all the numbers which were now marching against him, would follow him the whole way; and, once on the coast, it was his determination not to be molested by any thing like an equal force: "it is only while retreating," said he, "that we are vulnerable." His sole object now was to save the army; to effect this he had already destroyed great part of the ammunition and military stores, and had now left behind many of the sick.

The mountain-tops were covered with heavy clouds, and the roads knee-deep in snow. Provisions, in a country where the natives are not rich enough at any time to lay by a store, can never be abundant; and what there was, had already been exhausted, by the repeated march of troops, English and Spaniards. The little order with which such food as could be found was issued out, occasioned such waste as greatly increased the evil. The men, half-famished, half-frozen, and altogether desperate, were no longer in any subordination—they forced their way into the houses where their rations should have been served, seized it by force, frequently spilling the wine, and destroying more than they could carry away. This was not all: pillage could not be pre-

vented; and it was scarcely possible to prevent them from committing the worst excesses that could have been perpetrated by an enemy; houses and villages were burning in all directions. Is it to be wondered at that the people fled before them; that, when they acted as enemies, they were treated as such; and that many of them were put to death by the peasantry, in revenge, or in self-defence?

Buonaparte pursued in person no farther than Astorga; he there charged Marshal Soult with what, in his own insolent language, he called "the glorious mission of destroying the English army—of pursuing them to their point of embarkation—and driving them into the sea." Napoleon acted prudently in halting where he did:—if the English continued their flight, it was undergoing bootless fatigue and sufferings to follow them; and if they made a stand, he may have remembered the resistance which he found from a handful of Englishmen on the walls of Acre, and also that a far inferior number of Greeks, in a country not more defensible, had opposed the innumerable army of the only tyrant that ever, before himself, threatened utterly to barbarize Europe. Marshal Soult's was an easy task: he had only to pursue the English just close enough to keep them at the pace at which they set out, and not come near enough to make them turn and stand at bay; fatigue would do his work more surely than the sword. From Astorga to Villa Franca del Bierzo is fifteen leagues, about sixty English miles: the road, for the first four leagues, is up the mountain, but through an open country. Having reached the summit of Fonchebadon, you enter into some of the strongest passes in Europe: it would scarcely be possible for an invading army to force their way here against a body of determined men. These passes continue between two and three leagues, nearly to the village of Torre; from thence through Benvibre and Ponferada, nothing can be finer than the country and the circle of mountains which binds it in: but never, in the most melancholy ages of Spanish history, had a more miserable scene been represented than was now to be witnessed here. The cavalry of the retreating army began to fail, and this, in a great measure, for want of shoes: there was no want of iron to hammer new ones; there are iron-works near Villa-Franca,

Franca, and enough might have been procured had there been time. As soon as these noble animals foundered, they were shot, lest the enemy should profit by them. A great loss of cavalry was occasioned, in the first instance, by the imprudent mode of debarking them at Corunna. The horses, hot as they were, when just out of the hold, were dropt into the sea to swim to shore, for want of proper arrangements for landing them; many never recovered the shock, fell lame on the way into the country, and were shot by the way-side, instead of being given to the Spaniards.

The rain continued in torrents: the baggage was to be dragged, and the men were to wade through half-melted snows; the feet of the men, as well as of the beasts, began to fail—more waggons were left behind—more ammunition destroyed along the way; and when the troops reached Villa Franca, on the 2d of January, they were in such a state that several experienced officers predicted, if this march against time were persevered in, that a fourth of the army would be left in the ditches before it was accomplished. More magazines and carriages were here destroyed. Some of the men, abandoning themselves here, as knowing that if they proceeded they must die of cold, hunger, and weariness, got into the wine-cellars, and, giving way to desperate excess, were found dead when the French entered the town. When the General marched with the reserve from Benvibre, he left a detachment to cover the town, while parties were sent to warn the stragglers of their danger, and drive them out of the houses—for the place was filled with them; near a thousand men of the preceding divisions having remained there, all abandoned to despair, and most of them to drunkenness. A few were prevailed upon to move on; but the greater number were deaf to threats, and insensible to danger, till the rear-guard was compelled to march. A small detachment of cavalry still covered them, and did not quit the town till the enemy approached, and then the road was filled with stragglers—Spanish and British, armed and unarmed—mules, carts, women, and children. Four or five squadrons of French cavalry compelled the detachment in the rear to retire, and pursued them closely for several miles, till General Lord Paget, with the reserve, repulsed them. As the
French

French dragoons galloped through the long line of these wretched stragglers, they slashed them with their swords to the right and left; the men being so insensible from liquor, that they neither attempted to resist nor get out of the road. Some of these men having found their way to the army, mangled as they were, were shewn through the ranks, to convince their comrades of the miserable consequences of drunkenness at such a time.

The Spaniards at Villa Franca would not believe that the French were advancing through such a country and at such a season; they thought it was impossible. Sir John Moore, however, well knew that he was pursued; and he was afraid of halting here, lest the enemy should get in his rear and intercept him at Lugo—an apprehension which would not have been entertained had he been well acquainted with the country. The troops, therefore, were hurried on: already so many of them had been crippled upon this dreadful march, that, by the French account, 2000 prisoners were picked up between Astorga and this town; that account is probably much exaggerated, but the loss, beyond all doubt, had been very great. The situation of the men may be well estimated by the language of an officer, who, writing at this place, says, he dares not describe the dreadful objects which lay before him as he looked from his window—"they are enough to make one muse even to madness." Some of those who were reserved for farther sufferings proceeded on the 2d: the artillery and head-quarters went foremost; General Baird's column, and the cavalry under Lord Paget, were left to cover the rear. The advanced guard of the enemy, under General Colbert, were close at their heels; Merle's division joined them on the 3d; and in the afternoon of that day they ventured to attack the rear-guard at Carcabalos. According to the bulletins, we had 3000 infantry and 600 horse posted very advantageously upon the heights. General Merle made his dispositions; his infantry advanced, beat the charge, and the English were entirely routed. It is added, that the difficulty of the ground did not permit the cavalry to charge, and only 200 prisoners were taken. The fact is, that cavalry can act there, and that the dragoons and riflemen repulsed the enemy. General Colbert received a ball in his forehead, and died within a quarter of an hour.

hour. Having thus once more shewn the enemy what they could do in battle, the rear of the army reluctantly, and almost broken-hearted, continued their retreat.

From Villa Franca to Castro is one continued ascent up Monte del Cebrero, through one of the wildest, most delightful, and most defensible countries in the world: the distance is fifteen miles, and the road a royal one, cut with great labour and expence, in the side of the mountain, and following all its windings; for some part of the way it overhangs the river Valvarco, a rapid mountain-stream, which falls into the Burbia near the town, and afterwards joins the Sil, to pass through the single outlet in the gorge of the Bierzo. Oaks, alders, poplars, hazels, and chesnuts, grow in the bottom, and far up the side of the hills; the apple, pear, cherry, and mulberry, are wild in this country; the wild-olive also is found here; and here are the first vineyards which the traveller meets on his way from Corunna to the heart of Spain. The mountains are cultivated in some parts even to their summits, and trenches are cut along the sides to collect and preserve the rain, for the purpose of irrigating them; the mountain rills are diverted also to the same use. Even those writers whose journals were written during the horrors of such a flight, have mentioned this scenery with admiration: it was now covered with snow; there was neither provision to sustain nature, nor shelter from the rain and snow, nor fuel for fire to keep the vital heat from total extinction, nor place where the weary and foot-sore could rest for a single hour in safety. All that had hitherto been suffered was but the prelude to this consummate scene of horrors. It was still attempted to carry on some of the sick and wounded; the beasts which drew them failed at every step, and they were left in the waggons to perish amid the snows. "I looked round," says an officer, "when we had hardly gained the highest point of those slippery precipices, and saw the rear of the army winding along the narrow road; I saw their way marked by the wretched people who lay on all sides expiring from fatigue and the severity of the cold: their bodies reddened in spots the white surface of the ground."

The men were now desperate: excessive fatigue, and the feeling of the disgrace there was in thus retreating,
or,

or, as they translated the word, running away from the enemy, excited in them a spirit which was almost mutinous:—a few hours' pause was what they unanimously wished for; an opportunity of facing the French—the chance of an honourable and speedy death—the certainty of sweetening their sufferings by taking vengeance upon their pursuers. A Portuguese bullock-driver, who had faithfully served the English from the first day of their march, was seen on his knees amid the snow, with his hands clasped, dying in the attitude and act of prayer; he had at least the hopes and the actual consolation and comfort of religion in his passing hour. The soldiers who threw themselves down to perish by the way-side, gave utterance to far different feelings with their dying breath; shame and strong anger were their last sentiments, and their groans mingled with imprecations upon the Spaniards, by whom they fancied themselves betrayed, and the General, who rather let them die like beasts than take their chance in the field of battle.

That no horror might be wanting, women and children accompanied this wretched army. Some were frozen to death in the baggage-waggons, which were broken down, or left upon the road for want of cattle; some died of fatigue and cold, while their infants were pulling at the empty breast. One woman was taken in labour upon the mountain: she lay down at the turning of an angle, rather more sheltered than the rest of the way from the icy sleet which drifted along; there she was found dead, and two babes which she had brought forth struggling in the snow. A blanket was thrown over her to hide her from sight—the only burial that could be afforded; and the infants were given in charge to a woman who came up in one of the bullock carts, little likely as it was that they could survive through such a journey.

It had once been intended to plant some guns on the heights which commanded the passes along the road, and mules had actually been purchased at Lugo for the purpose of carrying light artillery there. Why this measure was abandoned, when it would have been so advantageous, has not been explained; for certain it is, that a few sharp-shooters, and some field-pieces, thus posted, might have checked very superior numbers. It is scarcely

scarcely possible to imagine a stronger country; and if any attempt had been made to defend it, the peasantry, who were now, with equal reason, flying from both armies, as equally hostile to them, would have rallied round their allies.

While the reserve were on this part of the road, they met between thirty and forty waggons filled with arms, ammunition, shoes, and clothing, from England, for Romana's army: that army had been left destitute of every thing, and these supplies were now travelling on to meet the French. This, however, is rather a proof of gross neglect than of treason: for the rapid retreat of the British could not have been foreseen; and had they attempted to defend Gallicia, these stores would have reached their destination. There was no means of carrying them back; such things as could be made use of were distributed to the soldiers as they passed, and the rest were destroyed. Indeed, the baggage that was with the army could not be carried on; nearly an hundred waggons, laden with shoes and clothes, were abandoned upon this ascent. The dollars, too, could no longer be dragged along: had the resolution of sacrificing them been adopted sooner, they might have been distributed among the men; in this manner great part might have been saved from the enemy, and they who escaped would have had some little compensation for the hardships which they had undergone: they were now cast over the side of a precipice, in hopes that the snow might conceal them from the French. Many men are supposed to have been lost, in consequence of having dropped behind, in hopes of recovering some of this money. Dreadful as this march was to those who could behold the wreck of the army strewing its line of road, it was perhaps still more so to those who traversed it in a night stormy and dark, wading through sludge and snow, stumbling over the bodies of beasts and men, and hearing, whenever the wind abated, the groans of those whose sufferings were not yet terminated by death.

From the summit of this mountain to Lugo is nearly twelve leagues. There are several bridges upon the way over glens and gills, which might have impeded the pursuit, had they been destroyed. One in particular, between Lugares and Marillas, is the most remarkable

work of art between Corunna and Madrid. This bridge, which is called Puente del Corzul, crosses a deep ravine; from its exceeding height, the narrowness of its tall arcades, and its form, which, as is usual with Spanish bridges, is straight, it might at a little distance be mistaken for an aqueduct. Several of those officers who knew the road, relied much upon the strength of this ravine, and the impossibility that the French could bring their guns over, if the bridge were destroyed. Grievous as it was to think of destroying so grand a work, its destruction was attempted, but, as in most other instances, to no purpose—from what cause has not yet been explained; whether the pioneers, in their fear, performed their office too hastily, or because the materials had been abandoned on the way, or insufficiently supplied at first to the expedition.

The different divisions had been ordered to halt and collect at Lugo. Sir John Moore was now sensible of the impossibility of reaching Vigo; the distance was double that to Corunna, and the road was said to be impracticable for artillery, and offered no advantages for embarking in the face of an enemy. The brigades, however, of Generals Crawford and Alten, had marched for that part; and General Fraser, with his division, was ordered to take this route, and join them. A dispatch was sent to stop him: the dragoon who was entrusted with it got drunk on the way, and lost the letter; and these troops, in consequence, had proceeded a full day's journey on their way towards Vigo before the counter-order reached them, and they were marched back. Thus, instead of having two day's rest at Lugo, as had been designed, they returned to that place excessively harassed, and lost many men from fatigue. When the horses entered Lugo, many of them fell dead in the streets, and others were mercifully shot: above four hundred carcasses were lying in the streets and market-places: there were none of the army who had strength to bury them; the towns-people were under too painful a suspense to think of performing a work which it seemed hopeless to begin while the frequent musquet-shot repeatedly indicated fresh slaughter; there, therefore, the bodies lay, swelling with the rain, bursting, putrifying, and poisoning the atmosphere, faster than the glutton dogs and carrion birds

birds could do their office. Here the retreating army might have rested, had the destruction of the bridges been effected; but this had been so imperfectly executed, that the French came in sight on the 5th, and, collecting in considerable strength, took up a good position opposite our rear-guard, a valley dividing them.

On the following day, January the 6th, they attacked the out-posts, opening upon them with two Spanish pieces of ordnance, which they had taken on their march. The assault was made with great spirit: "but it was received," says an officer, "with a steadiness which excited even our own wonder; for, at the sight of the enemy, and the sound of battle, the hearts of the British suddenly revived, and they derived from their characteristic and invincible courage, a strength which soon made them victorious." On the 7th another attack was made, and in like manner repelled. The prisoners reported that Marshal Soult was come up with three divisions. Sir John Moore, therefore, expecting a more formidable attack, recalled General Fraser's division from the road to Vigo, and drew up his whole force on the morning of the 8th. It was his wish now to bring the enemy to action: he had perfect confidence in the valour of his troops, and perceived also, that unless he crippled his pursuers, there was no hope of retreating or embarking unmolested. Order and discipline was instantaneously restored by this resolution to fight, and the men seemed at once to have recovered from all their sufferings. The French were not equally eager for battle: the trial which they had made of their enemies on the two preceding days was not such as to encourage them; and Soult was waiting for more troops to come up. The country was intersected, and his position was thought too strong to be attacked by an inferior force: but, in reality, the French at this time were less numerous than the English. Another reason assigned for not attacking the enemy was, that the Commissariat had only provisions for two days; delay, therefore, was judged as disadvantageous as retreat. It has, however, since been known, that the French expected to be attacked; that they had no confidence in the strength of their position; and that their ablest officers apprehended that their advanced guard would have been cut off. They frequently spoke of this

to those English who were left in their power at Lugo, and exulted that Sir John Moore had contented himself with offering battle, instead of forcing them to an engagement. After waiting till the afternoon, during a day of rain and snow, and storms, Sir John ordered large fires to be lighted along the line, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, and continued his retreat during the night.

Among the many memorable circumstances of this retreat, there is one which, for the honour of humanity, should not be omitted here. An officer, who found himself utterly unable to proceed further without rest, turned aside to some trees at a little distance from the road, thinking that he might possibly escape the French under their cover: he found a woman there, lying on the ground, with an infant beside her; she was at the point of death, having only strength enough to say, when he attempted to assist her, "God bless you! It is all over!" He took the infant, fastened it in its mother's handkerchief to his back, and in that manner, as soon as he had recovered strength to move on, proceeded on the way towards Vigo, obtaining food and shelter as he could upon the way, for himself and his burthen. Fortunately he reached Vigo safely, and found a transport in the bay, on board of which he effected his escape. The child whom he thus preserved, continues with him; and he has declared, that, be his fortunes what they may, they shall be shared by this boy, who seems to have been bequeathed by Providence to his protection.

Before the reserve left Lugo, the General once more endeavoured to repress the irregularity of the march. He warned the soldiers that their safety depended entirely on their keeping their divisions, and marching with their regiments; and that those who stopped in villages, or straggled on the way, would inevitably be cut off by the French cavalry, "who have hitherto," said he, "shewn little mercy even to the feeble and infirm who have fallen into their hands. The army has still eleven leagues to march, the soldiers must make an exertion to accomplish them; the rear-guard cannot stop; and those who fall behind must take their fate." These representations were ineffectual: it was, indeed, impossible to obey them; many of the men were exhausted and foot-sore,
and

and could not keep their ranks; others, who had totally broken all discipline as soon as the route began, left them for the love of wine or for worse motives. So irresistible was the temptation of liquor to men in their state, that it was thought better to expose them to the cold and rain of a severe night, than to the wine-houses of Betanzos, the next town upon their march. The partial actions at Lugo, and the risk to which he had been exposed of a general one, checked Soult in his pursuit; and he was too sensible of the danger he had escaped, to trust himself again so near the British without a superior force. The British army, therefore, gained twelve hours upon him, and on the 11th of January reached Corunna, with little further molestation. Here, if the General had not represented the state of Spain as hopeless, they might have found reinforcements from England, which would have enabled them to turn upon their pursuers, and take ample vengeance for the sufferings and the shame which they had endured in their flight. But, instead of reinforcements, he had directed that empty transports should be sent, and, for want of due knowledge of the country, ordered them to Vigo, instead of Corunna. That order had been countermanded as soon as the error was discovered, but contrary winds detained the ships; and it was apparent that the army could not possibly escape without winning a battle. Corunna was a bad position. Had the British been numerous enough to have occupied a range of hills four miles from the town, they could have defended themselves against very superior numbers; but these heights required a larger force than the English army, of which not less than a fourth part had been foundered in the way. Both flanks would have been liable to have been turned: it was therefore necessary to relinquish them to the enemy, and be content with occupying a second and lower range. Such, however, was the disadvantages of this situation, that it is understood some of our general officers advised the Commander to propose terms to Soult if he would permit the army to embark unmolested. In communicating this to Lord Castlereagh, in the last official dispatch he addressed to government, he said, that he was averse to make any such proposal, and exceedingly doubtful if it would be attended with any good effect; but, whatever he might
resolve

resolve upon this head, the ministers might rest assured that he would accept no terms which were in the least dishonourable to the army or to the country. Happily for his own memory, he rejected their advice. It is sufficiently disgraceful that such advice should have been given; and deeply is England indebted to Sir John Moore for saving the army from this last and utter ignominy, and giving them an opportunity of proving to the world that courage which had never forsaken them, and retrieving the honour, which, had this counsel been followed, would irretrievably have been lost. Arrangements, therefore, were made to give the enemy battle; for the details of which we refer our readers to the Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington, where they will find it amply described.

From this time the Marquis of Anglesea does not appear to have engaged the public attention, until the glorious battle of Waterloo, in which he bore a conspicuous part, having the command of the cavalry on that memorable occasion. After distinguishing himself by repeated feats of valour, at the close of the day he received a wound, by almost the last shot fired; and, had it not been for this circumstance, it has been confidently affirmed, that Napoleon would have been his prisoner. The wound his Lordship received, and the consequent amputation of his leg, compelled him to return home; and we trust a glorious peace, the reward of so much bravery and valour, will render unnecessary his Lordship's future zeal and ability.

Before we close this Memoir, we may be allowed briefly to advert to an unfortunate attachment between his Lordship and the lady of a gentleman of an illustrious family and connexions, which unhappily involved two noble families in the deepest distress; the issue of this unfortunate business was a divorce on the part of the injured gentleman from his wife, and a verdict obtained against his Lordship of £20,000. As much as we deplore the mischief of this unhappy connexion, we cannot forbear remarking, that his Lordship's conduct throughout the whole of the unfortunate affair was marked with a high sense of feeling and noble generosity.

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL SOULT,
DUKE OF DALMATIA.

FOR the Memoirs of Marshal Soult we are much indebted to an interesting work entitled "*The Philosopher*," by General Sarrazin, who had ample opportunities of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the principal military characters of France; we shall therefore, without hesitation, follow his narrative.

According to him, Marshal Soult is about 46 years of age, although he appears much older: his height, five feet ten inches; although slender, he is very vigorous: his face is but ordinary, his complexion pallid, his look scrutinizing, and his pensive air expressive of a genius above the common cast. In his physiognomy is to be seen the harshness of his soul, and the pride with which he is inspired by his military talents: his figure is soldier-like; his manner simple; his address cold, speaking but seldom: he is very rigid in maintaining discipline; his activity and comprehensive view had deservedly obtained him the encomiums of Kleber and Buonaparte.

Born of poor parents, Soult may be considered as being himself the only founder of his military fortune. As early as sixteen he enlisted as a common soldier. His good conduct occasioned his being distinguished by the chief officers of his company, who successively appointed him as Corporal and Serjeant. Endued with much intelligence, he soon became versed in the art of manœuvring; and even at that period he evinced towards his subordinates that firmness of character which has since greatly contributed to his advancement. In 1792, his reputation as a good instructor obtained him the situation of Adjutant-Major in a battalion of national guards. In 1793, he was appointed an officer of the staff, and some little time

time after, Adjutant-General. He was employed in the army of the Moselle under the command of Jourdan. At the time when 40,000 men of that army marched upon the Sambre to relieve Charleroi, Soult was appointed Chief of the Staff for the division of General Lefevre, which formed the advanced guard of that army.

The 27th of June 1794, the day of the battle of Fleurus, the right wing of the French army, commanded by Marceau, was attacked by Beaulieu at three o'clock in the morning. By noon all the troops of Marceau were thrown into confusion; and he himself, surrounded by the Austrian dragoons, owed his safety only to the bravery of some officers of his staff, who protected his retreat to Lefevre's division. "Give me," said Marceau to this General, "four battalions of your troops, that I may drive the enemy away from my position;" and, observing that Lefevre hesitated, Marceau, in order to determine him, added, in a tone of despair, "If you refuse me, I will blow my brains out." Lefevre consulted Soult, who said aloud, that this disposition would expose the safety of the division. Marceau cast a threatening look at him, and asked him who he was, that he should take upon himself to use so peremptory a tone? "I am calm," replied Soult coldly, "and you are not so." This observation only tended to augment the indignation of Marceau, who provoked Soult to fight a duel with him the next day. "Whether to-day or to-morrow," replied Soult, "you will always find me ready to tell you the truth, and to pay the respect I owe you: don't kill yourself, but fight in your ranks; and when we shall have secured our position, you shall have the battalions you wish for." At that very moment the Prince of Cobourg attacked Lefevre with the choice of his troops; seven successive and unsuccessful onsets were made by the Hungarian grenadiers. Soult conveyed himself with rapidity wherever there was the greatest danger; Marceau fought also like a lion; Lefevre remained with the reserve. The battle raged with unexampled fury: the brave Royal Allemand regiment several times charged the columns of Soult and Marceau, who were pursuing the Austrians. About 300 of these intrepid horsemen perished within pistol-shot of Lefevre's intrenchments. At six in the evening the whole army of the Moselle, with

with the exception of Lefevre's division, was in retreat: the general, alarmed to see his two flanks defenceless, was just going to give orders to retrograde, when Soult conjured him to wait, assuring him that, as far as he could judge by the manœuvres of the second line, the enemy was commencing his retreat: this opinion of Soult's was soon confirmed, by an order sent to attack, from Jourdan, who, stationed in the balloon, was enabled to perceive distinctly the movements of the Austrian army. Marceau and Soult marched together to take possession of Lambussart. This village was taken and re-taken several times. After having been engaged for eighteen hours, Cobourg retreated in good order.

Marceau, who had witnessed the skill and coolness of Soult, said to Lefevre, "The Chief of your Staff is a man of merit; he will soon bring himself into notice." "Yes," replied Lefevre, "he is passable—I am satisfied with him. He conducts the business of my staff pretty well." Marceau held out his hand to Soult, and in a friendly tone said to him, "General, I have to beg you will forget the past; and although, from my rank, I am destined to give you instructions, yet I have received such a lesson from you to-day, as I shall not forget while I live. It is you alone who have gained the battle of Fleurus." With these words they embraced; and from that time they entertained the strongest friendship for each other, until the death of Marceau, which event sensibly affected Soult.

During the campaigns of 1794, 95, 96, and 97, Soult continued to direct Lefevre's division. That General, whenever any one praised the Chief of his Staff in his presence, used to observe, that he ought to be considered as better adapted for the desk than the field; not but that Lefevre knew very well that he was equally qualified for either, but it was his policy to lessen the merit of Soult, apprehending that otherwise the General-in-chief, or the government, might deprive him of Soult, to place him in a situation more suitable to his talents. This is the true reason which retained Soult so long in a secondary rank. Any one that had seen Lefevre, and had heard him speak on military affairs, was astonished that a man so shallow should ever have acquired so great a reputation. His division was 15,000 strong; in case of attack

it formed the van, and in a retreat, the rear-guard of the army; whether in the camp, on the march, or in the field of battle, this division always preserved the greatest order, was never broke in upon, and was almost always successful. The troops of Marceau, Championnet, Bernadotte, &c. were far from enjoying the same celebrity, although their commanders were much superior to Lefevre. It was Soult who was the author of his General's glory. The cavalry deployed in front of the enemy with as much precision as on the parade, and the infantry manœuvred like Swiss soldiers. Soult superintended every where; he was seldom absent at the time of the distributions, taking care that the provisions were of good quality, which obtained him the affection of the soldiers: he reprimanded those officers who were negligent, encouraged those who did their duty well, and in every engagement he was sure to be found in the foremost ranks.

Lefevre, by his wheedling, succeeded with the government in availing himself of so much zeal; but the soldiers were never duped by him. When any thing grievous happened, there was but one cry heard throughout the division—"It is because Lefevre has thrust his nose into it; why did he not leave it all to be done by the Chief of his Staff?" These details should not be considered as exaggerations; they are the simple truth: I served with Soult in Lefevre's division, in the capacity of Adjutant-General, and I was fully enabled to appreciate the merit of each. Nothing was so amusing as to be present at the establishment of General Lefevre into any of his head-quarters: Madame Lefevre always followed her husband: no sooner were they entered into their residence, than you might see them running, sabre in hand, making a general slaughter of the poultry, in order to prepare a good fricassee for their good friend Soult, who so well conducted the affairs of the troops. It has even been asserted, that Madame Lefevre forced her favours upon Soult, as an acknowledgment for the great utility he was of to her husband.

Soult was at last nominated General of Brigade; but Lefevre, unwilling to part with him, caused him to be employed in his division, giving him the command of the advanced guard. Lefevre having been wounded,

Jourdan

Jourdan intrusted this division to Soult, who commanded it in chief on the day of the battle of Liebtingen, the 26th of March 1799. Made General of Division, he was employed in Switzerland under Massena, of whom he was considered as the right hand: he followed that General into Italy, and co-operated with him at the siege of Genoa, where Soult was wounded, a ball having shattered his right leg. He was made prisoner with his brother, who was then aide-de-camp and chief of a squadron, and who is now a general, commanding the cavalry of the 4th corps, in the kingdom of Grenada.

The Austrians losing the battle of Marengo, occasioned Soult's return into his own country. As soon as he was recovered of his wounds, he was entrusted with the command of the army of observation in the kingdom of Naples. Some officers, who then served under his orders, have assured General Sarrazin, that he had succeeded in being beloved and feared by the troops and the inhabitants, for his justice and strictness.

When the interested policy of Lefevre could no longer appropriate to himself the advantages of Soult's superior skill and judgment, he evinced his gratitude for former services, by recommending him to the favour of Buonaparte, as equally skilful in manœuvres and zealous for discipline; he was accordingly sent for to Paris, and appointed Colonel-General of the Foot Chasseurs of the Consular Guard. He constantly shewed himself worthy of Buonaparte's confidence; and it was shortly perceived how greatly the influence of Soult operated in improving whatever related to the service. Buonaparte, charmed with the progress his guard made in order, conduct, and instruction, the result of Soult's exertions, conceived he could not make a better choice than appointing that officer to the chief command of the camp of Boulogne.

More open-minded than the other courtiers, Soult de-claimed very loudly against the immense works which were constructing on the coast near Boulogne, and on the heights bordering upon the banks of the Lianne; he was suffered to talk on, and was forgiven this silliness, from his having on the other hand the good sense to shew himself one of the most zealous advocates for the erection of Buonaparte's pillar, with this inscription, "The land and sea army to Napoleon the Great!" Soult would have

done much better, had he advised his master to construct good barracks for the soldiers, a wholesome hospital with a spacious garden, and stone powder-magazines, instead of those of wood, which, like so many volcanoes, threatened Boulogne with complete destruction—the more to be dreaded, as this might result from the imprudence of a single sentinel, or the evil designs of some flagitious villain; but, unfortunately, splendour is preferred to real utility, and that which might be advantageous to humanity is left unconsidered.

Soult, during his stay at Boulogne, evinced uncommon activity: almost continually on horseback, he severally visited the coast, the camps, and the cantonments; and it was there that he employed himself in instructing his troops in those manœuvres which were of so much service to him at the battle of Austerlitz. When the army of the Boulogne camp proceeded to Germany, Soult passed the Rhine at Spire, the 26th of September 1805, and directed his march through Heilbron for Nordlingen. The 6th of October, he seized on the *tête-de-pont* of Donauert, crossed the Danube, and marched straight to Ausburg, of which he took possession without striking a blow: he also seized on Memmingen, experiencing scarcely any resistance. During the whole of this campaign, he was entrusted with the most important posts. At the battle of Austerlitz he commanded the right wing: Buonaparte sent him an order for an immediate attack, and to possess himself of the heights of Pratzen. Soult said to the aide-de-camp who brought this order, "*that he would commence the attack as soon as he could do it successfully; but that it was not yet the proper time.*" This reply, being reported to Buonaparte, filled him with rage; and he immediately sent another aide-de-camp, who arrived precisely at the moment that Soult had put his troops in motion, which he had only delayed to allow the Russians time to extend their army towards the left, by which they were weakening their centre. All who opposed his march were either killed or taken. Buonaparte, who was stationed on a height from which he could plainly discover the movements of the army, was charmed with the precision and the brilliant result of his Lieutenant's manœuvres; he went to him at full gallop, and, in presence of all his staff, who had but a few moments

ments before beheld him most vehemently exclaiming against Soult, he embraced him, saying, "My Lord Marshal Soult, I esteem you as the most able tactician of my empire." "Sire, I believe it," replied Soult, "since your Majesty has the goodness to tell me so;" a well-timed compliment, which caused as much pleasure to Buonaparte, as it astonished the officers who were present: and nothing was wanting to complete the effect of the extraordinary scene of this day, but the Colonel of the Regiment du Roi infantry, under whom Soult served as a common soldier in 1786, who would no doubt have exclaimed, "*A miracle indeed!*" on beholding his raw recruit become a wily courtier, and a general sufficiently skilful to give a complete dressing to those Russian and Austrian generals, who had previously acquired so much reputation by their brilliant exploits against the Turks.

At the battle of Jena, Soult decided the victory by his movement against the centre of the Prussian army, after having taken possession of the wood which was on his right. On the 16th of October 1806, at Greussen, he refused to give confidence to the armistice, said to have been agreed on by General Kalkreuth, with a view of favouring the retreat of the column which covered the flight of the King of Prussia. Buonaparte, in his tenth bulletin, dated Naumberg, the 18th of October 1806, has manufactured a conference between the Prussian General and Marshal Soult, for the purpose of affording a lesson (in his way) to the generals of the grand army, who, having allowed themselves to be ensnared by the pretended armistice, had suffered many of the enemy's columns to escape. Soult rendered great services in Prussia and in Poland. At the battle of Eylau, though inferior in number, he held Beningsen's army in check. Augereau had been routed, and had left the right of Soult unprotected; Davoust had been retarded in his march by bad roads; Ney was fighting against the Prussians; and Bernadotte was too far distant to take a part in the engagement. Soult, however, arranged his troops with so much skill, that he made them appear much more numerous than they were. If, after having defeated Augereau's corps, the Russian army had rushed headlong (a favourite manœuvre of their's) upon Soult's line,
Buonaparte

Buonaparte would have been completely beaten, and Davoust's corps, separated from the rest of the army, would have been either killed, taken, or dispersed. On the approach of night, Buonaparte, alarmed at the enormous loss which he had sustained, wished to retreat. "Let us remain where we are, Sire," said Soult to him; "for, although we have been dreadfully mauled, we shall pass for conquerors, if we remain the last on the field of battle; and I have observed some movements in the Russian army, which induce me to think that the enemy will effect his retreat during the night." Although Buonaparte was apprehensive of the contrary, he resolved to follow the advice of Soult, of whose extraordinary perspicacity he was well aware. The next day he was so rejoiced at the retreat of the Russians, that he was observed the whole day with a smiling countenance, although in the midst of 20,000 dead, dying, and wounded, lying strewed on the field of battle near the town of Eylau.

After the peace of Tilsit, Soult was appointed to take a command in the army of Spain. On the 10th of November 1808, he took the command of the 2d corps, attacked the army of Estramadura, and, destroying it, took possession of Burgos: he marched upon Renoya, occupied St. Ander, and penetrated into the kingdom of the Asturias, whilst the other corps of the French army manœuvred on the two rivers of the Ebro, and defeated Castanos at Tudela.

When Buonaparte marched to Madrid, he ordered Soult to observe General Moore's movements: he had orders to manœuvre so as to draw the English army on the side of Burgos, whilst a chosen corps was to proceed, by forced marches, to seize upon the English line of operation, and to cut off their retreat to their ships which were lying altogether in Corunna bay. The skilfulness of General Moore enabled him to avoid this snare, so artfully prepared for him; he retired upon Benevento, where his cavalry defeated the chasseurs of the Imperial Guard. Soult's march was slow, and his attacks far from vigorous. Whatever Buonaparte may say, Soult was constantly repulsed at the battle of Corunna; and the English obtained the victory, though dearly purchased, with the loss of their brave General Moore, who was
equally

equally estimable for his private virtues as for his military talents.

The invasion of the north of Portugal does little honour to Soult. It is true, that, after having beat the Portuguese militia, he carried the town of Oporto by storm. But how did he defend his conquests? What measures did he take to prevent Lord Wellington's columns from effecting the passage of the Douro? I have been credibly informed, says General Sarrazin, that Soult was near being taken prisoner at Oporto, where the English entered whilst he was at table with his whole staff: they were obliged precipitately to mount their horses, and, with sabre in hand, cut their way through the English sharp-shooters, who were already firing in the streets. I had this fact from Colonel Dauture, who was employed in Marshal Soult's staff, and who was since under my orders, at the camp of Boulogne. When the 2d corps entered Portugal, on the 10th of February 1809, it was 23,000 strong; it retired thence, on the 18th of the following May, after having lost 8000 men, with the whole of its baggage and artillery. The loss of men was almost entirely occasioned by the peasants, who, justly irritated at the atrocious conduct of the French, put to death, without mercy, all who fell in their way. By one of the capricious freaks of fortune, Soult arrived very opportunely to raise the blockade of Lugo, which was surrounded by General Mahi, at the head of 20,000 Spaniards. The garrison of this town, composed of the 69th regiment, under the command of General Fournier, was entirely without provisions and the means of prolonging their defence. The Spaniards retreated on Soult's approach; and this fortunate occurrence threw the shade of oblivion over his mishaps in Portugal.

His march upon Placentia, with his own corps and that of Marshal Mortier, obliged Lord Wellington to relinquish his position at Talavera de la Reyna. Buona-parté estimated his force at 70,000 effective men. The truth is, he had not even 30,000. Soult appeared as though he were taking his revenge for his expulsion from the north of Portugal. The assault of Oporto, and the battle of Talavera, were undoubtedly brilliant exploits; but it is also indisputable that Lord Wellington and Marshal Soult suffered themselves to be too much influenced

enced by exaggerated reports, and did not know how to make the best of their successes, purchased at the expence of so much blood. King Joseph, obliged to take to his heels after losing the battle of Talavera, concluded with good reason that Jourdan, the chief of his staff, was but an ignorant fellow, totally incapable of directing military operations, and he chose Soult to take upon him those important functions. Joseph had soon reason to applaud himself on the choice he had made; for, on the 19th of November 1809, an army of 50,000 Spaniards, commanded by General Arrizaga, was completely beaten on the plains of Ocana. King Joseph *commanded* the French army under the direction of Soult. How much were the disasters of these brave Castilians to be lamented! Why go with raw troops, and in an open country, to encounter an army inured to war by several campaigns? why not await them in the formidable positions of Sierra Morena? why, in short, if they were so madly anxious to come to blows, did they not make a combined attack with the English, whose discipline and experience might have afforded them well-founded hopes of success?

On the 20th of January 1810, Soult made a general attack on Sierra Morena, the conquest of which had been facilitated to him by the defeat of Ocana. On the 22d, all obstacles were surmounted, and he had his headquarters at Baylen, a place for ever memorable, from the victory obtained by the Spaniards over General Dupont. Soult did not know how to avail himself of the stupor occasioned in all classes of the inhabitants by his passage, as daring as unexpected, through the Sierra Morena. If, instead of scattering his troops, he had in a mass rapidly directed his course to Seville, and then to Cadiz, there is little doubt but he would have obtained immediate possession of those two places, almost without resistance; but he hesitated, and advanced with the slowness of a tortoise. Instead of directing Sebastiani to Grenada, and Mortier towards Badajoz, he should have marched them towards Cadiz with a bridge-equipage to pass the rivulet of Santi Petri; and the dispatch in which he announced to Berthier the occupation of Andalusia, ought to have been dated from head-quarters at Cadiz. So Buonaparte would have manœuvred, if he had commanded

manded this expedition in person. Soult will vainly excuse himself by asserting that his plans were paralysed by the irresolution of King Joseph; it was then the proper opportunity to let him understand, "*that his kingdom was not of this world.*" The king was to be considered as a non-entity, when circumstances required the abilities of a general to be called forth. The French were indebted for the victory at Fontenoy only to the good sense of Louis XV. who, on a day of battle, reckoned himself only as the first aide-de-camp of Marshal Saxe.

The defeat of Romana's corps, on the 19th of February 1811, and the capture of Badajoz, which surrendered on the 11th of March, are events so much the more deplorable, as all the chances were in favour of the allies to have prevented them. Instead of pursuing Massena, who escaped like a shadow, without excepting the garrison of Almeida, it would have been much more important that the Portuguese should have been sent in pursuit of the retreating French, and to have marched with the choice of the English troops to preserve Badajoz, the very important key of Guadiana, which only surrendered on the 11th, and which could, and ought to have been relieved on the 9th. Buonaparte only exposed himself to derision when he reproached Soult for not having left the command of the whole of Andalusia to Victor when he proceeded to Estremadura: there is not an under-lieutenant of the French army who does not know, that the government of a province belongs, according to military regulations, to the next officer in rank. Victor is a Marshal, while Sebastiani is still only a General of Division; and what likelihood is there that this latter would have refused to co-operate with Victor had he received the smallest invitation to that effect. Buonaparte is much to be pitied, if, in order to lessen the disgrace of a check, he is reduced to the necessity of picking a quarrel with his best officers. If he had wished to have scolded Soult with reason, the battle of Albuera, fought on the 16th of May, afforded him a fine opportunity of doing so. This Marshal must have been informed by his spies, that the siege of Badajoz was raised—his ends were then accomplished: instead, therefore, of wantonly causing the slaughter of many thou-

sand brave fellows, he ought to have manœuvred in the same manner he did the day after the battle. This step seemed to be pointed out to him by his superiority in cavalry which would very advantageously have covered all his movements, and General Beresford would thereby have been prevented, for several days, from resuming the siege of Badajoz. It is even probable, that had it not been for the slaughter, equally impolitic and dreadful, of the 16th of May, the allied army would not have refused battle, notwithstanding the junction of Soult and Marmont's armies: every circumstance induces the belief that the fate of the peninsula might have been decided on the 20th of June, in the plains of Albuera. Lord Wellington may also be reproached for leaving so much to the discretion of General Beresford as to come to a pitched battle with Marshal Soult, who had even a year ago been represented to the English government as the most able French general of the army of Spain; and it appeared natural to expect, from that information, that Lord Wellington would have been present at the first affair of any consequence with that general.

The conduct of the French, after having relieved Badajoz, and that Lord Wellington had withdrawn to Portalegre, has justly caused the greatest surprise to all military men;—that two French armies should re-unite, and then separate without coming to an engagement, although the allied army was but at a day's distance! The lines at Portalegre could not have become, in one day, a second edition of the lines of Torres Vedras; and this position was far from presenting sufficient obstacles to stop the double torrent which had overwhelmed Sierra Morena and inundated Portugal. Time, the great teacher, will one day give us the key to these singular events. For my own part (says General Sarrazin), I should really be tempted to believe, that Massena in 1810, and Soult in 1811, reluctantly obeyed superior orders: still, whatever may be the case, the Duke of Dalmatia is greatly to be censured for having related, in his report of raising the siege of Bajadoz, facts evidently false. The fate of war is uncertain. The loyalty of commanders guarantees to history and the world that truth which determines public opinion. Let any one compare the frank and manly report of the English general with the false and
absurd

absurd rhodomontades of Soult, and he will readily convince himself, that whoever has recourse to falsehood for the purpose of casting ridicule on his opponent, is unworthy the noble title of a soldier. The English army did more than its duty at the siege of Badajoz, since it attempted two assaults, although the breach was not practicable.

The dispersion of the army of Murcia, attacked by Soult on the 9th of August, seems only to have been for the troops of the 4th corps a simple march. The arrival of Blake, however, ought to have awakened the energy, and increased the spirit of resistance in the Spaniards. It may also be asked, why a diversion was not attempted upon the Guadiana, in order to retain Soult there? It is now evident how much they were in the wrong in not adopting a fixed plan of military operations, and a good system of organization. It results therefrom, that the provinces of Spain are attacked, ravaged, and successfully conquered, in the same manner as were the other kingdoms of the continent of Europe.

Though I have been obliged (observes General Sarrazin) to say much against Soult, he is, notwithstanding, the first general of the French armies next to Buonaparte and Moreau; he does not possess the genius of war in a degree equal to those two generals, but he is their superior in the practical knowledge of manœuvres in the field. Buonaparte certainly regretted his not having Soult with him in his campaign against the Austrians in 1809; and I know Soult intimately enough to be able to assert, that often in Spain and Portugal he regretted much that he was not under the directions of Buonaparte.

For some time Soult was strongly suspected of being a warm republican, and that he had adopted the politics of the other party very much against his own inclination: others have maintained that he had caused himself to be called by the title of *Majesty* at Oporto. The facts are, however, in no wise substantiated, in spite of all the pains that Berthier, director in chief of the inquisition of the Sultan his master, took to verify them. Besides, Buonaparte, since his nomination of Emperor, has thrown off the mask; and it is of little concern to him whether he be

loved or esteemed of men, provided that they, like Soult, obey and fear him. My opinion (concludes General Sarrazin) is, that this General, who has been one of the most amply rewarded with riches and honour, seeks only to preserve to himself the favour of his sovereign in honourably performing his duty. He has, no doubt, like many others, declaimed and prated a great deal about the new order of things. Now that he is acting one of the first characters, he must be considered as somewhat insane to think of the re-establishment of the republic; on the contrary, the good sense of Marshal Soult gives us reason to conclude, that he will be, in proper time, one of the firmest props of the throne, a zealous advocate for religion, and a strict observer of military discipline;—most important qualities, since they are, under a lawful government, the triple and immortal *ægis* of the happiness of citizens, the glory of monarchs, and the splendour of empires.

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL MARMONT,
DUKE OF RAGUSA.

MARMONT, although descended from a noble family, early embraced the principles of the French revolution; and, being brought up for the artillery, his services were eagerly embraced by the leading men who directed the French government. He was serving in the army of Italy, when Buonaparte took him for one of his aides-de-camp. His courage and intelligence obtained him the confidence of his general, who employed him on many trying occasions, in which he had the good fortune to succeed.

He was still a Chief of Battalion, when he was sent to Paris, to present to the Directory 22 stands of colours, taken from the Austrians under General Wurmser. On his admission to a public audience, on the 2d of October 1796, he recited a very long speech, which had been dictated by Napoleon; a proof of which may be found in the following passage: "The army of Italy has, during this brilliant campaign, destroyed two armies, and taken 280 pieces of cannon, and 49 stands of colours. These victories afford you, Citizen Directors, a sure guarantee of their *continual regard for the republic*: they know as well how to defend the laws and obey them, as they have known to beat external enemies. Be pleased to consider them as one of the firmest columns of *liberty*, and to believe that, as long as the soldiers of which they are composed shall exist, government will have intrepid defenders." The President of the Directory had the condescension to reply to so haughty a language with the most flattering compliments; he even went so far as to *return thanks to the superior genius who directed the army of Italy*. Napoleon's conception would have been very limited,

limited, not to have recognised in this interested adulation the meanness of Anthony presenting to Cæsar the imperial crown. Marmont had the *sweet* satisfaction of receiving on this occasion the flattering fraternal hug of Monsieur le President, who presented him to boot with an elegant pair of pistols of the manufactory of Versailles. Some time after, he was nominated Colonel. At the epoch of the formation of the Italian republic, he was appointed to carry to the congress of Reggio the determinations of Buonaparte; he made a part of the expedition which marched against Rome.

On the peace of Campo Formio, he returned to France, where he married the only daughter of the rich banker Peregaux, one of the first houses of Paris for wealth and probity. This alliance, of which Napoleon was considered as the chief abettor, was a guarantee he thus procured himself, to diminish the commercial risks upon the immense sums he had placed in the first banks of France and Italy. Marmont followed Napoleon into Egypt. At the taking of Malta he was charged with the command of one of the columns landed: he repulsed the Maltese, and took the colours of the knights of the order. He was then made a General of Brigade. Berthier has forgotten to mention in his report, the number of men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, on both sides, which leads us to believe with reason, that Malta had been besieged and taken *by storm* of gold and promises, in the secret assemblies of Paris, long before Napoleon's departure from Toulon.

Marmont rendered himself useful in the attack of Alexandria, and in the march of the French upon Cairo. The 21st of July 1800, he seized upon the intrenchments, which covered the position of the Mamelukes, and contributed to the overthrowing in the Nile a great number of those intrepid horsemen. At the time of the expedition of Syria, Marmont was charged with the command of Alexandria, where he superseded General Kleber. It is pretended, that this post was confined to him, to put this part of the coast in a state of defence against the debarkations of the Turks: this motive was nothing but a specious pretext to keep secret the real intentions of Napoleon. Marmont was charged with keeping up the correspondence with France and Syria, and making
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all the necessary preparations for Buonaparte's departure at the convenient time: this circumstance suffices to give a just idea of the intimacy of the relations between Marmont and his master. We do not pretend to say, that Marmont was not very capable of directing the fortifications of Alexandria and the armaments on the coast: on the contrary, he may be considered as one of the best-informed officers of artillery in France; and we believe him to be sufficiently versed in the knowledge of engineering to order and superintend works of the first class; but it is very positively stated, that these two undertakings were accessory points of the important functions he was charged to fulfil during his stay at Alexandria. Two Swedish vessels, at that time neuter, sent by the Directory to engage Buonaparte to hasten his return into France, afforded an opportunity of clearing up all doubts on the subject; and the Abbé Sieyes, President of the Directory at the time General Sarrazin was employed with Bernadotte in the ministry of war, communicated some particulars to him, which informed him as to the principal object of Marmont's command at Alexandria.

Marmont returned to France with Buonaparte, and assisted in the revolution of the 18th Brumaire. He was entrusted with the command of the Military School, nominated a Counsellor of State in the section of war, and General of Division. He was employed in the army of reserve, destined to re-conquer Italy, which had been overpowered by the Austro-Russians in the single campaign of 1799: he obtained the chief command of the artillery of that army, which formed itself in the environs of Dijon, and united at Geneva at the commencement of May 1800. Marmont evinced, on this occasion, a good deal of genius and resolution; he dismounted the cannon to convey them over Mount St. Bernard; he caused trees to be prepared to receive them, in the form of troughs, corresponding to the size of the calibre; the wheels, carriages, and waggons, were either carried in litters, or drawn on sledges very ingeniously constructed; the ammunition was carried on the backs of mules. Marmont was to be found wherever he judged his presence most necessary: he neglected nothing to deserve the praises of Napoleon, who was delighted, in such difficult circumstances,

circumstances, to see himself so well seconded by his aide-de-camp. Not to retard the movements of the army, which could not advance with success without its artillery, Marmont, instead of having recourse to his former manœuvres at St. Bernard, to get over Mount Albaredo, determined to defile his artillery under the fire of Fort de Bard; the road was strewed with dung, and the wheels covered with hay; they experienced losses, but the passage succeeded.

When General Dessaix overthrew the Austrians on the day of the battle of Marengo, Marmont contributed much to the success of that attack, by the fire of the artillery, which he caused to advance nearly within musquet-shot of the enemy's line. At the crossing of the Mincio, the 26th of December 1800, effected by General Brune against the Austrian General Bellegarde, the artillery commanded by Marmont rendered great services. The passage of the Adige, which was presumed as presenting great obstacles, was not disputed. Prince Charles had just been appointed Generalissimo of the Imperial troops: he resolved upon proposing an armistice, which was signed at Steyer, the 25th of December 1800, and became General to the army of Italy by a convention, which General Marmont, authorized by General Brune, concluded with the Count of Hohenzollern, who represented General Bellegarde, at Treviso, January the 16th, 1801.

It is from this period that we may date the extraordinary change which took place in the character of Marmont. He had been made Inspector-General of Artillery, and General-in-Chief of the army of Holland. His marriage had rendered him one of the richest individuals of France, and his devotedness, one of the greatest favourites of the First Consul. Those same officers with whom he had lived in much familiarity in Italy and in Egypt, he easily accustomed himself not to recognise; and he has been heard to reply to similar remembrances, sometimes by saying, "It may be so, but I do not recollect it;" and very often by turning his back upon those importunate visitors. During his stay in Holland, he employed himself in erecting pyramids by his soldiers, in honour of Napoleon: he was detested both by his army and the inhabitants, whom he treated on every occasion

casion with haughtiness and contempt: the latter were made to feel he was not the same man who, in 1800, was so polite when soliciting a loan of some millions on the part of Buonaparte. He increased his bad treatment to that degree, that the good Dutch people rendered sincere thanks to Providence when, in 1805, he was called to the grand army. His troops were in the organization comprised under the name of the 2d corps. They consisted of the divisions of infantry commanded by Generals Boudet, Grouchy, and Dumonceau, and in the division of light horse commanded by General Lacoste.

After having passed the Rhine at Cassel, Marmont directed his march upon Wurtzburg, where he effected his junction with the Bavarians and the corps of the army of Marshal Bernadotte, on the 2d of October 1805. He received orders to proceed towards the Danube, to cross that river, and to take position between Aicha and Augsburg. General Mack having shut himself up in Ulm, Buonaparte ordered the 2d corps to proceed, by forced marches, to Illersheim, to favour the movement of General Soult upon Memmingen, and afterwards to come and co-operate in the blockade of Ulm, on the right bank of the Danube. That place having capitulated, Marmont served at first as a reserve to the grand army, and was afterwards detached towards Styria, to threaten the left of the Austro-Russian army, and harass the rear of the army of Italy commanded by the Archduke Charles. This destination, where he had but to fight against a few partisans in the environs of Leoben, prevented him from being at the battle of Austerlitz. After the peace of Presburg, Marmont repaired with the French troops under his orders into the Frioul, to guard the frontier of the kingdom of Italy. Napoleon, always suspicious, had carried his mistrust so far, as not to distribute cartridges to the Dutch who made a part of Marmont's corps. General Dumonceau having complained of this disposition, as humiliating and dangerous, Marmont alleged the great want the other corps of the grand army were in for them. Some sycophants have flattered Marmont, by exaggerating into engagements some few musquet-shots fired on the 8th of November at Weyer, and on the 13th of the same month at Leoben, between Marmont's sharp-shooters and some Austrian partisans.

The truth is, that the campaign of 1805, against Austria, was to Marmont and his troops but a continuation of marches, fatiguing throughout, on account of the difficulty of the roads, and the rigour of the season. He had to regret his not being in the different battles, as he lost the opportunity of instructing himself, by not being present in the fine military movements which took place towards the end of the campaign; notwithstanding which, he was created **DUKE OF RAGUSA**.

During his stay at Udina, Marmont had a very warm dispute with General Grouchy. He had ordered that General to occupy, with his division, cantonments very unwholesome, and too poor to provide for his troops. Grouchy obeyed, but remonstrated after he had executed the movement prescribed. He made Marmont sensible of the impropriety of his dispositions; giving him to understand, that although his senior in rank, as General of Division, he nevertheless ought to pay attention to the observations of a man his superior in experience. Marmont, stung to the quick, answered him haughtily, "Know, General Grouchy, that I am one of those Generals-in-Chief who are never to be dictated to." Grouchy gave him a smile of pity; and, measuring Marmont from head to toe, placed his hand upon the hilt of his sword, telling him they were both Generals of Division. Marmont had him put under arrest, and requested his change from Napoleon, which was immediately granted. Grouchy was put at the head of a division of dragoons, in which he distinguished himself at the battle of Friedland.

In 1809, Marmont commanded the army of Dalmatia. Prince John summoned him to surrender, by his letter of the 17th of April. Although the prince's letter was very polite, and conformable to the duties prescribed by honour and the laws of war, Marmont had the insolence not to make any reply to it. After having fought the engagements of Montkitta and Gradschatz, he arrived with his army, on the 28th of May, at Fiume, where he made his junction with the army of Italy, which had obtained some successes over the Archduke John. Marmont had under his orders about 10,000 effective men. In his reports he gave very great praise to General Claussel, who ought to have been considered, for his ability and experience, as
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the real General-in-Chief of that army; but he complained bitterly of General Montrichard. In speaking of the affair of Ottochatz, which was only a skirmish, Marmont says, in his report of the 30th of May 1809, "If General Montrichard had not been three hours *behind hand*, the rear of the enemy would have been evidently destroyed, their artillery and baggage taken," &c. He concludes by saying, "All our wishes will be fully gratified, Sire, if what we have done should obtain the approbation of your Majesty."

When Buonaparte resolved to attack the Austrian army at Wagram, he united all his forces. The Duke of Ragusa's corps crossed the Danube on the night between the 4th and 5th of July, and formed a part of the reserve. On the 6th, it was placed in the centre, with the corps of General Oudinot; and on the 7th it pursued the Austrians in the direction of Znaim. After the armistice, Marmont quartered his troops in the circle of Kornneuburg; and when Napoleon wished to appear to intimidate Austria, by making the whole of the grand army take positions towards the latter end of July, Marmont's troops encamped upon the heights of Krems.

Succeeded in Dalmatia by General Count Bertrand, Marmont was appointed to supersede Massena in the command of the army called that of Portugal. He must be considered (says General Sarrazin) as entirely under the orders of Soult: he might have been crushed in his movement from Ciudad Rodrigo to Badajoz, by the bridge of Almaraz, if he had been opposed by an army equal to the proposed plan. His junction with Soult forced Lord Wellington to raise the siege of Badajoz; but the French knew not, or perhaps *were not*, to profit by this first advantage. His union with Dorsenne, the 21th of September, under the walls of Ciudad Rodrigo, afforded him a fine occasion of giving his *first* battle as General-in-Chief. The 25th, he had not his troops; the 26th, he hesitated; and on the 27th, when the English had evacuated Fonteguinaldo, he complains highly that he was not waited for. This conduct proves clearly to us, that Marmont dreaded the issue of a general engagement; and that if Lord Wellington had remained in his entrenched camp, the French, with all their bragging, would have retired upon the right bank of the Agueda,

very well satisfied with having re-victualled Ciudad Rodrigo.

It would be needless to follow Marshal Marmont through his subsequent military services: it is sufficient to observe, that he bore a conspicuous part in all the disastrous campaigns which preceded the overthrow of Napoleon; and, having shared in the repeated defeats of his master, Marmont, on the 29th of March 1814, entered Paris, carrying with him to the affrighted citizens terror and dismay. Finding all resistance unavailing, Marmont entered into a capitulation for the delivery of the French capital, which was accordingly given up to the allies. His conduct upon this occasion, although it deserves the applause of his country, has yet met with the most severe reproaches from Napoleon, who has openly accused Marmont of betraying him; but the correspondence which took place on the occasion, will best enable our readers to form a correct opinion on the subject, with which we shall conclude this Memoir. Marmont has published a long vindication of his conduct; but events are now so changed that it is become wholly uninteresting.

Letter from Prince Schwartzberg, Commander-in-Chief of the troops of the Allied Powers, to his Excellency the Marshal Duke of Ragusa.

April 3.

“ MONSIEUR LE MARESCHAL—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency, by a safe person, all the public papers and documents necessary to render your Excellency perfectly acquainted with the events which have taken place since you quitted the capital, as well as an invitation from the Members of the Provisional Government to range yourself under the banners of the good French cause. I supplicate you, in the name of your country and humanity, to listen to the proposals, which will put an end to the effusion of the precious blood of the brave men whom you command,

Answer of the Mareschal Duke of Ragusa.

MONSIEUR LE MARESCHAL—I have received the letter which your Excellency has done me the honour to address to me, as well as the papers which it inclosed. Public opinion has always been the rule of my conduct.

The

The army and the people being exempt from the oath of allegiance towards the Emperor Napoleon, by the decree of the Senate, I am disposed to concur in an union between the army and the people, which will prevent all chance of civil war, and stop the effusion of blood: consequently I am ready to quit with my troops the army of the Emperor Napoleon, on the following conditions, of which I demand from you the guarantee in writing:—

Copy of the Guarantee demanded and granted.

“ Art. 1. I, Charles, Prince of Schwartzemberg, Marshal and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied armies, guarantee to all the French troops, who, in consequence of the decree of the Senate of the 2d of April, shall quit the banners of Napoleon Buonaparte, that they may retire freely to Normandy, with their arms, baggage, and ammunition, and with the same considerations and military honours, which the allied troops owe to each other.

“ 2. That if, in consequence of this movement, the events of the war should cause the person of Napoleon Buonaparte to fall into the hands of the allies, his life shall be guaranteed to him, and his liberty, in a space of ground and circumscribed territory, at the choice of the Allied powers and the French government.”

Answer of the Marshal Prince de Schwartzemberg.

“ MONSIEUR LE MARESCHAL—I cannot sufficiently express the satisfaction which I feel in learning the eagerness with which you accept the invitation of the Provisional Government, to range yourselves, conformably to the decree of the 2d of this month, under the banners of the French cause.

“ The distinguished services which you have rendered to your country are generally acknowledged; but you have crowned them, by restoring to their country the few brave troops who have escaped the ambition of a single man.

“ I entreat you to believe, that I particularly appreciate the delicacy of the article which you demand, and which I accept, relative to the person of Napoleon. Nothing could better characterize that amiable generosity
which

which is natural to Frenchmen, and which particularly distinguish the character of your Excellency.

"Accept the assurances of my high consideration.

"(Signed)

SCHWARTZENBERG.

"At my Head-Quarters, April 4, 1814."

Consequently, the troops under the command of the Marshal Duke of Ragusa, amounting to 12,000 men, with arms, baggage, and ammunition, quitted their cantonments on the 5th, to march to Versailles: they passed through the troops of the Allied powers amidst testimonies of the most lively satisfaction, receiving the military honours due to brave men whose blood, so long shed in the defence of the country, could henceforth have only flowed for the despair of expiring tyranny and ambition, and whose arrival under the standard of their dear country, presaged the approaching accomplishment of that great work of general pacification and the happiness of the world.

"*Order of the Day.—Sixth corps d'armée.*

SOLDIERS—For three months you have incessantly combated, and for three months the most glorious success has crowned your efforts; neither dangers, fatigues, nor want, has been able to diminish your zeal, nor to cool your love of your country. Your grateful country thanks you through me, and will requite with satisfaction all that you have done for it. But the moment is arrived, Soldiers, when the war which you carried on has neither advantage nor object; it is then, for you, that of repose. You are the soldiers of your country; therefore it is public opinion which you ought to follow; and it is that which has ordered me to withdraw you from dangers henceforth useless, in order to preserve that noble blood which you will again shed willingly when the voice of your country, and the public interest, shall require your efforts. Good cantonments, and my paternal cares will, I hope, cause you soon to forget even the fatigues which you have undergone.

"Done at Paris, April 5, 1814."

(Signed)

"MARSHAL DUKE OF RAGUSA.

"A true copy.

"BARON MEYRADIER,

"Chief of the Major-General Staff."

Such

Such are the details of this negotiation, equally honourable to the foreign general, who renounced all the seductions of glory, and all the chances of victory, to maintain pacifically the cause of France and of humanity, and the Marshal of France, who, after having saved Paris by a capitulation, which was not to be hoped for, had to devote himself entirely to his country, and whose noble sentiments had for their object the honour of his troops, and the fate of him whom he served.

Memoirs
OF
MARSHAL MACDONALD,
DUKE OF TARENTO.

MARSHAL Macdonald was born at Sedan, in the department of the Ardennes, the 17th of November 1765. His father, of Scotch origin, had him educated with great care. He left college in 1784, to enter into the legion of Maillebois, which he left in 1786 for the regiment of Dillon, which he entered as an Under-Lieutenant: he successively passed through the different degrees to that of Colonel, which he obtained on the 1st of March 1793, in the 2d regiment of infantry of the line, called *Picardie*, which was then in garrison at Thionville.

Brave, intelligent, and well-informed, Macdonald distinguished himself in every affair in which he was engaged in the army of the North: he was appointed General of Brigade after the taking of Menin. He made the campaign of 1794 under the orders of Pichegru. On the 12th of January 1795, he crossed the Waal on the ice, with his division. All the Generals-in-Chief under whom he served, till the peace of Leoben, spoke very highly of him in their reports to the Directory. Whilst his comrades were rendering him that justice which was due to his talents and his bravery, the representatives of the people, who were with the army of the North, caused him to experience the greatest inconveniences: they even pushed their hatred (inspired by his frankness) so far as to dismiss him. Pichegru complained loudly of this, and said, they wished to disorganize his army, by depriving it of its best officer. The deputy, St. Just, answered him, "We have dismissed Macdonald, because neither his *face* nor *name* are republican: we restore him to thee, but thou shalt answer for him with thy head."

This

This opinion of the deputies, without doubt, at that time influenced the Committee of Public Safety, and afterward the Directory, which prevented that officer from being intrusted with a chief command till 1799, when he was appointed to replace Championnet, at the army of Naples. Macdonald had distinguished himself by many successful engagements with General Mack. When he attacked the French army in the Roman states, Championnet, exasperated at the dilapidations committed by the Sieur Faitpoult, Commissary of the Directory, had given him orders to quit Naples in twenty-four hours, with his band of pillagers. Faitpoult raised the standard of revolt against the General-in-Chief; but he was laughed at, and his decrees were turned into ridicule. He was obliged to quit the *field of battle* with many personal insults.

Macdonald, who had not forgotten the reproaches of St. Just, conducted himself in such a manner as to persuade the Directory that he respected their authority, both in the General-in-Chief, whose orders he punctually obeyed, and in the Commissioner Faitpoult, whose fate he appeared to lament. The firmness of Championnet was considered as mutiny: he was ordered to quit Naples, and to resign the command to General Macdonald. That general was not afraid of the task which was imposed upon him. Almost the whole kingdom, not even excepting the capital, was in insurrection. There was no travelling without considerable escorts. The army was obliged to fight in the Abruzzes, in the Pouille, in the principality of Salerno, and even to the very gates of Naples. The various movements of the troops were so well combined, that in a month's time every thing was calm, except in the territory of Otranto, where the remains of the insurrection appeared concentrated, under the orders of Cardinal Ruffo.

The army of Naples was under the orders of General Sherer. When he was beaten on the Adige, on the 26th of March 1799, he gave orders to Macdonald to unite his troops, and to join him by forced marches in Northern Italy. The Neapolitans, informed of the successes of the Austrians, ran to arms, and the massacre of the French recommenced with fresh fury. In spite of these great obstacles, in a mountainous country, all the columns

of the army succeeded in effecting a junction. It would have been dangerous to commence the retreat without having overawed the multitude by some daring stroke, which might ensure the confidence of those who were friendly to the French, and deter the insurgents from following at their heels. Avellino, Castellamare, Lacava, and Sorrento, were attacked and taken, after some sanguinary conflicts. The army commenced its retreat on the 12th of May; and on the 26th was in Tuscany, united with the divisions of the army of Italy, detached by General Moreau. Macdonald may be reproached for having lost ten days in combining his movements with Moreau: he ought to have rushed from the heights of the Apennines into the plains on the right bank of the Po, proceeded rapidly up this river, and effected a junction with the army of Italy, in the environs of Voghera. The 13th of June he attacked Modena, and in two hours overthrew the column of General Hohenzollern, which was posted upon the glacis of the place. The French grenadiers entered the town with the Austrians, and made more than 2000 prisoners.

The divisions of Montrichard and Rusca, which ought to have seconded the attack of Modena by the route of Bologna, not having yet arrived, Macdonald was informed that a column of cavalry retarded their march: it was a squadron of the legion of Bussy, to which all means of retreat were cut off by the taking of Modena. Macdonald, fully confident that that body would surrender without any difficulty, advanced towards the grand road, within a quarter of a mile of the infantry, which was stationed on both sides of the road. By way of precaution, General Sarrazin observed to Macdonald, that he thought he had better remain with his grenadiers, and that he would do well to do the same. "Don't you see," replied he, very courteously, "that they are caught as though in a mouse-trap?" When he was an hundred paces distant from the Austrians, he hallooed out to them to surrender. "We surrender!" replied the officer, and returned his sabre into its scabbard, continuing to advance with the greatest tranquillity. When come up within pistol-shot, he ordered his troops to draw their sabres, and to charge; he himself falling upon Macdonald, struck him three blows with his sabre upon the

the head, threw him off his horse, and then mingled with the escort, which, attacked by the whole squadron, took to flight. The grenadiers were very much embarrassed about firing, for fear of killing their own men. After a fray of ten minutes, a few Austrians succeeded in entering Modena, where they were made prisoners: the greater part of them, however, perished; in this latter number was the commanding officer. He was a young man of eighteen, of a good countenance, and of considerable abilities. His generous resolution of forcing his way to rejoin his army, cannot but be praised; he would have succeeded in it, had it not been for the ambuscade of grenadiers. Macdonald, who was supposed dead, came off quit for the three cuts of the sabre, which were but slight, and the contusions occasioned by the fall from his horse.

On the 17th the advanced guard reached Placentia, and on the 18th General Ott was attacked and beaten. The coming up of the Russian advanced guard forced the French to draw back, and to take a position on the right of the Trebia. On the 19th the whole army was re-united upon the right bank of that river: two strong vanguards were stationed upon the left bank. Suwarrow and Melas attacked them with the choice of their troops, made a great slaughter, but could not force them to quit their position. The 20th of June, Macdonald acted upon the offensive: he crossed the Trebia with the whole of his army, 40,000 strong. General Melas was at first beaten. Suwarrow, who was gaining in the centre, sent General Rosenberg to the succour of his left; and the French were obliged to draw back to their old positions. There was, for a moment, a rout in the centre. Macdonald, who was there, had nearly been drowned in the Trebia: he was carried away with the 5th regiment of light infantry, which, being panic-struck, had retreated in the greatest confusion, throwing down their musquets and knapsacks. The cause of this rout was a charge made by nearly 500 Cossacks upon 100 dragoons. These latter retreated at full gallop, and occasioned a great cloud of dust, which was increased by the pursuit of the Cossacks. One frightened fellow cried out, "There is the whole Russian cavalry upon us!" no more was necessary to decide the gaining of this battle, so famous, but little known in its true point of view.

Macdonald has been unjustly reproached with having wished to gain a battle without Moreau's participation. It was only in conformity with the orders, or at least the positive advice of that General, that he determined to march upon the rear of the left wing of the Austro-Russian army. He was so zealous in complying with the intentions of Moreau, that he had the weakness to change his own plan of attack to adopt that of Victor, who told him he had it from the General-in-Chief: this condescension caused the loss of every thing. A diversion on the part of Moreau was relied on; and it was that which determined Macdonald to desist from his former resolution, which was to proceed by forced marches to Voghera, by way of Piacentia: if he could have got there by the 17th of June, he would have destroyed the Austrians upon the Trebia, or at least have forced them to pass upon the left bank of the Po. Suwarrow with his 25,000 Russians would not have been able to arrest the march of the army of Naples, composed of choice troops, who had made the campaigns of Italy with Buonaparte, and dispersed in one month 60,000 Neapolitans commanded by Mack: the Austrians should first have been fought with, and then the Russians. The slowness of the movements of the French army, and some other circumstances which time alone can properly elucidate, forced Macdonald to retreat towards Tuscany, after having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 10,000 men.

The Italian General Laboz having separated from the French to join the insurgents, whose number and audacity increased daily, Macdonald determined upon evacuating Tuscany, and rejoining Moreau at Genoa: this movement was made in good order. After this junction, Macdonald obtained leave to return to France, for the purpose of re-establishing his health, which was considerably affected by his wounds, and the fatigues inseparable from so toilsome a campaign, which had lasted for nearly a year. He was at Paris at the event of the 18th Brumaire, and was entrusted by Buonaparte with the command of Versailles: he shewed on that post more firmness than at the end of the campaign of Italy; he caused the club of Versailles to be shut up, and made the inhabitants sensibly feel that it was high time that a just
and

and energetic government should obliterate the horrors of anarchy, and the fatal vacillation of the weak Directory.

Napoleon, thinking to testify his satisfaction to Macdonald, offered him, in April 1800, the command of one of the corps of the army of reserve, destined to re-conquer Italy, under the orders of Berthier. Macdonald, piqued at seeing himself exposed to serve as a subordinate after having commanded in chief, pretended illness from his wounds in the army of Naples. Notwithstanding this refusal, the true motive of which did not escape the penetration of the crafty Napoleon, Macdonald was nominated, on the 24th of August 1800, General-in-Chief of the army destined to penetrate into the Tyrol, through Switzerland, to second the operations of the army of Italy, and favour the movements of the army of Moreau, in Germany, by forcing the Austrians to keep up in the Tyrol from 25 to 30,000 men, of their best troops. This campaign consisted of very fatiguing marches in the Alps, in the depth of winter. The French army was about 15,000 strong. General Matthew Dumas, more expert in writing about war than carrying it on, was Chief of the Staff. After having combated more with the difficulties of the roads than with the Austrians, who made but a weak resistance, Macdonald possessed himself of Trent, the 7th of January 1801. The armistice, concluded at Treviso the 16th of the same month, put an end to hostilities.

Returned to France, Macdonald was no doubt displeasing to Napoleon, from his intimate connexion with Moreau: he was honourably exiled by being appointed for the embassy to the court of Denmark; he experienced so many disagreeables in that capacity, that he was continually soliciting his recall, which was at length granted him in 1803. Notwithstanding his assiduities at the Tuilleries, he was always coldly received. He appeared to be one of the most eager of the generals for the nomination of Napoleon as *Emperor*. Although he thus suffered his ambition to get the better of his pride, which his conduct, till now without reproach, ought to have inspired him with, he was not included in the list of Marshals of the empire: he remained unemployed till 1809. He obtained at last orders to serve under the command of Prince

Prince Eugene Beauharnois in the army of Italy; he then commanded the right wing of this army, and was considered as the Mentor of Eugene. The successes obtained at Laybach and at Raab were the results of Macdonald's combinations. The 6th of July 1809, at the battle of Wagram, he was charged with the attack of the centre of the Austrian army: he lost, in killed and wounded, about three-fourths of his column, but he succeeded in making the Archduke Charles fall back; his conduct obtained him a Marshal's staff, which was given him upon the field of battle. Some time afterwards he was named DUKE OF TARENTO.

The faint attacks of Augereau in Catalonia determined Napoleon to give him Macdonald for a successor. Gouvion St. Cyr, an officer of great merit, had been recalled from his command in a manner little flattering to him. The surprisal of Figueras by the Catalans, which at first was considered as a triumph for the noble cause of the brave Spaniards, has been found by the fatality of events, to have been only a snare, in which 4000 choice men, the very soul of the insurrection in Catalonia, were the victims; so that since the 19th of August, the period that Figueras opened its gates to Macdonald, this rich province was, in despite of the energy of its inhabitants, subjugated to the yoke of the French. Notwithstanding this brilliant result, Macdonald appears to have been recalled from this command, but for what reason it does not appear, except in the tone the General assumes in the account he renders of the capitulation of Figueras. "*I please myself*," says Macdonald, in his report to Berthier, "*in rendering justice to the army, in the hope that the Emperor will view with the eye of favour these brave fellows, intreating your Excellency to cause it to be remarked to his Majesty, that his army of Catalonia is a stranger to the event which has re-united it in this place,*" &c.

In Napoleon's grand attack upon the Russian empire, Marshal Macdonald had the command of the 10th corps, which was principally composed of Prussians; and on the 24th of June he passed the Niemen at Tilsit, and moved upon Rossiena, in order to clear the right bank of that river, and to protect the navigation. On the 30th, he reached that place, and marched beyond it to Poneviez, Chawli,

Chawli, and Tesch. On the 2d of August, he entered Dinabourg, which the Russians abandoned upon his approach, after having bestowed five years in fortifying it.

After the reverses of Napoleon in Russia, all the talents and abilities of Marshal Macdonald were insufficient to prevent the defection of his corps, which consisted of Prussians, under General D'Yorck. From this time he steadily adhered to Napoleon, until the latter abdicated the Imperial throne. In the campaign of 1813, he commanded the 11th corps of the French army, and was in most of the battles that preceded the capitulation of Paris.

He at present commands the French army of the Loire; a trust which fully evinces the confidence of Louis in his loyalty.

The Duke of Tarento is of a good size, of a slender make, but robust; pale-faced, with eyes full of fire; his smile sardonic; his gait is military; his manners very polished. Although he shewed a weakness of character in the council of war which occasioned the loss of the battle of Trebia, we cannot refuse to allow him the firmness necessary to a good general: he paid dear for this complaisance, since he lost the only pitched battle in which he commanded in chief. This fault will have served as a useful lesson to him, to hold firm to his own opinion, and to set off those talents to the best advantage, with which nature has gifted him. The numerous combats which he has sustained and given in Germany and Italy, almost always with success, incontestibly place him amongst the generals of the second rank: his cringing conduct to obtain employment does him little honour.

Memoirs
OF
GENERAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
EARL OF MOIRA.

FRANCIS Rawdon Hastings, Lord Hastings, Baron Rawdon, and Earl of Moira in Ireland, was born the 7th of December 1754. Having received all the advantages of a liberal education, and acquired those accomplishments which grace both the scholar and the gentleman, he made a tour on the continent, and visited the courts of France, Germany, and Italy; but the American war breaking out, his ardent desire of becoming a member of the military profession induced his Lordship to return to England. Immediately after his return, he entered the army, and embarked for America early in 1775.

The first engagement of any importance in which the Earl of Moira (then Lord Rawdon) had any opportunity of distinguishing himself, was at the battle of Bunker's Hill, where the intrepidity of his Lordship obtained the particular notice of General Burgoyne, who was pleased to express in the most flattering terms to the British government the admiration he entertained of this young officer, and the conviction with which he was impressed, that his Lordship would become one of the brightest ornaments of the military profession. Notwithstanding the loss of British officers at the battle of Bunker's Hill was so excessive, 19 being killed, and 70 wounded, Lord Moira escaped unhurt, although he received two shots through his cap. Indeed, he was said to have been the second person who entered the enemy's works; having been preceded by a serjeant, who experienced his Lordship's liberality on that occasion. The next operation of the army, the storming of Fort Clinton, afforded another

other opportunity for the display of Lord Moira's judgment and courage.

In 1778, Lord Moira was nominated Adjutant-General to the British army in America, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and in that distinguished and honourable situation the energies of his Lordship's mind were called into action, and advantageously exercised, both on the retreat of the British army through the Jerseys, from Philadelphia to New York, in the action at Monmouth which followed, and at the siege of Charlestown.

As the American line was chiefly composed of the very lowest order of Irishmen, his Lordship undertook to raise a corps at Philadelphia, called the Volunteers of Ireland, which was soon recruited from the enemy's ranks, and became eminently distinguished for its services in the field. In the first battle of Camden, under the command of his Lordship, exactly one half of the regiment was killed or wounded, and in that of Hobkirk Hill a still greater proportion. The officers, who were selected from the regular regiments, could not, however, with all their zeal and abilities, extirpate that desire of change which impelled their men to desert, until his Lordship adopted an extraordinary expedient, which discovered a complete knowledge of the human heart. A man, caught in the act of going over to the enemy, was brought on the parade before the whole regiment, to whom he was delivered up by his Lordship in a most impressive way to be judged, punished, or acquitted. The officers were ordered to withdraw, and leave every thing to the private soldiers, who in a few minutes hung their offending comrade on a tree; and the example was most effectual.

Such repeated proofs of military talent and enterprising spirit could not pass unnoticed by the Commander-in-chief, and consequently his Lordship was specially appointed to the command of a distinct corps of the army in South Carolina, which province was invaded by the American general, Gates; and his Lordship had so arranged his plans, as with a very inconsiderable force to maintain his principal positions. Notwithstanding the superiority which the enemy possessed in point of number, some favourable opportunities were not wanting to have induced him to risk a battle, if his own glory

had been consulted instead of the public good; but he adhered to the measures concerted with Lord Cornwallis, who, on reaching the army, found all the forces collected and disposed to his utmost satisfaction. At the memorable battle of Camden which succeeded, on the 16th of August 1780, Lord Moira commanded one wing of the army, and greatly contributed to the glorious result of that day. When Lord Cornwallis pursued, soon afterwards, the American army towards Virginia, Lord Moira with a very small force was left to defend the extensive frontiers of South Carolina against the provincial generals, Marion and Sumpter: but General Green having contrived, after the battle of Guildford, to turn Lord Cornwallis's left, fell suddenly upon Lord Moira, who had only a few redoubts to defend his sick and magazines, at Camden. The intention of General Green was evidently to carry these by assault; and as this was likely to be attempted during the night, the troops were withdrawn from them at dusk, and prepared to surprise the enemy on the open ground at the moment when they commenced their attack on the works. General Green, however, was induced to act more cautiously, and wait for the arrival of his artillery; and Lord Moira, who saw all the difficulty of effecting a retreat, resolved to become the aggressor. Accordingly, on the 25th of April 1781, he chose the hour of mid-day to make his attempt, when it was least expected; and his march was concealed by a circuitous route through thick woods. Having by this sudden and rapid manœuvre reached Hobkirk Hill, even before the American general, Green, was aware of his Lordship's movements, and who not only supposed himself secure from any attack, on account of the vast superiority of his force, but also from a very extensive swamp which protected him on the weak, and perhaps only assailable point of Hobkirk's Hill, Lord Moira approached the hill with a narrow line of front, and the enemy's picquets being driven in, an alarm was immediately spread through the American camp. General Green, who possessed a greatness of mind far superior to any of the American generals, perceived the danger of his situation, and with the utmost promptitude decided upon the measure most likely to repel the British. Finding that Lord
Moira

Moira advanced in a narrow front, he immediately commanded a heavy fire of grape-shot from his batteries, and under their protection charged down Hobkirk Hill. The British leader, discerning Green's design, immediately extended the whole of his line, and thus completely disconcerted the enemy's plan. The foresight of Lord Moira gained him a complete victory. Having pursued the Americans to the summit of the hill, after silencing their batteries, he charged them, and put the whole to the rout. General Green rallied his troops several times; but the continual charges of the British, and the ardour with which they advanced on the enemy, were irresistible, and they were put to flight on all sides. This success enabled Lord Moira to concentrate his army; and being joined by some reinforcements from the coast, he succeeded in driving the enemy to a considerable distance: but the capture of Lord Cornwallis, which soon followed, and the declining state of our American affairs, rendered it necessary that the troops should be withdrawn towards Charlestown, where both armies remained inactive from the excessive heat, and perhaps a mutual conviction that the contest was nearly at an end.

At Charlestown, an American prisoner, named Isaac Haynes, who had been allowed to take the oath of allegiance, and received his liberty on that account, contrived in the most artful manner to corrupt a numerous body of newly-attested militia-men, having first secured for himself the rank of Colonel in the American army. The detection of his villainy did not take place till the moment the enemy were advancing on Charlestown, and when he was marching the militia-men to join them. A court of inquiry immediately sat, entirely by the direction of the Commandant of Charlestown, to whom this duty appertained independently of Lord Moira, and Haynes was publicly executed; but not before his Lordship had endeavored to procure the man's pardon by a private communication with some loyalists, whom his Lordship requested to petition in his behalf. The execution of Haynes being misrepresented in England, it was conceived by many to have been an act of military despotism, which was not satisfactorily removed until his Lordship's return to this country.

Notwithstanding Lord Moira experienced a severe and dangerous

dangerous attack from the heat, which obliged him to be conveyed in a cart, his Lordship gave directions for the commencement of the march, and determined on remaining with the army as long as practicable. In this situation he continued issuing his orders, and directing the route and disposition of his forces, till his malady arrived at so alarming a state as to render his Lordship's return to England absolutely necessary; but the vessel in which he embarked was unfortunately captured, and carried into Brest. Lord Moira was almost immediately released; and, on his arrival in England, was honoured with repeated marks of distinction and kindness by his illustrious Sovereign, who, amongst other favours, was graciously pleased to create this gallant officer a British Peer, and to appoint him his Aide-de-Camp.

In the latter part of the year 1793, Lord Moira was appointed Commander-in-chief of an army intended to co-operate with the royalists in Brittany, and all the ancient nobility of France were to serve with him. It is remarkable too, that the late General Sir Charles Stuart, who was one of the highest characters and best officers of the age, *offered to wave his seniority of rank, and be under the command of Lord Moira on this occasion.* But, before any operation could be undertaken, the republicans had triumphed completely. Some of the troops, however, were encamped at Southampton during the campaign of his Royal Highness the Duke of York in Flanders, when the situation of the British army and that of the allies was rendered extremely critical, and the former were compelled to retreat through Brabant to Antwerp. Lord Moira was dispatched with a reinforcement of 10,000 men to aid his Royal Highness, with whom, though nearly surrounded by much superior armies in point of number, Lord Moira, by a well-directed movement, effected a junction at Malines, near Antwerp, and thus relieved the British army from the difficulties of its situation, to the mortification of the French General Pichegru. The dispatch which his Lordship had employed in embarking his troops without either tents or heavy baggage from Southampton, and in debarking them at Ostend, the 30th of June 1794, prevented the enemy's ascertaining the actual strength under his Lordship's command, which was an object of serious importance; and,

and, to maintain it, Lord Moira directed his Quarter-Master-General, the late General Doyle, to issue orders that quarters should be provided at Bruges for 25,000 troops, although the force under his Lordship did not exceed 10,000. The delusion was admirably maintained, and General Pichegru, who was in the vicinity of Bruges, with a force much greater than that of the British general, completely deceived. Notwithstanding the orders which his Lordship had directed General Doyle to issue, and although the army were labouring under excessive fatigue from the heat of the weather and the greatest privations, he did not deem it prudent to halt at Bruges, the enemy hanging upon his flanks; and proceeded therefore to Ghent, where General Clairfait was stationed, and immediately on his arrival proposed to that officer an attack on the enemy, but which was objected to. Lord Moira, therefore, continued his march with the utmost rapidity to Alost. At this place, where his Lordship remained three days, the British army was nearly cut off. Some German cavalry, posted on the outskirts of the town as an advanced picquet, were removed contrary to the orders of the British General, and a body of the enemy's cavalry entered Alost and surprised our troops: they were, however, immediately attacked with the greatest gallantry by a small detachment, and repulsed. Thus the numbers of this little, but gallant band, were still concealed from the enemy, which had they ascertained, a junction with his Royal Highness the Duke of York would most certainly have been prevented. Lord Moira having joined the Commander-in-chief, was entrusted with an important command, which his military talents particularly entitled him to.

Since the above expedition, his Lordship has been unemployed in a military capacity against the enemies of his country. In the year 1803, his Lordship was appointed Commander of the forces in North Britain. The parliamentary conduct of Lord Moira has displayed a continued series of patriotism and ability, and his domestic life an enviable pattern to English noblemen. It may with justice be observed, in delineating the character of this officer, and with every sentiment of impartiality, that Great Britain does not contain a veteran more patriotic and liberal, in whom the social virtues, the orna-
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ments of polished manners, and general talent, have more conspicuously appeared. Temperate, yet liberal and hospitable to an excess; possessing the qualifications of a mind so honourable as even to escape the detractions of slander; Lord Moira stands on a proud eminence, respected, honoured, and revered by all who have the happiness of his acquaintance, or a knowledge of his merits.

His Lordship has, for a long time, been honoured with the particular confidence and friendship of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, who, as soon as an opportunity offered of rewarding his merits, conferred on him the high office of Governor-General of Bengal, and Commander-in-chief of the army in the East Indies: a situation which his Lordship still holds. During the administration of Mr. Fox, Lord Moira was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance. He is now Constable of the Tower, and one of the Prince Regent's Council in Cornwall, and Colonel of the 27th regiment of foot.

Memoirs
OF
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROWLAND
LORD HILL, K.B.

THIS brave and distinguished officer, whose fame is so much associated with that of the illustrious Wellington, is the second son to Sir John Hill, Bart. of Houlstone, in the county of Salop, who married Mary, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of John Chambre, Esq. of Pitton, in the same county; by whom he had sixteen children, thirteen of whom are now surviving their mother.

All the brothers of Lord Hill have devoted their services to their country. John, the elder brother, arrived at the rank of a Field-Officer in the army. On his marriage, by the wish of his friends, he retired from the service, and raised a regiment of volunteer cavalry in the county of Salop. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Hill served in most of the campaigns in Spain, and commanded the Royal regiment of Horse Guards Blue. Sir Francis Hill, Secretary of Legation at the court of the Brazils, was invested with the order of the Tower and Sword by the Prince Regent of Portugal, in the year 1810, which title was graciously confirmed by his Majesty. Major Clement Hill, Brigade-Major in the army, Captain in the Blues, and Aide-de-Camp to his brother, Lord Hill, served during the whole of the war in the peninsula. Colonel Thomas Noel Hill was created Knight of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword; he commanded the first Portuguese infantry, in which he ranked as Colonel. Edward, the youngest brother, is an Officer in the Blues.

Lord Hill entered the army in the sixteenth year of his age: his ardour in the pursuit of professional knowledge, his mild and amiable disposition, suavity of manners,

ners, and general good conduct as a gentleman and soldier, have not only procured for him the approbation and friendship of the commanders under whom, through many active and severe campaigns, he has served, but also endeared him to the other officers and privates; the last of whom not only honour and revere him as their superior, but gratefully esteem him as a benevolent friend, anxious to render them every service in his power.

His first commission was an Ensigncy in the 38th regiment; and having obtained leave of absence, with the view of improving his military knowledge, and other accomplishments, he was placed at an academy at Strasburg, where he remained one year, and then accompanied his elder brother, and uncle, the late Sir Richard Hill, in a tour through Germany, France, and Holland.

Lord Hill commenced his military duty at Edinburgh, where he had the advantage of the best society, and received from many of the nobility and first families particular marks of notice and attention. His removal from Scotland took place in consequence of an offer he received of a Lieutenancy, in Captain Broughton's (now Lieutenant-General Sir John Broughton) independent company, on his raising the usual quota of men: this he soon accomplished, and then removed as Lieutenant to the 27th. His friends being anxious for his early promotion, obtained permission for him to raise an independent company, which gave him the rank of Captain in the army, in the year 1792. In the interval of his being attached to any particular corps, he accompanied his friend, Francis Drake, Esq. who went out as minister on a diplomatic mission to Genoa; from whence Captain Hill, through the recommendation of his friend, proceeded to Toulon, and was employed as Aide-de-Camp to the then successive Generals commanding there, namely Lord Mulgrave, General O'Hara, and Sir David Dundas. Lord Hill had not at this time attained his twenty-first year; but had the honour of receiving from each of his commanders decisive proofs of their approbation. He was slightly wounded in his right hand, at the time General O'Hara was taken prisoner, and narrowly escaped with his life: it being undetermined for some minutes, between himself and brother aide-de-camp, Captain Snow,

Snow, which should ascend a tree, for the purpose of making observations respecting the enemy; the latter went up, and received a mortal wound, whilst Lord Hill, standing immediately beneath, was preserved unhurt. He was deputed by Sir David Dundas to be the bearer of the dispatches to England, relating to the evacuation of Toulon by the British. His next appointment was to a company in the 53d, with which regiment he was on duty in Scotland and Ireland. His conduct at Toulon recommended him to the notice and friendship of Sir Thomas Graham (now Lord Lyndoch), who made him an offer of purchasing a Majority in the 90th: this step was gladly acceded to by himself and friends, and was soon followed by his promotion to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the same regiment. He went through a great deal of arduous duty with the 90th at Gibraltar, and other places, and had his full share in the memorable Egyptian campaign. In the action of the 18th of March 1801, Major-General Craddock's brigade formed the front, with the 90th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, as its advanced guard. Sir Robert Wilson states the conduct of the 90th, in this affair, to have been most honourable and praiseworthy, and that nothing could exceed the intrepidity and firmness with which they charged the enemy. On this occasion his Lordship received a wound in the right temple, from a musquet-ball, the force of which was providentially averted by a strong brass binding in front of his helmet; the blow was, however, severe, and he was removed from the field of battle in a state of insensibility. When his situation was made known to Lord Keith, he immediately sent for him on board the *Foudroyant*. The kindness and accommodation the invalid received from his noble friend no doubt greatly accelerated his recovery, and enabled him to join his regiment, and continue on duty the whole of the campaign. The Captain Pacha frequently saw his Lordship whilst he was on board the *Foudroyant*, and, with many good wishes and expressions for his welfare, presented him with a valuable gold box, sword, and shawl. Very soon after the return of the troops from Egypt, the 90th was ordered to proceed through Scotland to Ireland, and Lord Hill continued unremittingly to perform his regimental duty, till he was appointed Brig-

dier-General on the Irish staff. His principal stations in that country were Cork, Galway, and Fernoy; the inhabitants of which places manifested their approbation of his conduct by the public addresses inserted in the Dublin papers. On leaving Cork he was presented with the freedom of that city. Early in the summer of 1808 he embarked with his brigade at Cove, to join the army of England destined to act in the Peninsula. In the battles of Roleia and Vimiera his Lordship was fully employed, and gained the approbation and thanks of his comrades for his own conduct and that of his brigade.

During the whole of Sir John Moore's advance and retreat, Lord Hill continued indefatigable in his exertions; and he was established with a corps of reserve, guarding the embarkation of the army at Corunna. His humanity and attention to the suffering troops on their landing at Plymouth, earned him the admiration of the humane and benevolent inhabitants of that place; and he was presented by the mayor and corporation with an address, expressive of their cordial approbation of his conduct; and, as a proof that his proceedings were not obliterated from their recollection, the body corporate convened a meeting in 1811, and unanimously voted him the freedom of the borough, in terms of glowing praise, as stated in the Plymouth papers. On Lord Hill's arrival in England, in the beginning of the year 1809, he found himself appointed Colonel of the 3d Garrison Battalion; and, about the same period, he became possessed of a handsome place (Hoodwich Grange) and property, left to him by his uncle, the late Sir Richard Hill, Bart.

The General had not been many days in London, before he was directed by his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief to hold himself in readiness for further service; and, as soon as his instructions were completed, he proceeded through England (passing five days with his friends in Shropshire) to take the command of the troops ordered from Ireland for the second expedition to the Peninsula.

In the passage of the Douro, May 12, 1809, when Lieutenant-General Sir E. Paget received a wound that unhappily deprived him of his arm, Lord Hill became first in command, and conducted that enterprise with complete success.

At the battle of Talavera, Lord Hill was slightly wounded on the head: his firmness and courage in repelling the successive attacks of the French upon his position greatly contributed to the success of the day. When the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the British army for this victory, Mr. Perceval, in noticing the exertions of Sir Rowland Hill, observed, "that the manner in which General Hill had repulsed the enemy at the point of the bayonet was fresh in every one's memory." For his services on this occasion, he had the colonelcy of the 94th regiment given to him; it having been conferred upon him without any solicitation, either on his own part or that of his friends.

The generalship and activity of Lord Hill, in surprising and capturing a French corps, under General Girard, in Spanish Estremadura, is deserving commemoration. General Girard's corps consisted of a division of the 5th corps of the French army, with a considerable body of cavalry; which having crossed the Guadiana at Merida, and advanced upon Cacaes, Lord Wellington ordered Sir Rowland Hill to move with the troops under his command into Estremadura. Lord Hill accordingly marched by Aldea del Cano, to Alcuesca; and, on the 27th of October 1811, having information that the French were in motion, he proceeded through Aldea, being a shorter route than that taken by the enemy, and affording a hope of being able to intercept and bring him to action. On his march, Lord Hill learned that Girard had halted his main body at Arroyo del Molinos, leaving a rear-guard at Albala, which was a satisfactory proof that he was ignorant of the movements of the allied detachment. Lord Hill, therefore, determined to surprise him; and, accordingly, made a forced march to Alcuesca that evening, where the troops were so placed as to be out of sight of the enemy, and no fires were allowed to be made. On his arrival at this place, which is not more than a league from Arroyo, Lord Hill was more fully convinced that Girard was ignorant of his movements, and also extremely off his guard; he determined, therefore, upon attempting to surprise him, or at least to bring him to action, before he should march in the morning; and the necessary dispositions were made for that purpose.

The ground over which the troops were to manœuvre being a plain, thinly scattered with oak and cork trees, Lord Hill's object was to place a body of troops so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy either to Truxillo or Merida: he, therefore, moved the army from their bivouac (or resting-place without tents) near Alcuesca, about two in the morning of the 28th, in one column right in front, direct on Arroyo del Molinos. On arriving within half a mile of the town, when under cover of a low ridge, the column closed, and divided into three columns; the infantry being on the right and left, and the cavalry occupying the centre. As the day dawned, a violent storm of rain and thick mist came on, under cover of which the columns advanced according to the concerted plan; the left column proceeding for the town, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart; the 71st, and part of the 60th and 92d, at a greater distance; and the 50th, in close column, somewhat in the rear, with the guns as a reserve. The right column, under Major-General Howard, having the 39th regiment in reserve, broke off to the right, so as to turn the enemy's left; and, having gained about the distance of a cannon-shot to that flank, it marched in a circular direction upon the further point of the crescent formed by the troops: whilst the cavalry, under Sir William Erskine, moved between the two columns of infantry, ready to act in front, or move round either of them, as occasion might require.

The advance of the British columns was unperceived by the enemy until they approached very near, at which moment they were filing out of the town upon the Merida road; the rear of the column, some of the cavalry, and part of the baggage, being still within it.

At this moment the 71st and 92d regiments charged into the town with cheers, and drove the enemy every where at the point of the bayonet, having only a few of their men cut down by the enemy's cavalry. The enemy's infantry, which had got out of the town, had, by the time these regiments arrived at the extremity of it, formed into two squares, with the cavalry on their left; the whole were posted between the Merida and Medellin roads, fronting Alcuesca. These squares were formed close to the town; but the garden walls were promptly lined by the 71st light infantry, whilst the 92d filed out
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and formed a line on the enemy's flank, the whole throwing in a hot and well-directed fire. In the mean time one wing of the 50th regiment occupied the town, and secured the prisoners; and the other wing, along with the three six-pounders, skirted the outside of it, the artillery, as soon as within range, firing with great effect upon the squares.

Whilst the enemy was thus occupied upon the right, General Howard's column continued moving upon their left; and the allied cavalry advancing, and crossing the head of the enemy's column, cut off the cavalry from the infantry, charging it repeatedly, and putting it to the rout. The 13th light dragoons at the same time took possession of the enemy's artillery.

In this part of the business, the Spanish cavalry, under the Count de Penna Villemur, behaved remarkably well; for the British cavalry having been somewhat delayed by the darkness of the night and badness of the road, the Spaniards were the first to form upon the plain, and gallantly engaged the enemy until the British came up.

The whole body of the French were now in full retreat: but General Howard's column having gained the point to which it was directed, and the left column coming fast upon them, they had no resource but to surrender, or to disperse and ascend the mountain, which forms one extremity of the Sierra of Montanches, and is almost inaccessible.

The latter attempt they preferred; and, scrambling up the eastern extremity, were followed closely by the 28th and 34th regiments, whilst the 39th, and Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese infantry, followed round the foot of the mountain to take them in flank.

As may be imagined, the enemy's troops were by this time in the utmost panic; the cavalry were flying in every direction, the infantry throwing away their arms, and the only effort of either was to escape. The troops under General Howard's command, as well as those he had sent round the point of the mountain, pursued them over the rocks, making prisoners at every step, until his own men became so exhausted, and few in number, that it was necessary for him to halt and secure the prisoners.

The force which Girard had with him at the commencement

mencement of the business, consisting of 2500 infantry and 600 cavalry, was now totally dispersed, or captured; amongst the latter of whom were General Brune, the Prince d'Aremberg, two lieutenant-colonels, an aide-de-camp, 30 captains and subalterns, and upwards of 1000 soldiers, with the whole of their baggage, artillery, commissariat, and even the contributions which they had recently levied. The enemy's loss in killed was also very severe, whilst, from the circumstances of the case, it was very trifling on the side of the British. Girard escaped himself, with two or three hundred men, but without arms; and even these were much harassed in their retreat by the Spanish peasantry.

At the opening of the British parliament in 1812, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent thus notices this brilliant affair:—"The successful and brilliant enterprise in Spanish Estremadura, of the destruction of a French corps by a detachment of the allied army under Lieutenant-General Hill, is highly creditable to that distinguished officer, and the troops under his command, and has contributed materially to obstruct the designs of the enemy in that part of the Peninsula." In addition to this gratifying declaration, his Royal Highness conferred on his Lordship the honour of Knight of the Bath, and appointed him Governor of Blackness Castle.

Lord Hill was now entrusted with a separate command in the Peninsula, for the purpose of watching and counteracting the operations of Soult, whilst the Duke of Wellington was pursuing his ulterior measures against the enemy. In this separate command, Lord Hill evinced the same judgment that had always distinguished him in his military career; but his proceedings have been so fully detailed in our Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington, that it will be superfluous to notice them again. In the battle of Vittoria Lord Hill bore a conspicuous part, and might be considered the right hand of the illustrious Wellington on that glorious occasion. In all the subsequent battles, which led to the final termination of hostilities, we find Lord Hill entrusted with the most important part of the operations; and in all the public dispatches the most unqualified praise is bestowed upon him by the Commander-in-chief. As a reward for
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his eminent services, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent was pleased to raise him to the British peerage, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Hill of Almaraz, and of Hawkestone in the county of Salop.

In the late decisive battle of Waterloo, Lord Hill, as usual, bore a distinguished part; and, in noticing his services on that occasion, the Duke of Wellington says—“ I am also particularly indebted to General Lord Hill, for his assistance upon this as upon all former occasions.”

We have nothing further to add to this Memoir; but shall conclude with wishing his Lordship many years of health and happiness, and that he may long enjoy his well-earned honours.

Memoirs
OF
SIR W. SYDNEY SMITH,

GRAND CROSS OF THE ROYAL SWEDISH MILITARY ORDER OF
THE SWORD.

THE interesting Memoirs of this justly celebrated officer cannot fail of affording a high degree of pleasure to our readers; and it is with particular satisfaction we are enabled to give an authentic account of him. The father of Sir Sydney Smith was bred to the army, and served, during the early part of the war of 1756, as aide-de-camp to the Right Honourable Lord George Sackville. When the court-martial was held on the conduct of that nobleman, at Minden, Captain Smith came forward in the most zealous manner, not only as an evidence in his behalf, but as a warm and active friend. The charge against Lord Sackville is well known to have consisted in an imputed disobedience of the orders received from Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom by his commission and instructions he was directed to obey.

Sir William Sydney Smith, the subject of the present Memoir, entered into the navy at the early age of thirteen years. He was born about the year 1764; and received the first rudiments of his education at Tunbridge school, then kept by Mr. Knox. In 1773 he was removed to Bath, where he was placed under the tuition of Mr. Morgan; and in 1777 having commenced his maritime career, he not long afterwards removed into the Sandwich, commanded by Captain Young. Previous to his actual embarkation, he had gone through a course of maritime studies, and had accordingly been rated for some time as belonging to the service, in conformity with the indulgences and allowances then made, which permitted them.

In 1780, he was promoted to the rank of Fifth Lieutenant on board the Alcide, a ship of 74 guns, at that
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time under orders for the West Indies, whither she was to accompany the late Lord Rodney. The Alcide was commanded by the late Sir Charles Thompson; but Sir Sydney did not remain in the rank of Lieutenant more than two years; and, being advanced to that of Commander, was appointed to the Fury sloop, of 18 guns, on the Jamaica station. Without removing from that quarter of the world, he was again promoted, on the 7th of May 1783, to the higher station of Post-Captain, by commission, appointing him to the Nemesis frigate, of twenty-eight guns.

Peace having at this time taken place between all the belligerent powers, the Nemesis, after a short interval, was ordered to England; where she was immediately put out of commission, and dismantled. After an irksome inactivity of nearly five years, on the prospect of a rupture between Sweden and Russia, Captain Smith, in 1788, with the permission of his own government, entered into the service of the former.

As his conduct during the period of that northern war, in the complicated objects of which so many of the powers of Europe were interested, was of such a nature as to bring his character into general notice, and even procure his admission into an order of knighthood of the court which he had served; it will be necessary to enter into a brief narrative of the several naval operations, but more particularly of the action commonly called the Battle of the Galleys, in which he most eminently distinguished himself.

Toward the latter end of April 1790, the grand fleet of Sweden, under the command of the Duke of Sudermania, consisting of twenty-three ships of the line, and eighteen frigates, sailed for Carlscrona, in the province of Smaland. The pretended object of the expedition was that of obstructing the junction of two divisions of the Russian fleet, one of which was then riding at anchor in the port of Revel, the other in the port of Cronstadt; the real views, however, were more extensive, being no less than the capture of Revel, and the ruin of the enemy's fleet there. Both the latter designs were put into execution; and though they were not attended with all the desired success, the conduct of them did not by any means tarnish the credit of the officers concerned. On the 3d of

May the Duke reached the heights of Hengo, and on the 13th carried his fleet into the port of Revel. The Russian fleet at anchor there consisted of three three-decked ships, eight others of the line, and five large frigates: independent of their own force, they were defended in a very advantageous manner by several batteries in the harbour, and the fortifications of the place, all of which were planted with heavy cannon. On the approach of the Swedes, a tremendous fire commenced from both sides; notwithstanding which, the Duke continued the attack with the utmost intrepidity, and would, in all probability, have succeeded, had not, in consequence of the wind changing, a violent storm arose, which prevented several vessels from using their lower tiers, and kept others from taking any share in the action, so that in the end the fleet was forced to retire at the very moment in which the enemy was in a manner totally defeated. Nor was this all: through the fury of the elements, one ship of sixty guns, after being dismasted, fell into the hands of the enemy; another of the same force, being also wrecked, was by his Highness's orders, set on fire and abandoned; and a third ran on shore, but was enabled to escape to sea again, by throwing overboard part of her guns. On the very next day, such was the diligence and zeal of the Duke, with the commanders under his direction, that the fleet was again under sail, a league and a half from Norglon, and so completely repaired from all damage, that it waited with impatience for a second attack.

Of the intervening engagements we shall not enter into a particular account, but proceed to that principal and successful battle in which Sir Sydney Smith was more immediately concerned; premising only, that an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the King of Sweden, who commanded in person, to destroy the Russian coasting squadron at Viborg. The approach of the Prince of Nassau, with the Cronstadt division, had already rendered the position of the Swedes at the entrance of Viborg bay extremely critical, when the scarcity of ammunition, and the want of provisions, made their return to their own ports a measure of the first necessity. In this situation of affairs, the King resolved to avail himself of a strong easterly wind, which set in on the 3d of June,

June, to gain Swenksund and Sweaborg. It was necessary for the fleet to penetrate through a narrow pass, and to sustain the fire of four Russian ships of the line, two of which were placed on each side the strait; and after this to engage the whole of Admiral Tschitschakoff's line, which was drawn up along the coast at a small distance, while his frigates were ranged among the islands which lie nearer the shore. The Swedish van, under Admiral Modée, passed the Narrows without suffering any essential loss, firing with great spirit both broadsides at the same time against the enemy. The cannonade from the four Russian ships was, however, so powerful, and so well supported, that it was resolved by the Duke of Sudermania to attempt their destruction; but this operation proved so unsuccessful, that the fire-ships employed in it were driven upon two of his Royal Highness's own fleet, a ship of the line and a frigate, both of which blew up. Confused in a considerable degree by this peculiarly distressful accident, the ships that were to follow were unable to proceed with the necessary order and circumspection; four struck upon the rocks, and were left to the mercy of the enemy. During their further course along the coast, already diminished in their force, three more vessels of the line surrendered to the Russian flag. The engagement continued all night and part of the next day, and it was not till the evening that the Duke arrived at Sweaborg. The King himself, at the same time, after having lost six galleys, and a large number of smaller vessels, reached Swenksund with a considerable part of his remaining fleet.

Though the events of the actions on the 3d and 4th of June were thus unfortunate to the Swedes, his Majesty was in a short time enabled to re-appear at sea in an effective condition to re-contest the victory, and obtain ample compensation for his former loss. Having supplied his ships with provisions and ammunition, and being joined by the division under Lieutenant-Colonel Cronstadt, which had not been able to reach the bay of Viborg, he sailed immediately, with a view to prevent the Prince of Nassau, who was advancing with the Cronstadt and Viborg squadrons, from getting into the port of Fredericksham. This he was fortunate enough to accomplish. An action took place on the 9th of July, in

which the King commanded in person. It began at half-past nine in the morning, and lasted twenty-four hours, with the intermission of a short space only at midnight, when darkness imposed a temporary armistice.

On the preceding day, several vessels of the Russian shore-fleet were discovered at Aspo; on which the King, attended by M. de Cronstadt, went to reconnoitre. On the 9th, the Prince of Nassau advanced toward the Swedish shore, and the signal was made for the fleet to arrange itself in order of battle. The enemy formed the line by nine o'clock in the morning, and advanced toward Cape Musalo. The right wing of the Swedes advanced to meet them, and the firing commenced. The King, on board the Seraphim galley, made the signal for a general attack. The enemy approached with a brisk fire, which was so warmly returned by both the Swedish wings, that at noon the left of the enemy began to give way. Both the right and left of the Swedes, being reinforced by several divisions posted in the Sound, were enabled to continue the action with great spirit. The Russian line having likewise received some assistance, the larboard wing advanced again, and returned to the charge. About four o'clock some of their larger galleys quitted the line, and struck their colours. Several of these afterwards foundered, and others were taken by the Swedes. The Udema, one of the Swedish galleys, caught fire about six o'clock, and sunk. The same fate befel one of the Russian xebecs; and, after this accident, the smaller vessels began to sheer off. Many of the heavy galleys continued firing till ten in the evening, and then got under sail: some ran on the shoals, and struck their flags. At eleven a cessation, produced by the darkness, took place; the prisoners were removed, and the conquered vessels taken possession of.

At three the next morning the cannonade was renewed. One of the Russian frigates surrendered, and several of the small craft were taken: the enemy retreated on all sides, and set fire to their stranded ships. They were pursued till ten at night, and forty-five captured. Out of the Russian vessels which were sunk, one officer only and one surgeon were saved. Six of the stranded vessels were burnt by the Swedes. The victors computed the

the number of their prisoners at 4500, including 210 officers.

This advantage being quickly succeeded by the peace of Reichenbach, Sir Sidney Smith retired from the Swedish service; and, on account of his marked and very intrepid conduct during this successful battle, was complimented with the grand cross of the Swedish order of the Sword. He had the additional honour of receiving the insignia of his knighthood from his own sovereign at St. James's.

During the short period which intervened between the conclusion of the Swedish war, and the breaking out of the French revolutionary war, Sir Sydney, following the bent of his enterprising mind, became a volunteer in the Turkish service.

This he, however, soon exchanged for that of his native country; for, towards the conclusion of the siege of Toulon, he repaired thither, and made a tender of his services to Lord Hood, by whom they were readily accepted. The successes of the republican army besieging the city, and the misconduct and treachery of his allies the Neapolitans and Spaniards, having obliged Lord Hood to adopt the resolution of evacuating the place; a plan was therefore formed for destroying such ships as could not be carried away, as well as the magazines and the arsenal. The Spanish admiral, Langara, undertook to give the necessary directions for destroying such as lay in the inner harbour, and to scuttle and sink the two-pounder vessels, which contained all the powder of the different French ships, as well as that belonging to the distant magazines within the enemy's reach. While the British fleet was busily engaged in embarking the troops, and such of the loyal inhabitants of Toulon as dreaded the vengeance of the republicans, the Spanish admiral neglected to fulfil what he had engaged to perform.

Sir Sydney Smith had volunteered his services to burn the rest of the ships and the arsenal: that hazardous duty was entrusted to him, and he executed it in such a manner as to justify his appointment to the arduous task. He proceeded at night, with the *Swallow* tender, accompanied by three English and three Spanish gun-boats, to the arsenal, where he was to wait for a given signal to commence the conflagration. On entering the dock-yard,

yard, he found the gates well secured, though the workmen manifested their hostile intentions by substituting the tri-coloured for the white cockade; and 600 galley-slaves, all of whom were either unchained, or employed in freeing themselves from their irons, seemed bent on resistance. Unwilling to deprive these wretches of the only chance of escaping the dangers with which they were threatened, Sir Sydney gave them no interruption, but took the precaution to point the guns of the Swallow tender, so as to enfilade the quay, on which they must have landed in order to attack him.

During these preparations, the enemy kept up a cross fire of shot and shells from the neighbouring hills: but, so far from having the intended effect, this powerfully seconded the operations of Sir Sydney's brave followers, by contributing to keep the galley-slaves in awe, and confining the republican party in the town to their own houses; while, on the other hand, the British sailors, instead of being confused by the fire, pursued their work with steadiness, and distributed their combustibles without much interruption from the enemy's efforts.

Meanwhile a great number of the besiegers kept drawing down the hill towards the dock-yard wall, animating each other's enthusiasm by shouts and republican songs; and when the night closed, they approached so near as to pour in a quick but irregular fire both of musquetry and artillery. Discharges of grape, however, kept them at bay, and prevented their advancing near enough to discover the weakness of the English force. Other precautions were necessary to guard against the Jacobins within. As a defence against these, a boat was so stationed as to flank the wall on the outside; and, within, two field pieces were pointed against the wicket usually frequented by the workmen. The fire-ship, which was not ready when Sir Sydney began his preparations, was now towed into the great arsenal, and immediately placed across the tier of men-of-war lying there. Her arrival promised to insure their destruction; and the additional force of men and guns contributed to keep the galley-slaves in subjection. Their murmurs and tumultuous debates now ceased; and no sound was heard among them, but the noise of the hammer clanking against their irons, from which they were eagerly striving to set themselves free.

Sir Sydney now anxiously waited for the signal; and no sooner was it made, than the combustibles were lighted, and the flames rose rapidly, though the stillness of the air was not favourable to the diffusion of the fire. The light of the conflagration rendered his little party distinct objects of aim, and made the enemy redouble their discharge. But, the Vulcan having been fired, her guns, which, on both sides, were pointed toward the places most likely to be forced, went off as the flames reached them, and checked the approach of the enemy; but their shouts and republican songs continued to be heard, till a momentary cessation of hostilities was produced by the explosion of several thousand barrels of powder, in the Isis frigate, in the inner road. The Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking that vessel, had, as it afterwards appeared, treacherously set her on fire. The violence of the shock, and a shower of flaming timber, threatened to overwhelm the whole flotilla; but, fortunately, only one gun-boat, and one of the ships' boats, were destroyed. Both were blown to pieces: in one, an officer and three men perished; the whole crew of the other were taken up alive.

This accident, while it did little damage to Sir Sydney's flotilla, contributed greatly to appal the enemy, who only saw its terrific effects, without being conscious of their cause, or knowing what other dangers of a new and horrible nature might be in store for them.

Having completed all the conflagration within his reach, Sir Sydney perceived, to his astonishment, that the Spaniards had not set fire to any of the ships in the bason before the town. He therefore hastened thither with the boats under his command; but, to his extreme mortification, he found the boom at the entrance laid across, and was obliged to desist from his attempts to cut it, by the repeated volleys of musquetry directed towards his boats, from the flag-ship and the wall of the royal battery. He therefore proceeded to burn the Hero and Themistocle prison-ships, in the inner road, after disembarking all the men. Scarcely was this service effected, when the explosion of a second powder-ship took place, by means equally unsuspected and perfidious, with a shock even greater than the first, and again threatened the whole detachment with destruction; but the lives of

Sir

Sir Sydney and the gallant men who accompanied him were providentially saved from the imminent danger in which they were thus a second time placed.

Having now set fire to every thing within their reach, exhausted their combustible preparation, and their strength, to such a degree that the men absolutely dropped at the oars, Sir Sydney and his daring companions directed their course to join the fleet, proceeding first to the place appointed for the embarkation of the troops, where they took off as many as the boats could carry. Ten ships of the line and several frigates were destroyed; but the damage sustained by the enemy was at first supposed more severe than it afterwards appeared to have been. The grand magazines on shore escaped the ravages of the fire; the only buildings destroyed being some of the smaller store-houses.

By the daring intrepidity and ability which Sir Sydney Smith displayed in this arduous undertaking, he recommended himself so strongly to the notice of the Admiralty, that, in 1794, he was appointed to the *Diamond* frigate of 38 guns. In this ship, as one of the squadron under Sir Edward Pellew, he assisted on the 27th of October, the same year, in capturing the *Revolutionnaire*, of 44 guns.

At the beginning of 1795, he sailed from Falmouth, with a squadron of frigates, under the orders of Sir John Borlase Warren. On the 3d of January, the commodore detached Sir Sydney to reconnoitre Brest harbour, while he himself remained at some distance with the rest of the squadron. The wind being to the eastward, the *Diamond* was obliged to beat up. About two o'clock in the afternoon, three sail were observed working up, and were soon perceived to be French men-of-war, one of which soon afterwards anchored between Brest and Ushant. At five, the *Diamond* was also obliged to anchor within two miles of her, to wait for the flood-tide. At eleven, Sir Sydney again weighed, and passed within half a mile of the French ship, which he distinctly perceived to be of the line, under jury top-masts, and much disabled. About two in the morning of the 4th, the *Diamond* was well up with the entrance of Brest harbour, where a frigate was lying at anchor. The ebb tide making down before it was day-light, Sir Sydney was obliged to keep
under

under sail, to prevent getting to leeward or creating suspicion, and he continued to stand across the harbour, often within musquet-shot of the enemy. At day-light he stood close in; and, having satisfied himself that the French fleet was at sea, he bore away to rejoin the commodore. A corvette which was coming out of Brest hove to, and made a signal, which not being answered by the *Diamond*, she hauled her wind, and worked in again. Sir Sydney afterwards passed within hail of the line-of-battle ship, which was still at anchor: she appeared to have no upper deck guns mounted, and very leaky. He asked her commander, in French, if he wanted any assistance; to which he replied that he did not, adding, that he had been dismasted in a heavy gale, and had parted from the French fleet three days before. Some other conversation passed; on which Sir Sydney crowded sail, and stood out to sea. He had so completely deceived the Frenchmen by the manner in which he had disguised his ship, that they had not the smallest suspicion of her being an English man-of-war. The ability with which he executed this commission proved him to be as well qualified for delicate, as for daring enterprises.

On the 4th of July 1795, he distinguished himself exceedingly in a bold but ineffectual attempt on two French ships, with their convoy, near the shore of La Hogue. Continuing on the same station, as well as occupied in the same species of service, he had, in the month of September following, the more fortunate opportunity of destroying a French corvette, which the squadron under his orders fell in with on the morning of the 2d. A chase of three quarters of an hour brought him within gun-shot of her: she endeavoured to elude his pursuit in the labyrinth of rocks before Treguier; but the attempt proved fatal to her, for she struck on the *Roenna*, and soon after filling, fell over. Sir Sydney, with that generous humanity which, even among British officers, may be justly said to render him pre-eminent, immediately ceased firing, and sent the boats of the several vessels to the relief of the crew. Her own boats, which were towing her, saved as many as they could contain; those of Sir Sydney were not able to preserve more than nine in addition to the former. According to the ac-

count of the survivors, about twenty perished, exclusive of the captain, who was washed off the wreck a few minutes before the English could reach him. The swell was so great that the vessel went to pieces very soon; and Sir Sydney was obliged to anchor, to avoid a similar fate.

In the month of March 1796, Sir Sydney greatly distinguished himself in the attack of a French squadron which had taken shelter in Herqui. Notwithstanding the narrowness and intricacy of the channel, Sir Sydney stood in, and attacked the enemy's batteries, which were most gallantly stormed and carried by a party of seamen and marines. The vessels were all burnt, except an armed lugger. In this daring attack, two seamen were killed, and five wounded.

The period of his services was now unfortunately drawing to a temporary stand. Eager in the pursuit of that system of warfare which he had already proved himself so complete a master of, he had, in the ensuing month, the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy. Being stationed off Havre de Grace, he captured, on the 18th of April 1796, with the boats of his squadron, being then on a reconnoitring expedition, a French lugger privateer, which, by the strong setting of the tide into the harbour, was driven above the forts. In this situation he remained the whole night; and the dawn of day discovering to the French the lugger in tow of a string of English boats, a signal of alarm was immediately given. Several gun-boats, and other armed vessels, attacked the lugger and the boats; and another lugger, of superior force, was warped out against that which he had captured. By this vessel he was engaged for a considerable time, with so much heavier metal as to render all resistance unavailing; and he had the mortification of being obliged to surrender himself a prisoner of war, with about nineteen of his people and companions. The Diamond, in the meanwhile, remained in perfect safety, but was totally unable to afford assistance to her commander, on account of the dead calm which prevailed during the whole of the unfortunate transaction. When the officers on board the Diamond heard of the disaster which had befallen their gallant commander, they sent in a flag of truce to inquire whether he was wounded,

wounded, and to pray that he might be treated with kindness. To this message the governor answered, that Sir Sydney was well, and that he should be used with the utmost humanity and attention.

Of the history of his long and well-known imprisonment, including a period of two years of his life (in which the several and successive rulers of France thought proper to deviate from the established custom of permitting the exchange of prisoners of war), and of his no less extraordinary and celebrated escape, the following singularly interesting particulars are gathered from a paper drawn up a short time after his return to London, by an intelligent French royalist. This gentleman collected his information from the lips of Sir Sydney himself; and when he had reduced the several particulars into writing, he presented him the narrative for his perusal. Sir Sydney allowed its veracity, and expressed his admiration at the fidelity with which the memory of his friend had enabled him to relate the whole of the circumstances.

When he was taken, the gallant captain was accompanied by his clerk, and M. de Tr——, a French gentleman, who had emigrated from his country, and who, it had been agreed, was to pass for his servant, in the hope of saving his life by that disguise. Their expectations were not frustrated; for *John*, as Sir Sydney called him, was fortunate enough to escape all suspicion.

On his arrival in France, he was treated at first with unexampled rigour, and was told that he ought to be tried by a military commission as a spy. The government, however, gave orders for his removal to Paris, when he was sent to the Abbaye, and, together with his two companions in misfortune, kept a close prisoner.

The means of escape now became the constant object on which Sir Sydney and his friends employed their minds. The window of their prison fronted the street; and from this circumstance they derived a hope, sooner or later, to effect their purpose. They presently contrived to carry on a silent and regular correspondence, by means of sigus, with some women who could see them from their apartments, and who seemed to take a lively interest in their fate. They themselves proposed to assist in the liberation of Sir Sydney, an offer which he accepted

with great pleasure; and he has declared, that, notwithstanding the enormous expences occasioned by their unsuccessful attempts, they have not the less claim to his gratitude. Till the time of his deliverance, in which event however they had no share, their whole employment was that of endeavouring to save him; and they had the address, at all times, to deceive the vigilance of his keepers. On both sides borrowed names were used, under which correspondence was carried on. Those of the women were borrowed from the ancient mythology; so that Sir Sydney was now indulged with a direct communication with Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

At length he was removed to the Temple; to which prison his three Muses soon contrived means of conveying intelligence, and plans for effecting his escape. On the first reception of these interesting projects, Sir Sydney, as was natural, uniformly accepted them all, and enjoyed for a time the prospect of success; but reflection soon destroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty had given birth. He was also resolved not to leave his English companion in prison, and still less poor John, whose safety (for, being a Frenchman, it involved his life) was more dear to him than his own emancipation.

In the Temple, John was permitted to enjoy a considerable degree of liberty. He was dressed in the light costume of an English jockey, and knew how to assume the manners which belonged to that character. Every one was fond of John: he drank and fraternized with the turnkeys; he made love to the keeper's daughter, who was persuaded he would marry her; and as the little English jockey was not supposed to have received a very brilliant education, he had learnt, by means of study, sufficiently to mutilate his native tongue. John appeared very attentive to his service, and always spoke to his master in the most respectful manner. The master, on his part, scolded him from time to time with much gravity; and, to use his own words, frequently surprised himself in the act of forgetting the friend, and seriously giving orders to the valet.

At length John's wife, Madame de Tr——, a very interesting woman, arrived at Paris, and made uncommon exertions for the liberation of the companions. She
dared

dared not come, however, to the Temple, through fear of discovery; but from a neighbouring house she daily beheld her husband, who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike, in secret, the pleasure of contemplating the friend of his bosom. Madame de Tr—— soon communicated a plan for their escape to a sensible and courageous young man of her acquaintance, who acceded to it without the smallest hesitation. This Frenchman, who was sincerely attached to his country, said to Madame de Tr——, “I will serve Sydney Smith with pleasure, because I believe the English government intends to restore Louis XVIII. to the throne; but if the commodore is to fight against France, and not for the King of France, heaven forbid I should assist him!”

Ch. L'Oiseau (for that was the name which the young Frenchman assumed) was connected with the agents of the King then confined in the Temple, for whom he was also contriving the means of escape, and it was intended they should all attempt to get off together. M. La Vilheurnois, being condemned to only a year's imprisonment, was resolved not to quit his station; but Brothier and Duverne de Presle were to follow the example of Sir Sydney and his friends. Sir Sydney has since remarked, that, had this scheme succeeded, this Duverne would not, perhaps, have ceased to be an honest man; for till then he had conducted himself as such. His condition at an after period, Sir Sydney thought, must be truly deplorable, as he did not believe him formed by nature for the commission of crimes.

Every thing was now prepared for the execution of their project. The means proposed by Ch. L'Oiseau appeared practicable, and it was resolved to adopt them. A hole twelve feet long was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the prison; and the apartments to which the cellar belonged were at their disposal. Mademoiselle D——, laying aside every prudential consideration, generously came to reside there for a week; and, being young, the other lodgers attributed to her alone the frequent visits of Ch. L'Oiseau. Thus every thing seemed to favour their wishes. No one in the house in question had any suspicions; and the amiable little child which Mademoiselle D—— had with her, and who was only seven years old, was so far from betraying the secret, that she

she always beat a little drum, and made a noise, while the work was going on in the cellar.

Meanwhile, L'Oiseau had continued his labours a considerable time without any appearance of day-light, and he was apprehensive he had attempted the opening considerably too low. It was necessary, therefore, that the wall should be sounded; and for this purpose a mason was required. Madame de Tr—— recommended one, and Ch. L'Oiseau not only undertook to bring him, but to detain him in the cellar till they had escaped, which was to be effected that very day. The worthy mason perceived the object was to save some of the victims of misfortune, and came without hesitation. He only said, "If I am arrested, take care of my poor children."

But what a misfortune now frustrated all their hopes! Though the wall was sounded with the greatest precaution, the last stone fell out, and rolled into the garden of the Temple. The sentinel perceived it; the alarm was given, the guard arrived, and all was discovered. Fortunately, however, their friends had time to make their escape, and none of them were taken. They had, indeed, taken their measures with the greatest care; and when the Commissaries of the Bureau Central came to examine the cellar and apartment, they found only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and hay, and the hats with tri-coloured cockades provided for their flight, as those they wore were black.

This first attempt, though extremely well conducted, having failed, Sir Sydney wrote to Madame de Tr——, to console both her and their young friend, who was miserable at having foundered just as he was going into port. The confederates were so far, however, from suffering themselves to be discouraged, that they still continued to form new schemes for his deliverance. The keeper perceived it; and Sir Sydney was frequently so open as to acknowledge the fact. "Commodore," said he, "your friends are desirous of liberating you, and they only discharge their duty: I also am doing mine in watching you still more narrowly." Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled strictness, yet he never departed from the rules of civility and politeness. He
treated

treated all the prisoners with kindness, and even piqued himself on his generosity. Various proposals were made to him, but he rejected them all, and kept the closer watch; disdaining at the same time, no less decidedly, to report the attempts that were made either to corrupt himself, or to break from his custody. One day, when Sir Sydney dined with him, he observed that the attention of his prisoner was fixed on a window then partly open, which looked upon the street. Sir Sydney saw his uneasiness, and suffered himself for a few moments to enjoy the amusement that it afforded; however, to put an end to it, he said to him laughing, "I know what you are thinking of; but fear not. It is now three o'clock: I will make a truce with you till midnight; and I give you my word of honour, that till that time, even were the doors open, I would not escape. When that hour is passed, my promise is at an end, and we are enemies again." "Sir," replied he, "your word is a safer bond than my bars and bolts; till midnight, therefore, I am perfectly easy."

When they rose from table, he took Sir Sydney aside, and speaking with warmth, said, "Commodore, the Boulevard is not far: if you are inclined to take the air there, I will conduct you." Sir Sydney's astonishment was extreme; nor could he conceive how this man, who appeared so severe, could thus suddenly persuade himself to make him such a proposal. He accepted it, however; and in the evening they went out. From that time forward this confidence always continued. Whenever Sir Sydney was desirous to enjoy perfect liberty, he offered his keeper a suspension of arms till a certain hour. This his generous enemy never refused; but when the armistice was at an end, his vigilance was unbounded. Every post was examined; and if the government ordered that he should be kept closer than before, the command was executed with the most rigid care. Thus Sir Sydney was again free to contrive and prepare for his escape, and the keeper to treat him with the utmost rigour.

This man had a very accurate idea of honour. He often said to him, "Were you even under sentence of death, I would permit you to go out on your parole, because I should be certain of your return. Many very
honest

honest prisoners, and I myself among the rest, would not return in the like case; but an officer, and especially an officer of distinction, holds his honour dearer than his life. I know it to be a fact, Commodore; and therefore I should be less uneasy if you desired the gates to be always open."

His keeper was right. While he enjoyed his liberty, he endeavoured to lose sight of the idea of escape; and he even felt that he should have been averse to employ for that object means that had occurred to his imagination during the hours of freedom. One day, he received a letter containing matter of great importance, which he had the strongest desire to read without delay: but, as its contents related to his intended deliverance, he asked leave to return to his room, and break off the truce. The keeper, however, refused; saying, with a laugh, he wanted to take some sleep. Accordingly he lay down, and Sir Sydney postponed the perusal of his letter till the evening.

Meanwhile, no opportunity of flight offered. On the contrary, the Directory ordered their truly noble prisoner to be treated with severity. The keeper punctually obeyed all the orders he received; and he, who on the preceding evening had granted him the greatest liberty, now doubled his guard, in order to exercise a more perfect vigilance.

Among the prisoners was a man condemned for certain political offences to ten years' confinement, and whom all the other prisoners suspected of acting in the detestable capacity of a spy upon his companions. Their suspicions, indeed, appeared to have some foundation; and Sir Sydney felt the greatest anxiety on account of his friend John. He was however fortunate enough, soon after, to obtain his liberty. An exchange of prisoners being about to take place, he applied to have *his servant* included in the cartel; and though this request might easily have been refused, happily, no difficulty arose, and it was granted.

When the day of the kind and affectionate John's departure arrived, he could scarcely be prevailed upon to leave the Commodore, till at length he yielded to his most earnest entreaties. They parted with tears in their eyes, which to Sir Sydney were the tears of pleasure,
because

because his friend was leaving a situation of the greatest danger. The amiable *jockey* was regretted by every one: the turnkeys drank a good journey to him; nor could the girl he had courted help weeping for his departure; while her mother, who thought John a very *good youth*, hoped she should one day call him her son-in-law.

Sir Sydney was soon informed of his arrival in London; and this circumstance rendered his own captivity less painful. He would have been happy to have also exchanged his secretary; but as he had no other dangers to encounter than those which were common to them both, he always rejected the idea, considering it as a violation of that friendship of which he had given Sir Sydney so many proofs.

On the 4th of September (18th Fructidor) 1797, the rigour of his confinement was still farther increased. The keeper, whose name was Lasne, was displaced; Sir Sydney was again kept a close prisoner, and, together with his liberty, lost the hopes of a peace, which he had thought approaching, and which the revolution that then took place contributed to postpone.

At this time a proposal was made to him for his escape, which he adopted as his last resource. The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up for his removal to another prison, and thus to carry him off. A French gentleman, M. de Phéliepeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and generosity, offered to execute this enterprise. The order being accurately imitated, and, by means of a bribe, the real stamp of the minister's signature procured, nothing remained but to find men bold enough to put the plan in execution. Phéliepeaux and Ch. L'Oiseau would eagerly have undertaken it; but both being known, and even notorious, at the Temple, it was absolutely necessary to employ others. Messrs. B—— and L——, therefore, both men of tried courage, accepted the office with pleasure and alacrity.

With this order, then, they came to the Temple, M. B—— in the dress of an adjutant, and M. L—— as an officer. The keeper having perused the order, and attentively examined the minister's signature, went into another room, leaving the two deliverers, for some time, in the cruelest uncertainty and suspense. At length he

returned, accompanied by the register (or *greffier*) of the prison, and ordered Sir Sydney to be called. When the register informed him of the orders of the Directory, he pretended to be very much concerned at it; but the adjutant assured him, in the most serious manner, that "the government was very far from intending to aggravate his misfortunes, and that he would be very comfortable at the place whither he was ordered to conduct him." Sir Sydney expressed his gratitude to all the servants employed about the prison, and, as may be imagined, was not very long in packing up his clothes. On his return, the register observed, that at least six men from the guard would be requisite; and the adjutant, without being at all confounded, acquiesced in the justice of the remark, and gave orders for them to be called out. On *reflection*, however, and remembering, as it were, the laws of chivalry and honour, he addressed himself to Sir Sydney, saying, "Commodore, you are an officer; I am an officer also: your parole will be enough; give me that, and I have no need of an escort." "Sir," replied Sir Sydney, "if that is sufficient, I swear upon the faith of an officer to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me." Every one applauded this noble action; while Sir Sydney and his friends found considerable difficulty in maintaining a serious deportment. The keeper now asked for a discharge, and the register gave the book to M. B——, who boldly signed it, with a proper flourish, "*L'Oger, Adjutant-General.*" Meanwhile, Sir Sydney employed the attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with favours, to prevent them from having time to reflect; nor indeed did they seem to have any other attention than their own advantage. The register and keeper accompanied the party as far as the second court. At length, the last gate was opened, and they were left alone, after a long interchange of ceremony and politeness.

They instantly entered a hackney coach, and the *adjutant* ordered the coachman to drive to the suburb of St. Germain; but the fellow had not gone an hundred paces before he broke his wheel against a post, and hurt an unfortunate passenger. This unlucky accident brought a crown round them, who were very angry at the injury the stranger sustained. They quitted the coach, took
their

their portmanteaus in their hands, and went off in an instant. Though the people observed the party much, they did not say a word to them, but only abused the coachman. When the latter demanded his fare, M. L——, through an inadvertency that might have caused them to be arrested, gave him a double louis-d'or.

Having parted when they quitted the carriage, Sir Sydney arrived at the appointed rendezvous with only his secretary and M. de Phéliepeaux, who had joined them near the prison; and though very desirous of waiting for his two other friends, to thank and take his leave of them, yet M. de Phéliepeaux having justly observed that there was not a moment to be lost, he postponed till another opportunity his expressions of gratitude to his deliverers, and immediately set off for Rouen, where M. R—— had made every preparation for their reception.

At Rouen Sir Sydney and his friend were obliged to stay several days; and, as their passports were perfectly regular, they did not take much care to conceal themselves, but in the evening walked about the town, or took the air on the banks of the Seine.

At length, every thing being ready for him to cross the Channel, Sir Sydney quitted Rouen, and, without encountering any farther danger, arrived in London in May 1798, together with his clerk, and his friend M. de Phéliepeaux, who could not be prevailed upon to separate. He was welcomed in England by the general congratulation of the people. His arrival was considered as a miracle, which few who heard it knew how to believe. His sovereign received him with the warmest affection, and afforded him every mark of attention, not only by his behaviour at his public presentation, but by honouring him with an immediate and private interview at Buckingham House.

In the month of June following, he was appointed to the command of the *Tigre*, of 80 guns; and, in November, sailed for the Mediterranean, where he was honoured with a distinct command, as an established commodore on the coast of Egypt.

Sir Sydney Smith now entered upon a career which has immortalized his name, and which in splendour out-

strips all his former deeds. He repaired to Constantinople, to hasten the measures which the Porte was concerting for the expulsion of the French from Egypt. Buonaparte, being informed that his arrival was to be the signal for offensive operations, resolved to anticipate them, and to march to Syria to destroy the preparations which Ghezzar (who had been nominated Pacha of Egypt by the Grand Seigneur) was there making. He accordingly marched with great rapidity towards that province, reduced the fort of El Arisch, and took Jaffa by storm; after which he directed his course towards Acre, the residence of Ghezzar. Meanwhile Sir Sydney Smith, finding that the Porte was not yet prepared to make any efficient attempt for the recovery of Egypt, proceeded to the coast; and, being apprised of the first movements of Napoleon, endeavoured to check his career by attacking Alexandria, which he bombarded without further injury to the French than the destruction of two transports.

After this fruitless enterprise, he sailed to the assistance of the Pacha of Syria, who at first entertained no idea of defending himself in Acre, anxious only to secure his retreat and convey away his women and treasures. Sir Sydney Smith anchored in the road of Caiffa, with the *Tigre*, *Theseus*, and *Alliance* frigate, two days before the French made their appearance. In this interval, Captain Miller of the *Theseus*, and Sir Sydney's friend Colonel Phéliepeaux, who accompanied him in this expedition, endeavoured to put the place in a better state of defence, so that it might withstand the attack of an European army. The presence of a British naval force appeared to encourage the Pacha and his troops, and to decide them to make a vigorous resistance.

The French advanced guard was discovered at the foot of Mount Carmel, in the night of March the 17th, by the *Tigre's* gun-boats. These troops, not expecting to find a naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water-side, and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape-shot from the boats, which put them to the rout the instant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the mount. The main body of the army, finding the road between the sea and Mount Carmel thus exposed, came
in

in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the east.

As the French returned the fire of the English by musquetry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which was therefore to be expected by sea, and measures were accordingly taken by Sir Sydney Smith for intercepting them. The *Theseus* was already detached off Jaffa. The French flotilla, which came in from sea, fell in with and captured the *Torride*, and was coming round Mount Carmel when it was discovered from the *Tigre*, consisting of a corvette and nine sail of gun-vessels. On seeing the English, they instantly hauled off: the ships immediately made sail after them; their guns soon reached them, and seven struck. These gun-boats were loaded, besides their own complement, with battering cannon, ammunition, and every kind of siege-equipage, for the French army before Acre. The corvette containing Buonaparte's private property, and two smaller vessels, escaped; since it became an object to secure the prizes without chasing further, their cargoes, destined for the siege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ships' boats, sent further inshore to cut off his supplies of provisions conveyed coastwise.

The check which the French army had met with, and the loss of their heavy cannon and stores, made Buonaparte draw back his out-posts, and encamp his army on an insulated height, which borders the sea at about a mile distance. After taking possession of Saffet, Nazareth, and Scheffan, in order to clear the passes on the road to Damascus, Buonaparte reconnoitred Acre more accurately with his officers of artillery and engineers, and determined to attack the front on the east end of the town. On the 20th of March, the trench was opened, at 900 feet from the place. The French pushed their works at first with so much activity, that the ninth day after the opening of the trench they had twelve pieces of cannon and four mortars mounted, and played with such effect as to pierce the tower, while a branch of the mine had been pushed on to blow up the counterscarp. The mine

mine was sprung, but it only made a hole in the glacis: the French thought the counterscarp injured. The ditch, which had been badly reconnoitred, had appeared of but little depth. The ardour of the grenadiers, and the contempt with which the taking of Jaffa had inspired them for this kind of fortification, did not suffer them to hesitate. Instead, however, of finding every obstacle smoothed and levelled, they were stopped by a ditch of fifteen feet, of which scarcely half was filled up by the rubbish of the breach: they plunged into it, placed ladders, climbed the breach, but found themselves separated by the counterscarp from the troops which were to support them. The officers who headed the attack, under a most tremendous fire, perished. The Turks who had abandoned the tower, re-entered it; and the French retreated to their trenches.

During this time, the ships under the command of Sir Sydney Smith had been forced to sea under a heavy gale, excepting the *Alliance*, and prize gun-boats, which fortunately rode out the storm. On his return, he found that Captain Wilmot had been indefatigable in mounting the prize guns, under the direction of Colonel Phéliepeaux, and that the fire had slackened that of the French. As there was much to be apprehended from the effect of the mine which led under the counterscarp, a sortie was determined on: the seamen and marines were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place just before day-light on the morning of the 9th of April. The impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive; though in other respects they displayed great valour. Lieutenant Wright, of the *Tigre*, who commanded the seamen pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all he could in its then state, by pulling down the supporters. Major Douglas of the marines, to whom Sir Sydney had given the necessary rank of Colonel, to enable him to take the command of the Turkish officers of that rank, supported the seamen in this desperate service with great gallantry, under the increased fire of the French, bringing off Lieutenant Wright,

Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench (from which they were not dislodged), with the rest of the wounded. The only officer killed on this occasion was Major Oldfield of the marines.

About the 1st of May, Buonaparte was strengthened by the arrival of some pieces of battering artillery, three twenty-four-pounders, brought by the frigates under Vice-Admiral Perée to Jaffa, and six eighteen-pounders, brought from Damietta. These pieces were immediately planted against the town; and the siege was carried on with redoubled vigour. At this period the French met with a great loss in General Caffarelli, one of their principal engineers, who died of the wounds he had received. They continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and nine several times attempted to storm, but were as often beaten back with immense slaughter.

Sir Sydney had been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally received directions to join Sir Sydney in Egypt, he was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of his orders to join him at Acre. It was not, however, till the evening of the thirty-first day of the siege that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance.

The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark. The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold; the flanking fire of the English from afloat was as usual plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the French had thrown up *epaulements* and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect them from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass eighteen-pounder in the light-house castle, manned from the *Theseus*, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, master's mate, and the last-mounted twenty-four-pounder, in the north ravelin, manned from the *Tigre*, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being at grape-shot distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musquetry, did great execution. The *Tigre's* two sixty-eight pound carronades, mounted in two germs lying in the mole, and
worked

worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre, threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it very considerably. Still, however, the French gained ground, and made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower. The upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins of the ditch forming the ascent by which they mounted, day-light shewed the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened in comparison of that of the besiegers; and the flanking fire was become of less effect, the French having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach of it, by two traverses across the ditch which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole night, and which were now seen, composed of sand-bags and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets being only visible above them.

Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half-way in shore. This was a most critical point of the contest; an effort was necessary to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival. Sir Sydney Smith, accordingly landed the boats at the mole, and took the crews up to the breach armed with pikes. The companions of Sir Sydney proved themselves worthy of their leader; and the effect produced by the arrival of a reinforcement of such men at so critical a moment is not to be described. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks—men, women, and children—knew no bounds. Many fugitives returned with them to the breach, which they found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which striking the assailants on the head overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the parties serving as a breast-work for both: the muzzles of their musquets touching, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musquet-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old
man,

man, coming behind them, pulled them down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to his old friends all was lost. This amicable contest as to who should defend the breach occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops.

Sir Sydney Smith had now to combat the Pacha's repugnance to admit any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his seraglio, which had become a very important post, as occupying the *terreplein* of the rampart. There were not above 200 of the 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate; and Sir Sydney overruled his objection, by introducing the Chifflic regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, disciplined after the European method. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot; and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, Sir Sydney proposed to the Pacha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening the gates to let them sally and take the assailants in flank. He readily complied; and Sir Sydney gave directions to the Colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out; but they were not equal to such a movement, and they were driven back with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town gates efficaciously with grape from the 68-pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the French to expose themselves above their parapets, so that the flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, consequently the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed by hand-grenades.

The French began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every shot knocking down whole sheets of the wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. The group of generals and aides-de-camp, which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dispersed, was now assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Buonaparte was distinguishable in the centre of a semicircle: his gesticula-

tions indicated a renewal of the attack, and his dispatching an officer to the camp shewed that he only waited for a reinforcement. Sir Sydney Smith gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station in shoal water to the southward, and made the Tigre a signal to weigh and join the Theseus to the northward.

A little before sun set, a massy column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was, not to defend the breach at this time; but rather to let a certain number of the French in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a few minutes, the bravest and most advanced amongst them lay headless corpses; the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet: the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, was carried off, wounded by a musquet-shot. General Rombaud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town from the actual entry of the French, it having been impossible, and even impolitic, to give previous information to every one of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it, by means of his numerous emissaries. The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison wherever it appeared, was now, in the dark, mistaken for French, the newly-arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd; and thus many a severe blow of the sabre was parried by the English officers, some of whom had nearly lost their lives as they were forcing their way through a crowd of fugitives.

Calm was restored by the Pacha's exertions; and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move. After several ineffectual assaults, the French had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put in execution in the night between the 20th and 21st. The battering-train of artillery, except the carriages, which were burnt, fell into the hands of the English, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers, and medium twelve-pounders, originally conveyed

veyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst among the 2000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected; Sir Sydney took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta, before the French army could reach the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to the English ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity; in which they were not disappointed.

Thus terminated this remarkable siege, which continued without intermission for sixty days, and in which the hitherto victorious Napoleon, at the head of 13,000 men, was baffled in his repeated and desperate attempts to make himself master of an almost defenceless town, by a handful of English seamen, and was at last obliged to return with disgrace, with the loss of one fourth of his men, and all his artillery. The loss of the English amounted to 216. According to the custom of the Turks, the heads of 13 French generals, and 300 officers, who fell into their hands, were forwarded to the Grand Seignior, in the front of whose palace they were publicly exposed; seven bags full of the ears of French soldiers, killed in Syria, were likewise sent him.

On receiving intelligence of the important services of Sir Sydney Smith, the Emperor sent him an aigrette and sable fur, similar to that presented to Lord Nelson, worth 25,000 piastres. Nor were his services without their reward in his own country. The King, in his speech at the opening of the ensuing session of parliament, noticed the heroism of Sir Sydney Smith, and expressed how much the country was likely to be benefited by his exertions. Parliament voted to him, and the officers and men under his command, their thanks for his eminent services.

Having left every necessary assistance with the Turkish army for its future operations against the common enemy, Sir Sydney repaired to the different islands in the Archipelego and Constantinople, to refit his small squadron, and to concert with the Ottoman Porte the most effectual measures to extirpate the French from Egypt.

In the mean time, Buonaparte had advanced with the greater part of his army, and attacked that of the Turks in their entrenched camp before Aboukir, which, after a most desperate and bloody conflict, was stormed and carried, together with that of Aboukir. The carnage was dreadful on both sides: the greater part of the Turkish army perished either by the sword, or were drowned in attempting to get off to the vessels in the bay. The French army also suffered a considerable loss, amongst which were several of their principal officers. Sir Sydney Smith, who had just arrived in the bay, was witness of this defeat, without having it in his power to render the Turks the least assistance.

Towards the end of October, a considerable reinforcement of troops and ships had arrived from Constantinople. This accession of strength determined Sir Sydney to proceed to the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile, and to make an attack upon it, to draw the attention of the enemy that way; which, as had been agreed with the Grand Vizier, would leave him more at liberty to advance with the grand army on the side of the Desert. For this purpose the coast was sounded, and the pass to Damietta marked with buoys and gun-boats. The attack was begun by the Tigre's gun-boats with great resolution, and the Turks took possession of a ruined castle, from which the French in vain endeavoured to dislodge them. On the 1st of November the troops were disembarked: at first a considerable advantage was gained over the French, and they were completely routed; but the impetuosity of Osman Aga, and the troops he commanded as a *corps de reserve*, who rushed imprudently forward in pursuit of the fugitives before they were commanded, soon turned the fate of the day. The French availed themselves of their superior tactics; rushed on the Turks with such fury, that they were thrown into the utmost confusion and disorder, fled to the water-side, and, throwing themselves into the sea, implored the assistance of the boats, which, with much difficulty and danger, saved all those who were not taken prisoners.

Buonaparte having succeeded in effecting his escape from Egypt, the command of the French army was entrusted to General Kleber, who was induced, by the hopeless

less situation in which he found himself, to agree to evacuate Egypt, on condition of obtaining a safe conduct to France. A convention to this effect was signed between that General and the Porte, and by Sir Sydney on the part of England. The British government, however, denied the authority of Sir Sydney to conclude the convention of El Arisch, and they refused to ratify it: Lord Keith peremptorily informed General Kleber, that a passage to France would not be allowed. This intelligence roused the drooping courage of the French, who were now rendered desperate by necessity; and Kleber prepared anew to dispute the possession of the country he had so lately been willing to evacuate. Whether Sir Sydney was, or was not furnished with powers to treat, it soon became evident how politic it would have been to have ratified his convention, the violation of which incurred an expenditure of many millions of treasure, and the loss of many thousands of lives, in the expedition which it was afterwards found necessary to send out for the re-conquest of Egypt.

No sooner was Sir Sydney Smith informed of the disapproval of the treaty by his government, than he gave notice of the rupture to the French general at Cairo. On the faith of the convention, the Turkish army had advanced as far as Heliopolis, where the French accordingly met and totally defeated it. Sir Sydney's honourable frankness towards the enemy so much displeased the Turks, that, on the arrival of the British army to co-operate in the reduction of Egypt, the Captain Pacha insisted on the recal of Sir Sydney. The Turks probably never forgave that generous honesty which would not betray an enemy, and they attributed to him the defeat of the Grand Vizier at Heliopolis.

Notwithstanding the honourable conduct of Sir Sydney in a great variety of instances during his services in Egypt, he was not exempt from a considerable share of abuse on the part of his illustrious opponent; and direct charges against him were openly promulgated, as the following will shew:—

“ The General-in-Chief to the Chief of the Etat-Major General.”

“ The commander of the English squadron before Acre having had the barbarity to embark on board a vessel

vessel which was infected with the plague the French prisoners made in the two tartans, laden with ammunition, which he took near Caiffa; having been remarked at the head of the barbarians in the sortie which took place on the 18th, and the English flag having been at the same time flying over many towers in the place; the barbarous conduct which the besieged displayed in cutting off the heads of the two volunteers which were killed, must be attributed to the English commander;—a conduct which is very opposite to the honours which have been paid to English officers and soldiers found upon the field of battle, and to the attentions which have been shewn to the wounded, and to prisoners. The English being those who defend and provision Acre, the horrible conduct of Ghezzar, who caused to be strangled and thrown into the water, with their hands tied behind their backs, more than 200 Christians, inhabitants of this country, among whom was the secretary of the French Consul, must be equally attributed to this officer; since, from circumstances, the Pacha found himself entirely dependent upon him. This officer, besides, having refused to execute any of the articles of exchange established between the two powers, and his proposals in all the communications which have taken place; and his conduct, since the time he has been cruising here, having been that of a madman; my desire is, that you order the different commanders on the coast to give up all communication with the English fleet actually cruising in these seas.”

(Signed)

“BUONAPARTE.”

Sir Robert Wilson, in animadverting upon the charges here exhibited against Sir Sydney, says, “Many, perhaps, will think them too contemptible to be noticed; but there are others, who, infatuated with Buonaparte, instance grounds for recrimination. I therefore shall briefly observe, first, as to the massacre of the Christians, that Ghezzar Pacha, previous to the disembarkation of any individual from the English ships, caused thirty men in the French interest to be strangled, foreseeing that resistance would be made to the act, if not perpetrated before Sir Sydney’s landing. That the embarkation of prisoners in vessels infected with the plague is a ludicrous charge; for would Sir Sydney, in that case, have placed

placed an English guard over them. So contrary, however, is the fact, that some French sick embarked afterwards at Jaffa for Damietta in eight or ten tartans, having heard of the kind treatment their comrades experienced, stood out to the Tigre, then cruising off, and surrendered themselves. The charge of cutting off the heads of dead men is frivolous; besides, how could Sir Sydney abolish the practice? and it is urged with some effrontery by the man who a short time since butchered in cold blood near 4000 Turks. The abusive part is too low to be noticed; but I will exalt the victorious adversary of Buonaparte even higher than his character has yet reached, by relating, that when Sir Sydney found that the French had raised the siege of Acre, he sailed for Jaffa, off which place he stood close in with the shore, and saw a body of the enemy filing into the town. Immediately he cannonaded what he supposed was an enemy, and his shot evidently did considerable execution; at last, by his glass, he perceived that the column he was attacking consisted of only wounded and sick men riding on camels, almost all the soldiers having bandages on some of their limbs, when he immediately ordered the firing to cease, and allowed the whole convoy to pass unmolested—a trait which must secure to him the gratitude of Frenchmen, and the love of his own countrymen.”

Many other instances of the philanthropy and benevolence of Sir Sydney Smith, even to his enemies, during his command in the Mediterranean, might be adduced; but the following shall suffice. An account, published by the French themselves, stated, that in September 1800, a flag of truce arrived at Barcelona, from Port Mahon, bringing thither more than 100 prisoners, Spaniards, Ligurians, and French, rescued by our countrymen from the cruel hands of the French. Among those captives was M. Thevenard, whose father resided at Toulon. He had belonged to the French army in Egypt: his brother had fallen in the battle of Aboukir; and he himself had languished in captivity for some time, till Sir Sydney became apprised of his distressed situation. He immediately made every exertion to procure his release, and with success; but his generosity did not stop here, he supplied him with necessaries, with money, with recommendations to various persons at Constantinople, and afterwards

afterwards caused him to be conveyed to Rhodes, in a vessel purposely equipped for his use. The conduct of Sir Sydney on this occasion was acknowledged with the utmost gratitude by the French; and the following letter, selected from among many others equally benevolent, was published in the French papers.

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Sir Sydney Smith to Captain Gabriel Thevenard.

“On board the Tigre, June 15, 1800.

“M. Thevenard is requested to come and dine with Sir Sydney Smith on board the Tigre, this day, at three o'clock. Sir Sydney takes the liberty to send some clothes, which he supposes a person just escaped from prison may require. The great-coat is not of the best; but, excepting English naval uniforms, it is the only one on board the Tigre, and the same Sir Sydney wore during his journey from the Temple, till he reached the sea: it will have done good service if it again serves a similar purpose, by restoring another son to the arms of his aged father dying with chagrin.”

How different this from the treatment he had himself experienced when under similar circumstances!

In 1801, when a powerful British military force was sent to Egypt, Sir Sydney Smith was one of the naval officers appointed to co-operate with the army, at the head of a detachment of seamen; and the commander-in-chief bore the most honourable testimony to his merits, as having been “indefatigable in his exertions to forward the service on which he was employed.” In this service, he received a wound in the battle of the 21st of March (which proved fatal to the lamented Abercrombie); but it was not so material as to deprive his brave colleagues of his assistance.

Being soon afterwards prevented, by the jealousy of the Turks, from any further participation in this contest, Sir Sydney returned to England. On his arrival, the corporation of London (whose public-spirited remuneration of naval valour should not be passed over unnoticed) resolved to bestow on him the freedom of the city, and to accompany it with the present of a valuable sword. Accordingly, on the 7th of December 1801, the hero attended at Guildhall, to be invested with the civic privileges

leges of which he had been deemed worthy, and to receive the symbol of valour he had so justly merited. On this occasion the Chamberlain addressed him in the following terms:—

“ Sir Sydney Smith, I give you joy in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the city of London, in common council assembled, and present you the thanks of the court for your gallant and successful defence of St. Jean d’Acre, against the desperate attack of the French army under the command of General Buonaparte: and, as a farther testimony of the sense the court entertains of your great display of valour on that occasion, I have the honour to present you with the freedom of the city, and this sword. [*Sir Sydney received the sword, and pressed it with fervour to his lips.*] I will not, Sir, attempt a panegyric upon an action to which the first oratorical powers in the most eloquent assemblies have been confessed unequal; but I cannot help exulting, on this happy occasion, at the vast national reputation acquired by your conduct, at the head of a handful of Britons, in repulsing him who has been justly styled the Alexander of the day, surrounded by a host of conquerors, till then deemed invincible. By this splendid achievement you frustrated the designs of the foe on our eastern territories, prevented the overthrow of the Ottoman power in Asia, the downfall of its throne in Europe, and prepared the way for that treaty of peace, which, it is devoutly to be wished, may long preserve the tranquillity of the universe, and promote friendship and good-will among all nations. It must be highly gratifying to every lover of his country, that this event should have happened on the very spot where a gallant English monarch formerly displayed such prodigies of valour, that a celebrated historian recording his actions, struck with the stupendous instances of prowess displayed by that heroic prince, suddenly exclaimed, ‘Am I writing history or romance?’ Had, Sir, that historian survived to witness what has recently happened at St. Jean d’Acre, he would have exultingly resigned his doubts, and generously have confessed, that actions no less extraordinary than those performed by the gallant Cœur de Lion have been achieved by Sir Sydney Smith.”

Peace now produced a temporary suspension of the active professional exertions of our hero; who, at the general election in 1802, aspired for the first time to a seat in the House of Commons. After canvassing Rochester, which had chosen Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and a great number of other celebrated naval commanders, for its representatives, he determined to become a candidate. He attained the object of his ambition; for, at the conclusion of the election, his name stood at the head of the poll.

On the renewal of hostilities in the following year, Sir Sydney was appointed to the *Antelope* of 50 guns, with the command of a flying squadron. In April 1804, he received the appointment of Colonel of Marines. On the 16th of the following month he had a smart action with a French flotilla which had left Flushing for the purpose of forming a junction with that at Ostend; but, notwithstanding the vigorous measures adopted by the Commodore, and the squadron under his command, the greatest part of their vessels reached the place of their destination; a circumstance which could only be imputed to the disadvantages to which the English ships were subjected in consequence of the shallowness of the water, and the effect of the enemy's battering and field-artillery on shore. By these causes he was prevented from taking possession of several of the enemy's vessels which had struck their colours. One, however, was captured, and three schooners and a schuyt were sunk. The loss sustained by the British squadron amounted to 13 killed, and 32 wounded.

It was probably the disappointment he experienced in this instance that led him to direct his thoughts toward the construction of vessels capable of acting in shallow water, and fit for transporting artillery and troops; for, in September following, we find him, at Dover, making experiments with two vessels of his own contrivance, called the *Gemini* and *Cancer*, which were said perfectly to answer all the purposes for which they were designed. These were the kind of vessels called *carcases*, or *cata-marans*, with which it was attempted to destroy the Boulogne flotilla.

On the 9th of November 1805, Sir Sydney attained to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue. Early the following

lowing year he hoisted his flag on board the *Pompée*, of 80 guns, one of the ships he had himself been instrumental in carrying away from Toulon in 1793. In her he proceeded to the Mediterranean, where Lord Collingwood placed a small squadron under his orders to annoy the French in their newly-conquered kingdom of Naples. On his arrival, he had the satisfaction to find that the gallant Prince of Hesse still held out in the fortress of Gaeta; but, being without succour, Sir Sydney's first care was to supply him with the most essential articles for the defence of that important place. Conceiving that he could best co-operate with the governor by drawing off some of the attacking force to Naples, the Rear-Admiral proceeded thither in the *Pompée*, accompanied by the *Excellent*, *Intrepid*, and *Athenian*. The city was just then illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte proclaiming himself King of the Two Sicilies. "It would have been easy," says Sir Sydney, "to have interrupted this ceremony and shew of festivity: but I considered that the unfortunate inhabitants had evil enough on them; that the restoration of the capital to its lawful sovereign, and its fugitive inhabitants, would be no gratification, if it should be found a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones; and that, as I had no force to land and keep order in case of the French army retiring to the fortresses, I should leave an opulent city a prey to the licentious part of the community, who would not fail to profit by the confusion the flames would occasion." Swayed by these motives of genuine humanity, the Rear-Admiral would not suffer a single gun to be fired. But no such consideration prevented his attempting to dislodge the French garrison from Capri, the possession of which was of considerable importance to the enemy: he accordingly summoned the commandant to surrender; and, on his refusal, a party of seamen and marines were landed. In the conflict which ensued, the French commandant fell, on which the second in command thought fit to accept the terms proposed by Sir Sydney. A capitulation was signed; and the garrison was allowed to march out and pass over to Massa, on the Neapolitan coast, with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander. After the acquisition of this important post, Sir Sydney continued on the

same station, engaged either in co-operating with the army on shore, or in annoying the enemy's coast wherever opportunity offered.

Napoleon, in 1807, having declared that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, a French army was dispatched to Portugal to enforce this decree; in consequence of which the Prince Regent, with the Queen his mother, his family, and a great number of the lords of his court, emigrated to Brazil, in South America. Sir Sydney Smith had the honour of conveying this illustrious party to their destination; since which no opportunity has been afforded him of distinguishing himself, and peace will probably long suspend his active exertions.

Sir Sydney's mother was Miss Mary Wilkinson, daughter of Pinkney Wilkinson, an opulent merchant, who had another daughter married to the late Lord Camelford. The union between Sir Sydney's father and mother, which took place in 1760, being effected without the consent of Mr. Wilkinson, the great property left by that gentleman devolved on Lady Camelford. Previous to Mr. Wilkinson's death, Sir Sydney and his brother being withdrawn from his protection, he cancelled a codicil to his will, by which he had made some provision for them.

Memoirs
OF
GENERAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM SCHAW
VISCOUNT CATHCART, K.T.

THIS highly distinguished officer was born at Petersham, the 17th of September 1753, and was educated at Eton; which college he left at an earlier period than usual to accompany his father, Lieutenant-General Charles Lord Cathcart, in 1768, to Russia, his Lordship being appointed ambassador to that court. During a stay of four years at that court, the subject of our present Memoir had continual access to the manège of a Russian nobleman, which contained the finest horses; and, profiting by the instructions of a most excellent riding-master, he attained great perfection both in the theory and practice of horsemanship.

On his return to England, he studied law at the university of Glasgow, and became an excellent classical scholar. On this foundation, perseverance and abilities enabled him even to be called to the Scotch bar, in a most creditable manner. This, however, was not the sphere in which he was born to shine; and in the year 1777, having come to his title, his Lordship's natural and hereditary genius for the art of war broke forth, and he commenced his military career in North America, by joining the 17th regiment of Light Dragoons, at Philadelphia, in which he commanded a troop. The army, during the winter of the year 1778, was not in a state of much activity; but the light troops were greatly harassed; and the zeal and activity of Lord Cathcart, as a partisan, are recorded in the orders of that period. Soon after Sir Henry Clinton succeeded to the command of the army, he appointed Lord Cathcart one of his aides-de-camp, with Lord Moira; and a firm friendship was cemented between these two gallant officers. On the return of
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the army to New York, several provincial corps were raised, and the command of one was presented by Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Cathcart, with the rank of Colonel in the Provincial army. This corps was composed of both horse and foot; but his Lordship's modesty would not allow him to adopt the usual custom, of having it called by his own name, and he styled it "The British Legion." As it was not supposed that this rank would be confirmed on officers holding two commissions, being desired to abide by one, his Lordship retained his situation in the line, after having acquired great credit in the command of the British Legion, under Sir William Erskine, and resigned it to his Lieutenant-Colonel, now General Tarleton, whom he had sought out, and whose fame and glory were acquired at the head of this corps.

In 1779, his Lordship married Miss Elliot, daughter of Andrew Elliot, Esq. of New York; and by this alliance his Lordship has had a numerous family. Towards the end of this year he was appointed Acting Quarter-Master-General to the army, and evinced his capability to fill that important department by the very able manner in which he superintended the embarkation of the troops on the expedition to Charlestown.

The climate of Carolina, however, was found so prejudicial to the health of Lord Cathcart, that he was obliged to quit it previous to the fall of Charlestown. The sea-voyage recovered him; and, on his return to New York, his Lordship was enabled to take the command of the 38th regiment, wherein he held the rank of Major, and distinguished himself in an affair at Long Island. A relapse obliged him to return to England; and, soon after his arrival in this country, his Lordship purchased a company in the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, and for some years held the command of the grenadier company; in which situation he gained the esteem of his illustrious Colonel, the present Commander-in-chief, and this he has ever since retained. In 1788 he was elected one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and in 1790 appointed Chairman of the Committees of the House of Lords. The legal education Lord Cathcart had received, eminently qualified his Lordship for the dispatch of business connected with the latter appointment;

ment; and it acquired him much approbation from those who had bills to pass through that House. As Lord Cathcart experienced much inconvenience from having two duties of importance to discharge in London, his Lordship exchanged into the line, and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 29th regiment, then commanded by his old school-fellow and friend, Lord Harrington. The rigid attention Lord Cathcart observed to the system of his Colonel, and to all his wishes, rendered that regiment a most perfect model of the new system of tactics. The 29th was quartered at Windsor for two years; and these two officers were so highly favoured by his Majesty, that on the death of Lord Dover, Colonel of the 1st regiment of Life Guards, the King, in the most handsome manner, at his card party, announced to Lord Harrington his succession to the vacant regiment, and Lord Cathcart to the Colonelcy of the 29th, before either had heard of the vacancy. In 1793, the Earl of Moira being appointed to the command of an expedition destined for *La Vendée*, Lord Cathcart received the rank of Brigadier, and commanded the advance of a most rapid march made from Ostend to join his Royal Highness the Duke of York, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and danger; this little band, of about 8000 men, having, by these manœuvres, to effect a junction with the illustrious Duke, who was surrounded by three armies, all superior in point of number to that under the command of his Royal Highness.

The rank of Lord Cathcart and Lord Moira interfering with that of other officers in the army under the Duke of York, they both returned to England. The Earl of Moira immediately repaired to Southampton, for the purpose of forming another army intended to act in Brittany, and Lord Cathcart received the command of a large body of cavalry: no officer was better qualified to perfect it in the new system, as was evinced by the forward state of discipline to which, in a short period, his Lordship brought these troops.

From Southampton Lord Cathcart was suddenly ordered to join his Royal Highness the Duke of York in Holland. The winter campaign of 1794 and 1795 was a most severe one, and Lord Cathcart very much distinguished himself in an affair at Thurl. The last stages of the

the retreat through Holland were the most difficult and harassing; and a very principal share of it was entrusted to Lord Cathcart, who acquitted himself with much credit and satisfaction to his illustrious Commander-in-chief. Lord Cathcart was left in Germany with the command of a brigade of light cavalry, in an army of instruction, under the orders of Sir David Dundas. His Lordship was also appointed to the command of some German corps, and to organize Loyalist French corps: with all he was popular and successful. A foreigner remarked to the King his having heard Lord Cathcart give the word of command to his corps in English, German, and French, with equal facility: but these are not the only languages in which his Lordship is versed; he possesses a knowledge of the greater part of those spoken on the continent.

On Lord Cathcart's return to England his Lordship was placed on the Staff at Weymouth, and held that appointment until his Majesty presented him with the Colonelcy of the 2d regiment of Life-Guards. In this corps there existed a wide field for improvement and amelioration, and Lord Cathcart devoted himself to accomplish its perfection. A few years of his Lordship's efforts produced a regiment of such men on horseback, as to gain the admiration of every scientific beholder.

In 1803, Lord Cathcart, now a Lieutenant-General, held the command of the Home District, at a period when arrangements of defence were concerting with the lieutenantcy of each county. At all the meetings which were occasioned by these proceedings, and by his arrangements, Lord Cathcart gave further proofs of being a most valuable officer. The following interesting letter and plan relative to the fortification of London was delivered by Lord Cathcart, the 17th July 1803, to the Marquis of Tichfield:—

“ It is in the contemplation of his Majesty's government to provide the most effectual means for securing the metropolis from the invasion of an enemy, who, favoured by extraordinary fortune of war, might not only have eluded the dispositions made by land and sea to resist invasion, but, being landed in superior force, should, through the same fortune, be enabled to penetrate into the country, near enough to the capital, at least to occasion

casion apprehensions for its security, if there were no precautions taken, and no plan made for its protection. Such a plan must not only be thoroughly digested, but must actually be put in a state of preparation sufficient to insure the practicability of its being carried into effect the moment the appearance of danger may justify the expence and inconvenience, small as these objects may be. Although the completion of the operations proposed may for the present be postponed, it is nevertheless indispensably necessary to proceed, without the delay of an hour, to make certain preparatory arrangements, through the aid of the Lords Lieutenants of the adjacent counties; and even to mark out some ground relied upon, in case of necessity, for the construction of field-works and batteries. His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief has, in the course of last war, directed his thoughts to the consideration of this subject. A most accurate military survey has been made, under the inspection of an officer of the greatest eminence and professional skill and experience. The situation of every necessary work, battery, and line, has been ascertained; the necessary guns and troops to guard and defend these works have been calculated, as well as the number of hands necessary to complete them within a given period. The whole arrangement has undergone consideration and revisal for years, and is ripe for execution. It must afford the greatest satisfaction to every well-wisher to his country to know, that, in the opinion of all professional men who have been consulted, the means which nature has afforded to the cities of London and Westminster of providing for their security, are beyond what have been found in the case of almost any city in the universe; that, with due attention to the advantages to be made by such positions as encircle them, and with the armed force which may be collected for their defence, and that amply supplied with provisions, this capital may bid defiance to any invading force, at least until ample time is given for the arrival of such a power from the country as, when combined with the force within the lines, must be much more than sufficient to exterminate any army that could be transported to England. Part of the line of defence alluded to in what has been said, runs through the county of Middlesex in a semicircular form, begin-

ning at the Thames near the mouth of the river Lea, and ending at the Thames above and near to Battersea Bridge. It passes in its northern and north-western direction through Stratford-le-Bow, and near Clapton, along the high grounds which bound the marshes on the right or western bank of the river Lea, as far as the neighbourhood of Stamford Hill; when it quits the Lea and takes a western course, passing from near the turnpike on Stamford Hill by Hornsey Wood, to the ridge extending by Mount Pleasant, over the village of Crouch-End, and from thence, by the Sheep-house ridge, to Highgate and adjacents; from thence, by Hampstead and adjacents, towards Willsdon Green; here it changes its direction to the south-west and south, running down to the canal near the Red House, then crossing the canal near Kensal Green, proceeding to Kensington Gravel-pits and Holland House, passing near Little Chelsea, and reaching the Thames above Battersea Bridge. The Lord Lieutenant having appointed a general meeting of the lieutenancy of the county of Middlesex to be held on the 18th instant, for the purpose of carrying into effect certain provisions of an act passed this session of parliament, entitled 'An act to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war;' it becomes the duty of Lieutenant-General Lord Cathcart, in consequence of orders given to him by his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, as commanding the district in which that part of the county of Middlesex through which the intended lines of defence pass, is situated, to communicate with the Lord Lieutenant on this subject; and to request, that, in framing the arrangements for the country divisions of the county of Middlesex, under the powers of the above-recited act, according to the plan of establishing a system of communication, and another plan for rendering the body of the people instrumental to the general defence, proposed by his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the war department, the Lord Lieutenant will be pleased to hold in view the peculiar circumstances of the intended construction of the lines of defence. Whatever assistance might be rendered from the metropolis itself, or from the adjacent and inland counties without the line, in the event of completing the

the works (and such assistance would doubtless be amply and systematically afforded), it is essentially requisite, for the sake of order, expedition, and regularity of payment, as well as protection of property, that all preparatory and incipient operation should be made through the assistance of the inhabitants resident upon and near the line of defence; for this reason it is to be wished, that in appointing the Lieutenants of Divisions and Inspectors of Hundreds, provision may be made to ascertain as many points of communication near the residence of Lieutenants of Divisions, or of Inspectors of Hundreds, as possible, the same being contiguous to, or within reach of the line. If the residence of gentlemen accepting charges of Lieutenants or Inspectors do not suit this purpose, the inconvenience may be obviated by appointing inns, or places near inns, where post-horses may be had, and where letters or requisitions may be addressed, and received and forwarded to the responsible person. These places will also serve for rendezvous to the superintendants of parishes, who will also have places of meeting for the agents they employ in their respective parishes. Thus a system of most expeditious communication will be established between the commanding general and the lieutenancy, and between the lieutenancy and the parishioners of the parishes in the adjacent hundreds: opportunities will be given to make those who are expected to comply with requisitions, clearly understand the nature of the requisitions likely to be proposed to them, and to know the places where individuals may be desired to assemble, or where materials may be collected and deposited. With such confidential persons, implements necessary for works of this sort, but not otherwise to be found, will be deposited: through their means, in a few hours, the whole power of the parish may be collected; or, in the first instance, a few hands to mark out ground: and, lastly, through their means, proper notice and communication may be given or made to the owners and occupiers of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, intended to be measured, surveyed, or marked for the lines of defence, or any of the purposes of the above recited act. The same arrangements will also facilitate the payment of such labour or materials as may be furnished. In the next place, and as soon as the system of

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communication is completed, it will be necessary, with the utmost dispatch, to prepare the registers of the parishes near the above-mentioned line; which must be made with reference to the object of the line of defence, as well as to the other objects set forth in the Secretary of State's letter. Those registers must specify resident gentlemen, willing to attend to animate and encourage the work, or given parts of the line; gardeners, and others, expert in, or habituated to, laying off and measuring ground, with remarks distinguishing superior abilities; smiths, and master and journeymen carpenters and sawyers; timber-merchants willing to supply timber for platforms, and fit persons to overlook their construction and erection; carts and teams; labourers and tools; men who have been trained to great guns; the few men in each division who would first be wanted to mark and measure ground, and proper attendants for that purpose, with carts and stakes. When it is reflected upon, it must strike every inhabitant, that it must be much more agreeable to have a survey, or preparation of this sort, made by neighbours and acquaintances, in many cases by their own servants and labourers, than by strangers. But the object and its advantages are equally lost, if the utmost dispatch and celerity are not used in making all previous arrangements; and in proportion as these arrangements are completed, the security of the metropolis is insured."

About the autumn of 1803, Lord Cathcart was dispatched to Ireland, as Commander-in-chief of the forces in that country, an invasion being apprehended. On his Lordship's arrival, his usual promptitude and discernment soon placed all things on the best footing; and, availing himself of the favourable opportunity, he formed camps of instruction, on a very extensive scale, on the Curragh of Kildare. In these a foundation of discipline was laid, that has tended to the perfection and successes of our armies in all parts; and Lord Cathcart's popularity in Ireland, with the benefits he rendered to that country, are still fondly remembered there.

In the autumn of 1805, Lord Cathcart was sent to Russia as ambassador, and his Lordship's appointment was framed in a military form. On arriving in London, previous to his departure, he had much intercourse with

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Mr. Pitt, with whom he had always been on intimate terms; and that lamented statesman always placed the highest confidence in him. After several arrangements, his Lordship was finally sent to take the command of the British army in Hanover. By his well-timed management he acquired an entire ascendancy over the senate of Bremen, and obtained all that was necessary to the establishment of his head-quarters in that city. The Russian army was at this period combined with the British; and Lord Cathcart perfectly succeeded in conciliating General Benningsen and all his officers. The fatal battle of Austerlitz changed the aspect of affairs; and that event was soon followed by the death of Mr. Pitt. The new administration, formed on the latter event, determined to recall the army. Lord Cathcart stated fifteen days as the period required for embarkation; and though it generally happens that such calculations are exceeded, in this case Lord Cathcart, the last man, embarked on the thirteenth day. His Lordship's next appointment was Commander of the forces in Scotland, and he remained in that situation till May 1807, when he was sent for by the Duke of Portland's administration to be again employed on foreign service. His first mission was to the King of Sweden; afterwards his Lordship was directed to join Lord Gambier, and proceed against Copenhagen.

The result of this expedition is well known, and has been fully detailed in our Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington. His Lordship's conduct throughout the whole of this short campaign was marked with a high degree of honourable feeling; and the following letter, in answer to one he had received from the Danish general, exhibits incontestible proofs of a superior mind.

Letter addressed by Lieutenant-General Lord Cathcart to Major-General Peymann, the Commandant of Copenhagen, previous to the commencement of the siege of that city.

Head-Quarters, Aug. 20th, 1807.

"SIR—Your letter of the 18th did not come into my hands till late last night. The passport for Prince Frederick Ferdinand, with his retinue, is given on the same principle with those which have already been sent; but it must be strictly limited to the persons described.

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An irregularity is reported to me to have occurred on the part of the bearer of your letter: it will be of reciprocal convenience that such circumstances should not occur. Every mark of respectful attention having been paid to the illustrious persons related to the blood royal of Denmark, and due regard having been shewn to the household and equipage of his Danish Majesty, circumstances imperiously demand that a stop must now be put to the departure of any person whatever from the metropolis. In making this communication, I cannot refrain from availing myself of this opportunity of representing, in my own name, as well as in that of the Admiral commanding his Majesty's fleet, to the most serious consideration of your Excellency, the existing state of affairs at Copenhagen, which are drawing to an awful crisis. If this city—the capital of Denmark—the residence of the King, and of his royal court and government—the seat of learning, and the rendezvous of commerce—full of inhabitants of all ranks, ages, and sexes, will put itself on the footing of a fortress besieged, it must be attacked by all the means which may appear best calculated for its reduction, as soon as orders are given to that purpose; and when such is the case, the officers employed have no choice but to use every effort to take the place. The attack of a city so rich and populous, cannot fail to be attended by consequences most destructive in preparation, as well as in final execution, to the persons and property of individuals. Impelled by the necessity of the case, our government has at the same time supplied positive orders and ample means to attack by sea and land, in case of refusal on the part of Denmark to treat in an amicable manner. The preparations are, perhaps, in a more forward state than you imagine. For God's sake, Sir, let it be calmly considered, whether resistance may not lead to the destruction of the very treasure you wish to preserve; and whether, under the circumstances of the present dispute, the praise of displaying the valour, for which every body is prepared to give you credit, will compensate the ruin and destruction inseparable from the siege of a capital city, and the ultimate loss or destruction of your fleet and arsenal, which might be avoided. Property of every kind without the walls has been respected; you must know likewise, that other objects,
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and of the greatest national importance to the power of Denmark, are within my grasp, and have remained hitherto unremoved: this is a state of things which cannot continue. I mean not to offend you by any thing like a menace; but I exhort your Excellency and your council to think seriously of the irreparable loss which the operation of a few days may occasion, but which might still be averted. I have the honour to be, with the greatest personal consideration, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "CATHCART, Lieut.-Gen."

On Lord Cathcart's return, his Majesty was pleased to create him an English Viscount for his important services, and he forthwith resumed his command in Scotland; where he continued till May 1812, when he was again called upon to be employed on another mission to Petersburg.

From this time we find his Lordship constantly employed in all the various military operations of the Russian armies, the result of which has proved so beneficial to the human race. His dispatches to the English government were written with great clearness and perspicuity; indeed, his Lordship's selection for this important situation was universally approved: his abilities are consummate; his powers of persuasion great; his activity of body and mind cannot be exceeded. In subordinate command it was always Lord Cathcart's merit to preserve unity of system, by the strictest conformity to the wishes of his superiors; to those under him, a behaviour conciliatory and gentlemanly, which obtains the esteem of all: and his Lordship may, on the ground of the many noble qualifications he so fortunately enjoys, be correctly styled an ornament to the British peerage.

Memoirs
OF
GENERAL SARRAZIN.

FOR the interesting Memoirs of General Sarrazin we have the best authority, the General himself having furnished the world with his own life in his celebrated work entitled "*The Philosopher*," which was written during his residence in this country, where he fled for refuge against the resentment of Napoleon; we shall therefore give it in his own words.

" Born in France the 15th of August 1770, Captain of Infantry in 1792, Engineer in 1794, Colonel of the 14th regiment of dragoons in 1796, General in 1798, and exchanged by the English government as a Lieutenant-General, the 8th of October 1798, for the English general Sir Harry Burrard, an ensign, a serjeant, and five soldiers; I received orders from the Directory to repair to the army of Italy, commanded by General Joubert. No sooner arrived at this destination, than I was entrusted with the command of a column, consisting of eight battalions, to join the army of Rome, commanded by General Championnet. The Neapolitan army having been beaten, was pursued by the French, who took possession of Naples. This movement leaving defenceless the Roman states, where a spirit of disaffection was general, determined the General-in-chief to leave at Rome the reinforcement I had brought him.

" It was not long before the great propriety of this measure was made apparent. Civita Vecchia rose up in arms, and I received orders to march and bring the inhabitants to submission. The chief command of this expedition was confided to General Merlin, a good grenadier, but totally unacquainted with the art of war. After having invested and reconnoitred the place, I designed to

to open the trench, and proceed according to the rules prescribed for sieges. The General, having seen the commencement of the first parallel, fell into a strong fit of laughter, and asked if I was making graves to bury our troops alive? 'I am waiting for fifty ladders that are to be sent from Rome,' said this stupid commander; 'and the very evening they shall arrive, I will carry the place without removing a handful of earth:' he then ordered the workmen away. The ladders came: in vain had I represented to him, that the place was too strong to be taken by a scalade; my remonstrances were disregarded. The 62d regiment twice attempted to scale the ramparts, but was driven back with the loss of 600 killed or wounded. Two days previous to this silly and rash operation, I had been sent for to Naples by General Championnet.

"All the environs of Salerno were occupied by the Neapolitan insurgents. After having subdued Cithara, a village upon the sea-coast between Salerno and Amalfi, I marched upon Santa Lucia, near Nocera, in the high road from Lacava to Naples. Twenty thousand insurgents, half of them armed with firelocks, were stationed upon the heights lying to the east of Santa Lucia. I had only with me the 30th regiment of infantry, and the 19th regiment of horse chasseurs, with a company of light artillery. At the very moment I was going to attack them, a Neapolitan on horseback appeared at some distance from our advanced posts, and laid down a basket, which I sent to take up; it contained the virile members of some French soldiers, with this written paper—'We are ten to one; before twenty-four hours are elapsed, you will all have experienced the same fate as the brigands of whom we herewith send you a sample.'

"I had no occasion to harangue the troops; it was quite enough to shew them the contents of the basket. I forbade any firing till we were upon the heights, where the enemy was encamped, and which was ascended in a charging step; every thing that opposed us was overthrown; our cavalry stationed upon the highway to pursue the runaways, made them repent of their cruelty, the more so as those who had been so barbarously murdered were almost all of the 19th regiment of Chasseurs. I was upon the point of taking Nocera by storm, when

the principal inhabitants, with the bishop at their head in his pontifical robes, were announced to me. The troops requested orders to attack with loud outcries, that they might plunder the town guilty of the assassination of their comrades. I succeeded in calming their indignation, and it was agreed upon to allow a gratification to the soldiers. This event took place on the 1st of March 1799. General Macdonald wrote me a very obliging letter upon the success of this operation, with orders to repair to the Pouille, a province of the kingdom of Naples, to replace General Broussier, recalled to France, and implicated in the disgrace of General Championnet. When Broussier gave me up the papers of his command, he noticed to me a list of contributions, which he had required in consequence of his instructions; they were very exactly paid. These riches were likely to have been fatal to me, and to my troops.

“ A man-of-war, called *Le Genereux*, which had escaped from the battle of Aboukir, had landed at Brindisi a battalion of the 8th regiment of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Godard. The very day this intelligence reached me, I received orders from General Macdonald immediately to evacuate La Pouille, and to repair to Naples by forced marches. The disaster of Scherer upon the Adige rendering the co-operation of the army of Naples necessary to make head against the Austro-Russians, I immediately wrote to Colonel Godard to hold himself in readiness to effect a junction with me, and to take proper measures to make a brisk sally either by day or night, as soon as he should hear the firing of six pieces of cannon at the interval of a minute between each. I was at Bari, which is three good days' march from Brindisi. I took the choice of my column, consisting of 3000 infantry, 600 dragoons, and the company of light artillery: I left the remainder with the treasure in garrison at Bari. The third day of the march, being still within three leagues of Brindisi, whilst my troops were making a halt in order to prepare for an engagement, I ordered the signal agreed on to be given. It turned out that it was unnecessary, as at that moment the arrival was announced to me of the garrison, with their Colonel Godard, who came to me with tears of joy, from my having snatched him from inevitable death. They had been surrounded

rounded by 10,000 of the insurgents under the orders of Cardinal Ruffo, who had refused entering into any kind of treaty with them, replying to all their proposals, that they should all be put to the sword, to revenge the death of so many unfortunate people slaughtered at Trani and Andria, two considerable towns, which had been taken by storm, and pillaged under General Broussier.

“ As I had not a moment to lose, I retrograded to Bari. The troops of the Cardinal, who upon news of my arrival had raised the blockade of Brindisi, conveyed themselves with rapidity towards Matera and Ponte de Bovino, to take possession of the passes of the Apennines, which General Oliver, who had occupied them, had abandoned, to join Macdonald. My letter, which was to inform him of my movement towards Brindisi, only reached him at Avellino, and he continued his march towards Naples. I was greatly blamed for not having executed my orders, as they then concluded me lost with all my troops, who amounted to 6000 men. I was surrounded by 60,000 peasants, of whom 30,000 men were posted upon the Apennines. My position was critical. It was held out to me, that, if I would restore the contributions I had in possession, they would leave the road free for me to rejoin the army. The perspective they had given the garrison of Brindisi, made me appreciate such a proposition at its just value; for, when they had received the money, it would only have rendered them more insolent and more enterprising. I had recourse to stratagem.

“ My conduct had made me friends. I had endeavoured, by mild proceedings, to obliterate the remembrance of my predecessor's barbarous conduct. I proposed to establish myself chief of the country, subordinate to the King of Naples, one of whose governors I meant to become, as soon as the grand army should have quitted the kingdom. I ordered a general meeting at Bitonto, of all the magistrates of provinces between the Apennines and the Adriatic Sea. Many chiefs of the insurgents repaired thither; they appeared to be sincere. The conferences lasted three days. That the deputies might not be frightened, I had only kept with me 400 dragoons, and three pieces of light artillery; the re-

mainder of my column, with the treasure, was stationed at Trani and Braletta, associating with the inhabitants in the most cordial manner. The number of deputies was about 200. My design of getting them from guarding the entry of the Apennines was completed. I did not lose a moment in celebrating our reconciliation by a sumptuous feast, the honours of which I had done by four Neapolitan officers, who were not in my confidence. I quitted the guests under the pretext of accompanying a very handsome lady to her lodgings, whom they had destined for me in marriage. My dragoons were on horseback outside of the town. It was near midnight when we put ourselves in march. I rejoined my infantry, and we reached the entry of the Apennines, of which we took possession without touching a trigger, as the insurgents were fully persuaded that every thing was done with the friendly connivance of those of their chiefs who had repaired to Bitonto to negotiate. During this march I caused my column to halt upon the field of battle of *Cannæ*, so celebrated for the victory obtained by Hannibal over the Roman consuls Varro and Paulus Æmilius. This ground is a vast plain, almost uncultivated, terminated on the east by the Adriatic sea, on the north by the plain of Foggia, on the west by the Apennines, and on the south by the river Ofanto, called by the ancients *Aufidus*.

“When my arrival was announced to Macdonald, he was very much astonished, and asked if it was I alone. The state of my troops was related to him, with my whole loss for a month, which did not amount to fifty men, and they chiefly victims to their eagerness for plunder. What caused him perhaps as much pleasure as he had before experienced surprise, was the safe arrival of the contributions. This expedition gave him so favourable an opinion of me, that, though so ill as not to be able to get on horseback, he charged me with the retaking of Castellamare, of which the English had possessed themselves on the 26th of April.

“I attacked the town on the 29th, which was taken after a brisk engagement, and the fort surrendered the same day. I marched upon Sorrento and Massa, which were carried without much resistance. During this expedition, which Macdonald had considered requisite to the
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the more quietly effecting his retreat towards the north of Italy, the army took the direction of Capua, towards Rome. Our march was slow, and our stay in Tuscany very badly calculated.

“The 13th of June 1799, the army marched towards Modena. Macdonald appeared uneasy. The divisions which were to have made an attack, by the way of Bologna, did not arrive. Our troops, huddled together upon the high road, were very much incommoded by the cannonading of the enemy. I had got the ditches sounded which covered the position of the Austrians. I told Macdonald, that if he would give me full liberty, I would in one hour be master of Modena: he had the goodness to answer me, that the manner in which he always treated me, rendered my request unnecessary; and that I might be sure that he would always previously approve whatever I might do, even should I not succeed. Thereupon I immediately ordered to beat the charge; I crossed the ditch with 1500 grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Coutard. I forbade firing, but ordered them to make loud shouts. The Austrians made a charge of musquetry, and retreated into the town, which we entered with them promiscuously.

“The 19th of June, second day of the battle of Trebia, a mere whim saved the army from a complete rout. Whilst I was gone reconnoitring, with the 7th and 19th regiments of horse chasseurs, General Oliver had stationed my infantry nearly upon the border of the Trebia, in a deep hollow. I was very much surprised at this disposition. General Macdonald, who felt that I was in the right, and who wished to excuse General Oliver, said jocularly, that they would be brought nearer again for the distribution of the provisions. After breakfast, which was taken in the open field, I observed, that if the Russians were to attack us in my present position, we should be either taken prisoners, or drowned, without being able to defend ourselves. The reply was, that it was my concern, and that I was free to do what I might conceive most advantageous for the defence of the left bank of the Trebia. It required a long time to get the stragglers together, and to put the arms in condition. It was three o'clock in the afternoon when I commenced my movement; I had not gone a quarter of a league, when I
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fell in with the Russian columns, marching to attack us. The Cossacks, who thought to surprise us, perceiving we were under arms, fell impetuously upon us, making loud shouts. This was the first time I had seen the Russian troops, of which we had frequently received such a dreadful description. General Salm's column, which was upon the left, was attacked and overturned; General Salm was wounded: but his troops rallied on observing the steady countenance of mine.

"A brisk firing having commenced between the vans, the Cossacks pursued their favourite manœuvre, marched themselves upon my rear, between me and the Trebia, with a view of cutting off my communication with the French army. I marched my two regiments of chasseurs in column, by squadrons, towards them in good order and in silence: it was essentially necessary to proceed cautiously, in order to begin with a success, and to reanimate the spirits of my troops, somewhat damped by the reports which had been circulated concerning the daringness, the cunning, and the cruelty of the Russians. The Cossacks were about 1500; I had 1200 chasseurs: as soon as we were within pistol-shot, they wheeled about, and retired at full gallop. The 7th regiment rushed into the midst of them, killed nearly 200, making but few prisoners, as they preferred being killed to surrendering. This action took place on the borders of the Trebia, in presence of the whole French army, who did not fail to shout aloud for joy.

"The contest sustained by the infantry, wore a less satisfactory appearance: the Russians, after the first discharges, attacked us with the bayonet; and, by their superior numbers, as also their audacity, caused us to lose some ground. The cavalry was under the necessity of charging the Russian infantry, which was overthrown; but the second line obliged the cavalry to draw back, and to repass upon the first line, which did it much injury: there might be seen Russian grenadiers mortally wounded, who yet found sufficient strength to take up their musquets, fire them off, or give strokes with their bayonets, till they were overpowered and killed outright. The engagement lasted till ten o'clock at night: we kept possession of the left bank of the Trebia. At the moment that all was nearly over, an howitzer, thrown by
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the Russians, fell by my side, killed my horse and two ordnance chasseurs, and wounded me in the right thigh. Macdonald, who had been informed that I was mortally wounded, came to me as some soldiers were carrying me to Placentia; he expressed his concern, and left me with tears in his eyes. As soon as I learnt that the battle of the following day was lost, I got myself conveyed to Leghorn; whence I proceeded to Genoa by sea. I obtained leave to go to France. Bernadotte had just then been nominated minister of war; he was anxious to have me near him, and entrusted me with the superintendence of the office for the movement of troops, as also for nominations.

“ Bernadotte’s resignation of the ministry of war, the particular circumstances of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, my letters of service for La Vendée, those for the army of the Rhine, under the orders of Moreau, and my command of the camp at St. Renan, near Brest, and at Amiens, would require details too long for the limits I have prescribed myself. I pass over with equal silence my discussions with Murat, now king; my stay at Paris during the peace of Amiens; and my campaigns in America and Germany: I shall find occasion to speak of them elsewhere. The works which I have published since my arrival in London, contain the principal particulars of my commands in 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810, at Ghent, Bruges, Cadzand, and Boulogne. With regard to my stay in England, and of the manner in which I am treated, I shall be able to speak definitively upon the motives of this conduct towards me, only after having obtained a decision from Parliament: till then, all my calculations must be uncertain, that alone excepted which I ground upon the justice of the constituted authorities of the British empire.”

From the period of the General’s leaving England, we have no account of him; and we therefore cannot say whether his renouncing the government of Napoleon has so far obtained the confidence of the present French government, as to entrust him with command in the French army.

Memoirs
OF
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
LORD W. CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

THE many active and important military and diplomatic transactions in which Lord William Bentinck has lately been engaged, give him a strong claim to our notice; and without hesitation, therefore, we hasten to present his Memoirs to our readers.

The illustrious family of Bentinck, following the fortunes of their native prince, our Third William, accompanied him to England at a period the most remarkable, and at the same time the most glorious, in the English annals; when a thorough, a salutary revolution, both in church and state, was happily effected by the consummate wisdom and prudence of our ancestors, without the effusion of a single drop of British blood.

Lieutenant-General Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, son to the late, and next brother of the present Duke of Portland, was born 16th of September 1774. Like all gentlemen who devote themselves to their country, and prefer a military to any other life, his Lordship entered the army when he was very young; but as it was in a time of profound peace, neither could his promotion be rapid, nor could he obtain much of *practical* knowledge in his profession: and with respect to *theory*, it may be said, with the solitary exception of *war*, that every trade, calling, or profession, has one which is peculiar to it; but events occur in warfare of such a nature, attended by such unlooked-for circumstances, bearing an aspect so different from whatever before appeared, and demanding of course such a versatility of talents, of which the most capacious mind of man is susceptible, or rather a concurrence of every talent which can dignify human nature,—that *theory* will be found absolutely inadequate

adequate to the host of difficulties opposed to it. This assertion will be contradicted only by those who are so impenetrably dull, as to think that the individual who has not talents sufficient to fill the most humble department in life is becomingly qualified for the army, in which mere negative talents prove a recommendation.

When the French revolution broke out, a favourable opportunity presented itself; and Lord William accompanied the Duke of York into the field, and, in the distinguished capacity of Aide-de-Camp to his Royal Highness, remained on the continent until the fate of war rendered it necessary for the British troops to return home, after having performed prodigies of valour, and displayed every martial virtue which could extort commendation even from the unprincipled enemy with whom they had to contend.

An aide-de-camp is a most efficient officer in war time: and the general, in selecting a gentleman duly qualified for that post, and in whom he can repose perfect, boundless confidence, may be said to be exerting one of his highest privileges; for, next to himself, the aide-de-camp can promote his views most essentially, in action, by his activity, his well-timed observations, and the precision with which he delivers his orders to the corps which are about to be dislocated, and sent to reinforce a weak point abruptly assailed by superior numbers. During the campaigns of his Royal Highness in French and Austrian Flanders, Holland, Westphalia, &c. &c. Lord William evinced uncommon capability, and abundantly justified his Royal Highness in the choice he had made. On the day of battle he was seen as if flying in every direction, heedless of the shower of balls falling on all sides, displaying at once great presence of mind, much intellectual and superior penetration.

His Lordship was universally beloved and esteemed in the army. Affable and unassuming, urbane in his manners, great suavity of disposition, with an eager wish to forward the interests of those of his acquaintance who applied to him for a portion of his influence, were all admirable qualifications, and calculated to insure respect, esteem, and affection.

It has been observed of the Bentinck family, that they possess more of the solid than of the brilliant in their

nature—that they have more of Saturn than of Mercury in their disposition; and that at the council-table their representations produce much more effect than the long speeches of others, delivered with classical purity, and clothed in all the pomp of ornamented language. The late Duke is said to have been endowed with the very peculiar talent of bringing over to his sentiment, by dint of sound logic, those members of the state, in council assembled, who piqued themselves most on their own mental powers; and Lord William, we are assured, is gifted with similar qualities, and admirably adapted for situations of the greatest importance in the diplomatic line.

We have already remarked, that Lord William Bentinck made his first campaign in Flanders; where the variety of circumstances attending the progress of the British arms at that period, afforded this gallant officer an opportunity of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the profession he had chosen.

During the years 1799 and 1800, Lord William served with the Austrian army, severally commanded by General Suwarrow, General Melas, and General Count Bellegarde; and had the good fortune to be an eye-witness of many important operations. His Lordship was, about this time, also employed in a diplomatic capacity; in which he displayed a considerable talent for business, and an intimate acquaintance with the political views and relations of the continental states.

From the theatre of war in Austria his Lordship proceeded to Egypt; being appointed to command the cavalry of the expedition under Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. But, notwithstanding the utmost dispatch, that glorious campaign was terminated before his arrival.

In 1803, Lord William proceeded to India, as Governor of Madras; and remained in that high situation until the month of October 1807, when he returned to Europe.

A wider field was now about to be opened for the display of his Lordship's political talents: and when the burst of patriotism spread throughout the Peninsula, Lord William Bentinck was selected to proceed on an important mission to the Supreme Junta; where his firmness,

firmness, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, augmented by the convulsed state of the nation, and the reverses sustained by the Spanish arms, proved the high opinion entertained of his Lordship's abilities were not over-rated. Lord William, in the frequent conferences he had with Count Florida Blanca, urged the adoption of such energetic measures as he conceived would prove advantageous to the Spanish cause; but he soon saw, with regret, the supineness with which the Junta beheld the gigantic efforts of Buonaparte to complete the subjugation of their country. Still there was a good disposition in the people, and a patriotism which only wanted a proper and vigorous direction. In a dispatch about the beginning of October, Lord William Bentinck observes, "I am more and more convinced, that a blind confidence in their own strength, and natural slowness, are the rocks upon which this good ship runs the risk of being wrecked." His Lordship's opinion, so emphatically expressed, has proved but too correct, as the events in the Peninsula have evinced the penetration and judgment with which he viewed the actions of the Spaniards. Lord William continued with the Junta, corresponding with his government and Sir John Moore, until the latter end of November, previous to which Mr. Frere had arrived at Aranjuez, as Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain; and General Moore, conceiving that his Lordship's services, now that he was superseded in his diplomatic character, would be useful to the army, was pleased to give him an order to join. The high sense entertained of Lord William's military talents by that distinguished officer, is particularly expressed in his letter to Mr. Frere of the 19th of November 1809, from Salamanca. On that very day Sir John Hope arrived in Madrid, at the pressing instance of his Lordship, in company with whom next morning he waited upon Don Thomas Morla, authorized by the Junta to converse with them upon the state of affairs. Much desultory reasoning passed at this conference; and it was perfectly evident that the Spaniards were altogether without a plan as to their future military operations, either in the case of success or misfortune: and every branch seemed affected by the disjointed and inefficient construction of their government. Don Thomas Morla gave it as his decided opinion, and

stated it as the wish of the Supreme Junta, that, in case the British force was then prevented from forming a junction for the purpose of advancing to undertake offensive operations, a junction of whatever part of that force it might be practicable to bring together should take place in the centre of Spain. Subsequent events having revealed Morla's treachery, there can be no doubt that the above advice was insidiously given.

Immediately after this conversation, Lord William Bentinck proceeded to the army, which he accompanied throughout their calamitous retreat. At the battle of Corunna, his Lordship had an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Owing to local circumstances, the right wing of the British army was placed on very unfavourable ground, and it was of the utmost consequence that this point should be maintained to the last. Lord William Bentinck's brigade, consisting of three incomparable regiments, the 4th, the 42d, and 50th, occupied this important point in the British position; the brigade of Guards were in their rear, and Sir John Moore directed the Honourable Major-General Paget to bring up the reserve to the right of Lord William Bentinck.

Sir David Baird, leading on his division, of which Lord William's brigade formed the right, had his arm shattered with a grape shot, and was obliged to leave the field. The French artillery plunged from the heights, and the two hostile lines of infantry mutually advanced beneath a shower of balls. They were still separated from each other by stone walls, and hedges, which intersected the ground; but as they closed, it was perceived that the French line extended beyond the right flank of the British, and a body of the enemy were observed moving up the valley to turn it. An order was instantly given, and the half of the 4th regiment, which formed this flank, fell back, refusing their right, and making an obtuse angle with the other half. In this position they commenced a heavy flanking fire; and the General, watching the manœuvre, called out to them, "That was exactly what I wanted to be done." He then, accompanied by Lord William Bentinck, rode up to the 50th regiment, which had got over an inclosure in their front, and charged the French in the most gallant style. They succeeded

succeeded in driving the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great slaughter. In this conflict, Major Napier, advancing too far, was wounded severely and taken prisoner; and Major Stanhope also, of the 50th, unfortunately received a mortal wound.

Sir John Moore then proceeded to the 42d regiment, forming the left battalion of Lord William Bentinck's brigade, and addressed them in these words—"Highlanders, remember Egypt." They rushed on, driving the French before them, till they were stopped by a wall. Sir John accompanied them in this charge, and told the soldiers he was well pleased with their conduct. He sent Captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of the Guards to the left flank of the Highlanders; upon which the officer commanding the light company conceived, that as their ammunition was nearly expended, they were to be relieved by the Guards, and began to fall back; but Sir John, discovering the mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades; ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets." They instantly obeyed; and all moved forward. At this period, and just as he had directed the most able dispositions, Sir John Moore fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, although not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed; and, by the most determined bravery, not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged.

The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement, which was made by Major-General Paget, with the reserve, upon the right of Lord William Bentinck's brigade, defeated this intention. The Major-General having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps), and 1st battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the French position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still further security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. The very able and gallant manner in which Lord William

liam acquitted himself in the command of his brigade, on this trying and memorable occasion, obtained the approbation of Lieutenant-General Sir John Hope, and was particularly noticed in that officer's elegant and admirable dispatch of the battle of Corunna.

Major-General Lord William Bentinck was next appointed to command a division of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army, with the local rank of Lieutenant-General; but he was prevented acquiring fresh laurels in the Peninsula, government having selected his Lordship to fill the important situation of Minister at the Court of Sicily, and Commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's forces in that island; a situation which, at that political crisis, when Europe, nay, the world, was in a great measure unhinged, called aloud for the union of good and sound heads and hearts, in order to effect the deliverance of all nations from thralldom, degeneration, and debasement.

The conduct of his Lordship on his first arrival in Sicily, was such as to justify the British government in having placed him in a situation of so much trust and delicacy. Finding the court of Palermo under the influence of Napoleon, and that the inhabitants of Sicily deprecated the Queen as the adviser of measures which would have led to the invasion of the island from the opposite coast, Lord William Bentinck returned to England, preferring to make his representations in person, instead of entering into a detailed correspondence with ministers, as to the real state of affairs; and so much confidence was placed in his Lordship's judgment, that full powers were granted him to adopt such a line of policy, as might appear best adapted to secure the independence of the island, and prevent the Queen's party from obtaining any ascendancy in the state. Her Majesty did not submit to these arrangements without manifest reluctance, and great exertions to place matters on a different footing, but in vain; and Lord William Bentinck released from their dungeons those virtuous nobles whom the Queen had confined in consequence of their opposition to her views. By the firmness of his conduct on this trying occasion, his Lordship secured the good opinion of the inhabitants, who entertained a high regard for their British allies; and so little was an invasion to be apprehended,

apprehended, that a considerable part of the Sicilian army was detached to the assistance of the Spaniards: and the landing effected by Lieutenant-General Maitland, at Alicante, produced a beneficial effect upon the operations of the Duke of Wellington, by diverting the French army under Suchet from making any movement towards the scene of those events which shed such lustre on the British arms.

After the failure of Sir John Murray in his attempt upon Tarragona, Lord William Bentinck arrived from Sicily, and took the command of the Anglo-Sicilian army in the eastern part of Spain. He arrived at the Col de Balaguer on the 17th of June; and, having brought back the army to Alicante, he made the necessary preparations for forwarding the instructions of the Duke of Wellington. His Lordship, on his arrival to take the command, was received with great demonstrations of joy. He found the army much disorganized from its recent disasters; having, however, in some measure repaired its losses, he, on the 10th of August, received intelligence that Marshal Suchet had returned to Villa Franca from Barcelona, and had brought with him 5000 men, which raised the concentrated force in that quarter to 25,000, including 6000 brought to join him by De Caen, and all that he could collect from his different garrisons; which intelligence, together with the reports of the succeeding days, left no doubt that it was his intention to move forward a second time to raise the siege of Tarragona.

At this period the allies were stationed on the river Gaya, communicating with the squadron and transports which had brought them from Alicante; but Lord William did not feel satisfied with his position, which he could not occupy in sufficient strength, not being yet joined by all the troops which he had reason to expect, and the position itself being liable to be turned on the flanks. Indeed, when his Lordship came to reconnoitre the position itself personally, he found that there was no such position upon the river as he had been led to suppose: for there were only two carriageable roads across it, and they are at a distance of ten miles from each other; whilst the river itself having no water in it at that season, and being only difficult from the steepness of its banks, it was of course passable for infantry every where.

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In consequence of this intelligence, and the circumstances of his position, Lord William suspended all operations for the siege of Tarragona, except the making of fascines, and landed neither artillery nor stores, until the arrival of additional troops should place him on a footing with the advancing army. Indeed, at that period, his corps was insufficient to guard both passes: if he had placed himself before one, the other would of course have been open; and the whole corps itself, if placed in the centre, could not have been able to reach either flank in time to check the enemy in their passage of the river. General Whittingham also, whom he had sent with his corps to the Cols of San Christina and Llebra, reported these not to be defensible with so small a force as could be allotted to that object.

The position at Gaya, under all circumstances, being totally untenable; and the immediate vicinity of Tarragona, though it offered a very good position in itself, being liable to be completely turned by an enemy who, crossing the Cols, should approach by Valls and Reuss, his Lordship determined to retire slowly upon Cambrills in proportion as Suchet advanced; a movement which the Duke of Wellington entirely approved of.

On the 14th, Suchet moved a large corps upon Alta Fulla; but, the road being close to the beach, the navy were upon the watch, and the gun-boats prevented his passing, as he at first seemed to demonstrate was his intention. On the 15th, he still advanced on the land side, and drove back the posts on the Cols of San Christian and Llebra; and afterwards forced the advanced corps at Brafia, by which they were supported, also to retire, as nearly his whole army was now marching by this route.

One column of the French were pushing forward at this time on the road towards Valls; and in the afternoon Lord William ordered his brother, Lord Frederick Bentinck, to march with the small brigade of cavalry under his command to reconnoitre them beyond Nulles and Villabella. This service was accordingly performed. But no sooner had Lord Frederick began to retire, than the enemy followed him with both cavalry and infantry; and a squadron of the French 4th Hussars pressed closely upon his rear-guard, consisting of Captain Wulffen's
troops

troops of the Brunswick Hussars, and attempted to charge and overpower it: but the assailants were opposed each time with determined spirit and resolution, though greatly superior in number; and Captain Erichson, with his troop, being sent to the support of Captain Wulffen, the French were soon completely driven back, with the loss of one officer killed, another officer wounded, and between twenty and thirty men left sabred on the field; besides sixteen prisoners and eleven horses, which fell into the hands of the Brunswick Hussars.

The whole of the allied army arrived at Cambrills on the 16th of August, Suchet still advancing; and on the 19th their head-quarters were at Hospitalet: but on the preceding day Suchet himself thought proper to retire; and not being willing that the allies should possess themselves of Tarragona, he blew up and destroyed the whole of the works at that place, previous to his retrograde movement.

From this time, Lord William Bentinck continued successfully to maintain the interests of his country at the court of Palermo; and a happy train of events, leading to the restoration of the royal family of Naples to the throne of their ancestors, has crowned the exertions of his Lordship, whose mission to that court had in view the promotion of their most essential interests.

In the year 1802, his Lordship conducted the Honourable Mary Acheson, daughter of the late Earl of Gosford, to the hymeneal altar. Her Ladyship accompanied her husband to India, and again braved the dangers of the ocean in her recent voyage to Sicily.

Memoirs
OF
GENERAL THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR DAVID DUNDAS, K.B.

FOR the Memoirs of this veteran officer, the oldest we believe in the British army, we are much beholden to a valuable modern publication, whose biographical resources are unquestionably of the first order.

The father of Sir David Dundas was a merchant of great respectability, residing in Edinburgh, a descendant from the ancient Scottish family of that name, and the father of several children. Sir David, from his earliest years, having shewn an attachment to the military profession, he was of course educated in a manner suitable to the situation and society into which the pursuit of arms might lead him. At the age of thirteen he was placed at the military academy at Woolwich, where after a residence of two years, he was appointed, in 1752, to assist in a survey of the kingdom of Scotland, then carrying on under the inspection of his maternal uncle, the late General Watson, at that time a Colonel in the army, and Quarter-Master-General and Senior Captain in the corps of Engineers. On this service he continued three years, under the more immediate direction of his friend, the late Major-General Roy. In the year 1754, he was appointed to a Lieutenancy in the royal regiment of Artillery; and in the year following was made a practitioner engineer. In the next year, 1756, he was appointed a Lieutenant in the 56th regiment, and also an Assistant Quarter-Master-General: and at the age of twenty-one, he joined a very considerable armament, then preparing, in the above situation.

This armament was to be employed in harassing the enemy's coasts, in order to divert the attention of the French government, during the conflict for the possession

possession of Canada, and was commanded by the Duke of Marlborough.

The squadron, under the command of Commodore Howe, sailed from Portsmouth on the 1st of June 1758, and arrived in due time in Cancele Bay, at a short distance from the city of St. Malo; which latter place was the point of attack. On the advance of the troops it was discovered, that the strong natural defences of the place, together with its insulated situation, would render all attempts against it utterly abortive, unless supported by numbers and artillery, in both of which the English were deficient: they accordingly returned to Cancele, after having destroyed, in the harbour of St. Malo, a large fleet of privateers, and several other vessels of different descriptions, amounting to upwards of an hundred sail. After performing this service, which the enemy very slightly opposed, the troops re-embarked. The squadron coasted along by Granville and Cherbourg, and made dispositions for landing at the latter place; but a hard gale and a lee-shore obliged them to stand for England, where they arrived on the 29th of June, and came to an anchorage at St. Helen's.

A few weeks' rest, and fresh provisions, having recruited the troops, the squadron again weighed anchor, and stood over for the French coast. Auspicious gales brought the fleet within sight of Cherbourg in a few hours, and immediate preparations were made for an attack; the army being now commanded by Lieutenant-General Bligh. The landing was accomplished about four miles to the west of Cherbourg. The French had every advantage which nature and art could furnish to resist the invading army; but judicious dispositions on the part of the British, together with a smart fire, so paralyzed their efforts, that they made not the smallest display of resistance, nor even ventured beyond the line of their own works, except to abandon them to the assailants, who accordingly took possession of them; and on the following day the whole force, amounting to between 5 and 6000 men, marched into Cherbourg without meeting the least resistance. The town and harbour of Cherbourg are admirably situated for annoying the trade of Great Britain, by affording shelter to the privateers of her enemies. The harbour, considered

separately, did not naturally supply safe and commodious anchorage for ships; but the celebrated Belidore had exerted all his skill in erecting fortifications and other works for its defence and security; he had also projected and accomplished improvements which counteracted its natural defects, and rendered it a point of attack worthy of the genius and valour of Englishmen. Having destroyed the labours of the engineer, and burned those of the shipwright, the British withdrew, after a sojourn of ten days in France, carrying with them hostages and spoils of war. On their arrival in England, the brass cannon and mortars were paraded from Kensington to the Tower, adorned with all the trophies and symbols of battle, to the infinite delight of the populace, and the annoyance of those graver personages who do not approve of *ostentation*.

The troops employed on these expeditions were in excellent health, and so admirably supplied with every requisite article, that they did not disembark on their return to Spithead. It was determined that the coast of France should have no respite; and they accordingly sailed again for St. Malo. The troops landed to the westward of the town; but, being unable to make any material impression on that side, it became necessary once more to give up the enterprise, and to find a more proper place of re-embarkation. For this purpose the Commodore and fleet moved westward to the Bay of St. Cas, and the army in two days march arrived near that place; as did also the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, with a corps of twelve battalions, six squadrons, and two regiments of militia. A re-embarkation became necessary, in the presence of a superior enemy, covered by the fire of the fleet, and a rear-guard composed of 1200 guards and grenadiers. This was effected by the body of the army without any considerable loss; but when the rear-guard only remained on shore, it was vigorously attacked by very superior numbers, and almost totally lost. The bravery of our troops deserved a better fate: broken after a sanguinary resistance, many rushed into the sea, and were drowned. Until the fire of the covering ships ceased, the enemy could give no quarter; above 400 men lay dead on the beach, and 700 remained prisoners to the enemy.

Lieutenant

Lieutenant Dundas, reserved for a long career and better fortune, escaped unhurt; and, soon after the return of the armament to England, he set out to join the army of that prudent and distinguished general, Prince Ferdinand, as an Assistant Quarter-Master-General and Engineer.

In the German campaign, under that prince, there was much practical knowledge to be acquired, and Lieut. Dundas was not backward in obtaining such experience in his profession as the time afforded.

In the year 1759, Lieut. Dundas was appointed to a troop in the 15th Light Dragoons, on which occasion he returned to England, and resigned his appointments of Engineer and Assistant Quarter-Master-General. Early in the year following, he again repaired to the theatre of continental warfare with his regiment, and as aide-de-camp to its Colonel, that distinguished cavalry officer, General Elliot. In this campaign 25,000 British served with the allies; a greater number than had been seen on the continent for two hundred years.

During the *petite guerre* of this campaign, the services of the British troops, and more especially those immediately commanded by General Elliot, displayed all the intrepidity of the national character. In the affair of Emsdorff, one of the most brilliant actions of the campaign, *Elliot's* light horse (commanded by Sir William Erskine, proud to be led on by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, and worthy of that honour) had the greatest share in the glory and sufferings of that day; so young a corps had never so eminently distinguished itself.

The combat of Corbach had preceded that of Emsdorff; the successful battle of Warbourg followed it, and added new laurels to the British arms. The posts of honour and danger again fell to their share, and again their brave companions in difficulty and glory accorded them their meed of well-deserved praise. On the 31st of July 1760, Prince Ferdinand, having his main body on the heights of Cassel, moved towards the enemy, who were advantageously posted near Warbourg; in the mean time the Hereditary Prince, with two columns, wheeled round the enemy's left, and began a vigorous attack at once upon that flank, and upon the rear. The French commander poured reinforcements on that quarter, and a
warm

warm action was kept up for four hours, with uncertain success, which, however, at last appeared to decide against the French. Prince Ferdinand relied much on the English cavalry, which surpassed his expectations, and indeed all former examples. They considered themselves as defrauded of their share of the glory of Minden, and panted for an occasion to signalize themselves. They came up five miles on a gallop, without the least confusion, and attacked the enemy's line with great spirit; the French horse did not stand the charge. The English artillery were brought up with the same celerity, and acted with the same effect. The British infantry, disdaining to be outdone, made such efforts to support their fellow-soldiers, that, in straining their passage through marshy and morassy ground, and in burning weather, many of them sunk down on their march. The French made a precipitate retreat to Statberg, having lost 1500 men killed, and as many prisoners: the English lost 590, killed, wounded, and prisoners.

Captain Dundas served also at the battle of Closter-Camp, on the 16th of October, and at the siege at Wesel. The operations of this vigorous campaign were various and uninterrupted; and the army retired into winter quarters in the end of November.

In this campaign, the 25,000 English who served with the allies continually courted and obtained the honour and glory of any action in which they were engaged; and although the whole summer was passed in warlike operations, and five sharp encounters had taken place, yet the whole British loss was not very considerable.

In January 1761, Captain Dundas took the field again with the allied army, and witnessed the expulsion of the French from the Hessian States, and their retreat to Frankfort on the Main. The army fell back to Westphalia, into quarters, in the month of March. In the succeeding operations of the campaign Captain Dundas continued to serve, being at the battle of Felling Hauson, and the affair which took place at Eimbach: this last action, which happened in December, concluded the campaign of that year in Germany.

From all the rigour of a German winter, Captain Dundas was suddenly called to extend his services to climates the very reverse. Yet such is a soldier's life,
and

and such was the lot of our present subject; who, in the year 1762, the twenty-fifth year of his age, accompanied General Elliot, as his aide-de-camp, to the attack on the island of Cuba, and the performance of a service as memorable and remarkable as any in the whole history of West-India warfare. The army, about 15,000 strong, was commanded by the Earl of Albermarle, to whom General Elliot was second; and the fleet by Sir George Pocock, seconded by Commodore Keppel.

The Havannah, at that time the most rich, populous, and flourishing city in the Western hemisphere, was the object of attack; and the British force employed against it suffered incredible hardships, miseries, and privations. During a siege of three months, the governor of the Havannah, Don Lewis de Velasco, defended his trust with all the firmness of an old Castilian, and all the ardour of a modern soldier. The Spaniards, who had been for some time preparing for war, had formed a considerable navy in the West Indies, composed chiefly of ships of the line, and which lay at that time in the bason of the Havannah; but they had not received any authentic intelligence of hostilities having commenced between the two countries: this may perhaps account for their fleet, at the approach of the English, continuing to lie quietly at their moorings.

When all things were in readiness for landing, the Admiral (Pococke) with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, in order to draw the enemy's attention from the true object, and made a feint as if he intended to land on that side; while Commodore Keppel and Captain Harvey, commanding a detachment of the squadron, approached the shore to the eastward of the harbour, and, after having silenced a small fort, they, on the 7th of June, effected a landing in the utmost order. The main body of the army was destined to act upon this side. It was divided into two corps; one of which was advanced a considerable way in the country, towards the south-east of the harbour, to Guanabacon, in order to cover the siege, and to secure our parties employed in watering and foraging. This corps was commanded by General Elliot.

The hardships which the English army sustained in the siege of the Moro, were dreadful. The earth was every
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where so thin, that it was almost impossible to cover themselves in their approaches ; there was no spring or river near them, and water was obliged to be carried from a great distance ; and many dropped down dead from thirst, heat, and fatigue. But such was the resolution of the besiegers, and such the unanimity of the land and sea forces, that no difficulties slackened for a moment the operations against this important, strong, and well-defended place.

In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contention, the principal battery raised by the British against the fortress took fire ; and, being constructed chiefly of timber, scorched by the intense heat and incessant cannonade, the flames overpowered every opposition, and the labour of 600 men for seventeen days was destroyed in a moment. This was a severe misfortune, and was the more keenly felt, as the other hardships of the siege were becoming almost insupportable. Five thousand soldiers were sick ; 3000 seamen in the same condition. A great want of provisions and water retarded their recovery, and aggravated all their sufferings. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them. A thousand anxious and impatient looks were directed to the point from which the expected reinforcements were to come ; none, however, appeared, and the exhausted army was left to its own endeavours. But, in the midst of these disheartening distresses and disappointments, the steadiness of the commanders infused vigour and activity into the troops, and roused them to incredible exertions. The rich prize which was before them—the shame of retiring home baffled—and even the strenuous resistance made by the enemy ; all these motives called loudly on their interest, their honour, and their pride, and inspired them to the exertion of all their powers. New batteries arose in the place of the old ; the fire became equal, and soon superior to that of the enemy. They by degrees silenced the cannon of Fort Moro, and, on the 30th of July, made a lodgement in the covert-way. In a few days their labours were rewarded by the arrival of reinforcements and a supply of ammunition ; and the hopes of the besiegers were revived.

After a siege of forty-four days, the English, on the 30th of July, made a breach in the fort, which was
thought

thought practicable; they accordingly mounted it, entered the fort, and formed themselves with so much celerity, and with such a determined coolness, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, astonished at their demeanour and intrepidity, fled in all directions. Four hundred of the garrison were killed or drowned, and four hundred obtained quarter. The second in command, the Marquis de Gonzales, fell whilst he was making brave, but ineffectual efforts, to rally his people. Don Lewis de Velasco, the heroic governor, collected an hundred men round his colours, and, disdaining to retire or call for quarter, he received a mortal wound, and died, offering his sword to his conquerors. The English paid a just tribute to the memory and valour of this brave soldier: they wept with mingled pity and admiration over him.

Notwithstanding the bloodshed and reduction of Fort Moro, the garrison, with the city and Fort Puntas, which were separated from the Moro and its commanding heights by the breadth of the harbour, made the best defence the nature of their circumstances would allow; and it was not until the 10th of August, after every gun had been silenced by the fire of the besiegers, that the Governor sent forward flags of truce, which appeared at the same moment in every part of the city, to the inexpressible joy of the fleet and army: the result was a capitulation, wherein the remainder of the garrison, now reduced to 700 regular troops, were allowed the honours of war; and on the 14th of August, the English troops took possession of the Havannah, after a siege of two months and eight days.

This conquest was, without doubt, the most considerable that had ever been made in the West Indies. The acquisition united in itself all the advantages which can be acquired in war; and in the plunder it equalled a national subsidy, the bullion and merchandise together found in the place being calculated at three millions sterling.

At the general peace Captain Dundas returned to England, and arrived in the month of January 1763; but, a soldier in principle and spirit, he again forsook the allurements of his native home, and proceeded to the continent once more in search of military improvement;

and as a state of profound peace prevented practical experience, he spent the greater part of 1764 in France, obtaining that theoretical knowledge which his services have perfected.

From that time to 1770 he continued doing duty with the 15th dragoons as Captain, when he was advanced to the rank of Major, in the same regiment, by purchase. He then went to the continent, to attend the French and Austrian exercises in Flanders.

On the commencement of the American war, 1775, Major Dundas made a warm solicitation to be allowed to exchange into the infantry, for the purpose of serving on that continent; but government considering his services essential in another part of his Majesty's dominions, he accordingly purchased the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 12th Light Dragoons, and went to that regiment in Ireland. In 1778, he received the appointment of Quarter-Master-General in Ireland; and in 1781 was made Colonel by brevet. In 1782 his unwearied services were further rewarded by the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 2d regiment of horse; and in 1785 he attended the Prussian exercises at Berlin, Pomerania, Silesia, and Magdeburg: from which time to 1787, his life was passed in acquiring that knowledge in his profession, in the different continental military schools, which has rendered him, if not the first tactician of the times, at least inferior to none.

In the year 1788 he produced the effects of long study and practical acquaintance with the art of war, in the celebrated and useful work on the principles of military movements, and which has become the basis of our army regulations.

His Majesty, fully aware of the important advantages to be derived from the zeal, professional knowledge, and accuracy of Colonel Dundas, expressly appointed him Adjutant-General in Ireland, for the purpose of introducing his mode of discipline and tactics into that country, and to perfect the infantry military regulations: and his system was soon after put in practice in the garrison of Dublin, under his immediate command.

The following year, Colonel Dundas was promoted to the rank of Major-General; and in 1791 was appointed to the Colonelcy of the 22d regiment of foot. In 1791 he resigned

resigned the Adjutant-Generalship, and was placed upon the Irish staff as Major-General.

In 1792, the convulsed state of the French government, and the people's republican propensities, having induced England to ally herself to the continental princes, in order to crush the enormities of the French, and if possible to put a period to the wide-spreading mischief, many officers of talent and activity resigned appointments of emolument, and relinquished the milder but equally useful prosecution of regimental discipline, to join in services of actual warfare.

Those sentiments which have, during the whole course of our subject's military career, so particularly marked his character, continued to urge him onward in search of military reputation. He therefore resigned the Irish Staff in 1793, and came to London, in order to be upon the spot, should his services be called for. The government, conscious of his zealous attachment to its cause, employed the General on a military mission to the island of Jersey, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of an attack on St. Malo. Soon after his return from making these observations, the General was dispatched to the head-quarters of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then besieging Dunkirk, in order to confer with him on subjects of importance; and, on the termination of that untoward business in the month of October of that year, he travelled through Germany and Italy to Toulon, where he remained second in command to the late General O'Hara.

The French having erected a battery which commanded the town and arsenal of Toulon, a plan was formed to destroy it, and bring off the cannon and ammunition. The plan was completely executed by General Dundas; but part of the troops, in their ardour, having pursued the retreating enemy too far, were thrown into disorder. General O'Hara hastened to the spot to encourage and recal them, when he received a wound, which rendered him incapable of avoiding the enemy: he was made a prisoner, and the command of the troops and government of Toulon devolved upon Major-General Dundas.

The struggles of the General to maintain himself in the possession of this post were highly praiseworthy, and such as called forth the approbation of his sovereign and

the country. He however found his situation untenable, and, after many arduous endeavours, he perceived all hopes of retaining it utterly futile. No occasion wherein British science or intrepidity could display themselves was lost by the General, although his force was ill-organized, and composed of Spaniards, Neapolitans, Piedmontese, and French loyalists, amounting, together with the British, to 12,000 men.

Deserters and others coming in daily, the General was supplied with ample information of the enemy's plans; he therefore made arrangements for repelling them in the best and most judicious manner, considering his limited force, and the disadvantages under which he acted.

For the complete defence of the town and harbour, he was obliged to occupy a circumference of fifteen miles, by eight principal posts, with their several intermediate dependent ones; the greatest part of these were merely of a temporary nature, and constructed in such a manner as the exigency of the time admitted. His force, which did not exceed 12,000 men bearing arms, and composed, as we have before observed, of various countries, was disposed thus—9000 in supporting those posts, and the remaining 3000 were stationed in the town.

On the 16th of December, at half-past two o'clock in the morning, the enemy, who had kept three batteries in continual play, opened two new ones, and commenced a very heavy cannonade on Fort Mulgrave till next morning; the works suffered much, and the allies lost a great number of men. The weather was very bad; and the troops in consequence suffered much from fatigue.

At two o'clock on the morning of the 17th, the enemy attacked the fort in great force. It was defended a considerable time; but, on the enemy entering on the Spanish side, the British quarter, commanded by Captain Conolly, of the 18th regiment, could not be maintained much longer: it was finally carried; and the remains of the brave garrison of 700 men retired towards the shore of Balaguier. As this position was most essential to the preservation of the harbour, every means had been taken to strengthen it, and at that time 3000 men were there.

The firing at this post having discontinued during the darkness,

darkness, the garrison waited the return of day-light in the most anxious suspense. On the morning of the 18th a new scene met their view, by an attack of all our posts on the mountain of Pharon. The enemy were repulsed on the east side, by a force commanded by a distinguished officer the Piedmontese Colonel De Jermagnan, who fell in the affair; they, however, crowded up in numbers on that side of the mountain which overlooks Toulon, and found means to penetrate between our posts.

In consequence of these events, a council of flag and general officers assembled, when it was determined to evacuate the place. It would have been insanity to attempt further opposition; and measures were taken for immediate departure, which service was performed with admirable effect. The destruction of the arsenal, shipping, and magazines, was entrusted to Sir Sydney Smith, who executed the same in a manner which amply justified his appointment; and the whole allied army, under the able direction of General Dundas, together with several thousand of the Toulon loyalists, all the British artillery, and part of the French fleet, were brought off, without the loss of a single life, on the 29th of December 1793, having embarked under the strong citadel of La Malgue, which was then evacuated. The British general retired to the Isle of Elba.

In January 1794, Lieutenant-General Dundas landed in the island of Corsica, captured the town of San Fiorenza, and secured good anchorage for the British fleet; when, from ill-health and his presence being no longer necessary in the Mediterranean, he travelled through Italy and Germany to England. Shortly after his arrival he set out to rejoin the army in Flanders; where, with the rank of Major-General, he commanded a brigade of cavalry at the battle of Tournay, which was fought on the 22d of May 1796. The allies, having re-united their scattered forces, prepared, with unabated resolution, to meet the republicans. At five in the morning the attack was commenced by the latter on the advanced posts of the allies, which were driven back on the main body: here the steadiness and intrepidity of the troops, and particularly the British, checked their further progress; and, notwithstanding the impetuosity of their various attacks, which continued until ten at night, they were baffled in every

every attempt, and obliged to fall back upon Lisle. The loss of the French in this battle was very considerable; and had they not taken the precaution to cover both their flanks by thick woods, through which the cavalry could not penetrate, it would have been much greater.

Major-General Dundas still continued in his command with the army under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, whose plan for the campaign had been wholly disconcerted by the defeat of that brave, but unfortunate officer, General Clairfait. The Prince de Cobourg had not been in greater favour with the capricious dame, and opposed to such numbers as the French could bring into the field, the allies, with all their united force, were weak: war and "*la nation*" being the fashion with that extravagant and hyperbolical people, the ranks were crowded with the flower of the country; and the fall of thousands only served, like the teeth of the hydra, to produce tens of thousands. The Duke of York was therefore obliged to remove from his position at Tournay to Oudenarde, in order to act against the French, who had invested it with a great force; and from thence the whole army, consisting of British, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers, retired to the frontiers of Holland, upon the Rhine and Waal, which they crossed and maintained. In November, his Royal Highness returned to England, and General Walmoden took the command of the army.

In December, Sir David Dundas was appointed to command on the Lower Waal, and had the honour to bear away the palm of victory in two successful actions near Gelder-Malsen.

The British troops stationed at Arnheim and its vicinity, were, from incessant fatigue, the inclemency of the weather, and the difficulty of procuring supplies, in the most distressing situation. The French seized this moment to attempt the passage of the Waal, on rafts constructed for that purpose; but, notwithstanding the state of the British and German forces, reduced by war, sickness, and famine, they were repulsed in every part.

The winter of 1794-5 being of uncommon severity, the French were enabled to cross the Meuse and Waal, with an immense force, together with all their artillery, baggage,

baggage, and military stores; at which time the allies were too much reduced to render any effectual opposition. They carried all the posts in the island of Bommel, forced the lines of Breda, made 1600 prisoners, and took a quantity of cannon. They were complete masters of the Waal, and menaced the towns of Culenberg and Gorcum. In order to preserve these towns, Major-General Dundas, with 8000 British, marched against them on the 30th of December. The French were posted at Thuyl; to arrive at which place it was necessary to take a road flanked with batteries, and the place itself was surrounded with a strong abbatis. By the persevering spirit, and admirable dispositions of the General, these great obstacles were surmounted; and, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in physical strength, they were driven from their posts, and compelled to re-cross the Waal, with a considerable loss of troops and baggage. But these instances of judgment and valour in our generals and their troops availed but little to the general cause, having to repel an enemy whose strength was so enormous, and whose numbers, filling and overpowering the whole country, effectually rendered resistance impracticable. In the month of January 1795, the superiority of the enemy having become overwhelming, and the natural defences of Holland being frozen up, the allied army was obliged to evacuate the country, and retire behind the river Ems, on the frontier of Germany.

Major-General Dundas remained in his command on the Ems, in East Friesland, until the month of April; when the British infantry returned to England, under General Harcourt; and the cavalry, amounting to twenty-four squadrons, together with some foreign *émigré* corps attached to it, in all about 10,000, continued in Westphalia, under the command of the former, the whole army being commanded by General Walmoden.

In the summer of this year, the British force under Lieutenant-General Dundas enjoyed a cessation from the fatigues and calamities of war, though subject to various alarms: it occupied the countries of Friesland, Oldenburg, and Bremen, the remainder of the allied army being cantoned in Westphalia; and the French occupying Holland and the banks of the Waal and Rhine.

Throughout

Throughout the whole of this season no offensive operations were carried on; and the British cavalry were exercised by brigades, upon a general system then laid down to them by the Lieutenant-General. In December of this year Lieutenant-General Dundas was appointed Colonel of the Queen's, or 7th Light Dragoons.

In January 1796, the whole of the British cavalry were embarked on the Weser. The rest of the allied army fell back to their several countries, according to the line of demarcation then agreed upon with the French. The British troops arrived safely in this country: and, soon afterwards, Major-General Dundas was placed on the Home staff, and appointed Quarter-Master-General of the army. In the course of this year the General composed the cavalry regulations and movements, which the cavalry were ordered to follow.

Camps being formed at Weymouth, and on Windsor Forest, under the immediate inspection of his Majesty, Major-General Dundas had the honour to direct the exercises and instructions of the same, both cavalry and infantry: the remaining portion of 1796, and the three following years, were passed by the General in the useful labour of training the gallant army of Great Britain to future glory; and it must be an enviable feeling to this industrious officer, to observe, by the fields of Talavera, Salamanca, and Vittoria, that his labours have not been bestowed in vain.

In the year 1797, a further reward to the services of the General was accorded by his august Sovereign, in the rank of Lieutenant-General and Governor of Landguard Fort.

In 1799, the late Sir Ralph Abercrombie commanded in the expedition to Holland; when, after many difficulties and much obstruction, from extreme turbulent weather and adverse winds, the British army succeeded in effecting its first object, which was to land and take up an advantageous post. Their next exploit was, in conjunction with the navy, the capture of the Dutch fleet, consisting of twenty-four vessels of war, and four Indiamen.

An affair, wherein much gallantry was displayed, took place on the 10th of September; and his Royal Highness the Duke of York taking the command on the 15th, having

having been accompanied by Lieutenant-General Dundas, a plan of operation was immediately devised, and a general attack determined upon: and on the 19th every arrangement was completed. The army advanced in four columns: the first, consisting chiefly of Russian troops, under Lieutenant-General D'Hermann; the second commanded by Lieutenant-General Dundas, and consisting of two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons, two brigades of foot-guards, and Major-General Prince William of Gloucester's brigade; the third commanded by Sir James Pulteney; and the fourth, by Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

It was planned that the Russian division of the army should advance to the right, through a country near to the village of Bergen, and almost covered with wood, this being the enemy's principal post. The Russians advanced with the most impetuous courage; but, allowing themselves to be impelled beyond the bounds of that order which is so requisite to a military operation, they fell into confusion, and, after displaying all their national hardihood, were compelled to retire, with considerable loss.

Both the second and third columns had great difficulties to overcome, in consequence of the ground of their operations being intersected by deep ditches and morass. The second column, under Lieutenant-General Dundas, having performed the service first allotted it in the most gallant and decisive manner, which was to force the enemy's position at Warmenhuysen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under General D'Hermann, extended itself, after the retreat of the Russians, to the right; and, although weakened by an extension so disproportionate to its force, nevertheless renewed the battle with great bravery; but, owing to the unfortunate state of the ground, and other disadvantageous circumstances, after a conflict wherein the skill and gallantry of the British were eminently conspicuous, the column was obliged to retire. The exertions of the British were strenuous and successful, answering well to the high reputation of their generals: and on a review of the success which attended the three columns of British troops, we cannot but lament that the Russian corps lost sight of that spirit of discipline and subordination for which they

ever are so remarkable, as on that alone hung the subsequent disasters of the day; and had General D'Hermann been able to keep possession of the ground so rapidly won, until the troops of General Dundas had come to his support, the event of the day would have justified the hopes of the Duke of York.

The spirits of the British were, however, unbroken, and the Russians were anxious to repair their late disaster: the army kept the field in defiance of every natural and artificial obstacle. The Duke of York determined on further exertions; and a reinforcement of British and Russian troops arriving, his hopes were strengthened and confirmed.

The operations of the allied armies having been suspended by inclement weather, which now becoming more moderate, the British were put in motion on the morning of the 2d of October, and an attack was commenced on the whole of the enemy's line. A severe and sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted from six in the morning until the same hour at night. The British right wing was led on by Sir Ralph Abercrombie; the centre divisions by General Dundas; and the left wing by Major-General Burrard. The first impression made on the enemy's line was by the centre division of our army, under the command of General Dundas; the right next attacked; and finally the left wing. They overcame all opposition, and entirely defeated the French.

On the night after the battle, the British troops lay on their arms, and, on the morning of the 3d, they moved forward, and occupied the positions of Lang-Dyke, Alkmaar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee.

The Duke of York, in his dispatches, bestowed the warmest praise on the whole of the troops under his command, and in an especial manner particularized the Generals Sir R. Abercrombie and Dundas, for the ability they displayed; and his Royal Highness attributed much of the success of the day to their personal exertions.

The British and Russian troops were again engaged with the enemy on the 4th of October; and after a severe conflict, in which 1900 men were killed and wounded, the enemy retired, leaving the English in possession of the field of battle: but the season, the roads, and other obstacles,

stacles, prevented the British commander from following up these advantages. Intelligence also arrived, importing that the enemy were daily strengthening, and would shortly bear down with all their force upon him: he therefore, with the concurrence of the lieutenant-generals in his army, withdrew from his advanced positions at Schagenbrug; and, on the 17th of the month, agreed on a suspension of hostilities with the Generals Brune and Daendels, to evacuate Holland before the end of November.

In 1801, Lieutenant-General Dundas was appointed Colonel of the North British Dragoons, and was made Governor of Fort George after the decease of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and, in 1802, was promoted to the rank of General in the army. In 1803, General Dundas resigned the situation of Quarter-Master-General of the army, and was placed in the command of the Southern district, *viz.* Kent and Sussex. In 1804 he was appointed Governor of the Royal Hospital at Chelsea, and Knight of the Bath. In 1805 the General was, from indisposition, under the necessity of resigning the command of the Southern district; and, in 1809, he received from his Sovereign a most gratifying distinction and reward for long and arduous services, in being appointed Commander-in-chief of the armies of Great Britain, upon the resignation of the Duke of York—a post which any prince in Europe might be proud to hold; and, in the same year, the 95th, or regiment of Riflemen, was presented to him.

Having continued in full authority at the Horse-Guards for two years, with the entire satisfaction of the ministry and the army, the veteran General, finding the infirmities of age required a retreat from the burdens of office, obtained permission to resign the high appointment, which he accordingly did on the 26th of May 1811.

The next mark of royal favour the General received was the presentation of the King's regiment of Dragoon Guards, which circumstance took place in the course of 1813.

Few officers have arrived at higher honours, or have been more deserving of them than Sir David Dundas; and it is our earnest wish that he may long live to enjoy them.

Memoirs
OF
GENERAL THE RIGHT RONOURABLE
LORD HUTCHINSON, K. B.

LORD Hutchinson, to whom the command of the Egyptian expedition devolved on the death of the lamented Abercrombie, is descended from a very ancient Irish family, of the name of Hely. His father was brought up to the bar, in which honourable profession he acquired fame and fortune; and the latter was considerably augmented by his marriage with the niece and heiress of Richard Hutchinson, Esq. of Knocklofty, Tipperary county. This gentleman afterwards obtained the appointment of Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; which post he filled three years, and, at the expiration of that time, became Secretary of State, and was the first native of Ireland who for some centuries had enjoyed a situation of such importance. In this department, Mr. Hely Hutchinson acquired sufficient interest to raise his lady to the peerage, with remainder to her children, by the title of Baroness of Donoughmore, of Knocklofty; on which occasion he exhibited a noble and uncommon instance of disinterested affection, by declining the honour of nobility himself. Lady Donoughmore was the mother of six sons and four daughters, all of whom survived her.

The second son, John Hely Hutchinson, the subject of our present Memoir, being from his earliest years intended for one of the liberal professions, the utmost pains were bestowed upon his instruction. In order that every advantage might be afforded him, he was placed under the private tuition of Dean Bond; and, having passed through the course of an enlarged education, he was, at a proper age, removed to Eton, and from thence to Trinity College, Dublin.

At

At the age of eighteen, having made his election of that profession to which he found his talents and inclination best adapted, he was presented with a commission in the 18th light dragoons, from which corps he was removed to the 67th regiment of foot, and afterwards to the 77th Highland regiment.

Captain Hutchinson now commenced a course of military studies at the academy of Strasburg, where he in a short time acquired all the tactical knowledge of the Prussian and French military schools; and, on the first appearance of the republican armies in the field, he repaired to their head-quarters, and had the good fortune to be with the army at some very memorable epochas. Captain Hutchinson witnessed the flight of La Fayette; and it is said, on surveying the army under the late illustrious Duke of Brunswick, that he predicted its disastrous fate.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, the elder brother of Lord Hutchinson, who had, by the death of his mother, succeeded to the Barony of Donoughmore, raised a regiment for the service of his country; and Captain Hutchinson was permitted to follow his example, by which he acquired the rank of Colonel.

During the convulsions which agitated Ireland at that critical period, Colonel Hutchinson displayed much energy of mind, tempered with those milder virtues which become the citizen and patriot; and although he afterwards supported by his vote in parliament the question of the Union, yet he always remembered he was an Irishman, and assimilated with his military duties a due regard to unity and indulgence.

When Ireland was invaded by a division of French troops under General Humbert, Colonel Hutchinson obtained much credit for his able conduct in the command of his regiment. At the battle of Castlebar, he was second in command, and assisted in concluding the capitulation signed soon after by the French General.

In the year 1792, he volunteered to serve with the army in the expedition to Holland: and he had the good fortune to be employed by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had appointed him his supernumerary aide-de-camp, in negotiations by means of flags of truce, and every thing connected with *la diplomatie militaire*; in all of which he

he acquitted himself in such a manner as to obtain the esteem of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, which that officer ever after took opportunities to demonstrate.

Colonel Hutchinson having acquired the rank of Major-General, he was employed in the second expedition under his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the year 1799, and had the honour to be distinguished by that illustrious prince in a particular manner, both in the public dispatches and by private eulogium; and particularly for the bravery displayed by him in leading on Lord Cavan's brigade, when that General, in consequence of an accident, was carried off the field. In this expedition he received a wound in his thigh.

Early in life he was elected a member of the Irish parliament for the city of Cork; and, without entering into his particular views or political sentiments, we shall merely offer an extract from a speech on the Union, delivered by him on the 17th of February 1800, which, for its point, brilliancy, and elegance, has never been surpassed even by the most celebrated orators of this country.

“ All the arguments I have heard against the Union are addressed to the pride; the passions, the prejudices of an irritable nation, more in the habits of acting from the impulse of quick feelings than from the dictates of sound discretion and of sober reason. I am perfectly convinced of the political necessity of endeavouring to preserve a sense of national dignity. It is the source of all pre-eminence—the fountain of glory to nations, and of honour to individuals—the origin of all power, strength and greatness. I wish, amidst the wreck and ruin which surrounds us, that we had any thing to nourish this noble passion—any thing to soothe vanity or console pride. But the history of this country for the last six centuries, has been the sad, degrading, melancholy picture of barbarous discord and savage acrimony; of party zeal and sectarian struggle; a fugitive government without fixed principles; a minister without responsibility; a parliament fearless of the people, from whom they did not derive their origin; a triumphant aristocracy, and a deluded nation. Your rights were invaded; your commerce annihilated; your constitution laid in the dust. You submitted to be slaves abroad, provided you were allowed to be tyrants at home.

home. Certainly, for the first eighty years of this century, the government of this country was the most arbitrary and oppressive of any in Europe. Every weak habit of the human intellect—every bad passion of the human breast—every base disposition of our infirm nature, were called into action, presided at the judgment seat of justice, and expounded a code, whose monstrous absurdity was only to be equalled by its sanguinary cruelty; a code, unexampled in the annals of civilized man—which put three-fourths of the inhabitants of this country out of the protection of the law—which gave any ruffian, who professed to believe the established religion, a power of invading the property of the innocent catholic, and of seizing on the fruits of his industry. This criminal legislation offered premiums to hypocrisy and perjury, and endeavoured to secure the state by undermining the morals of the citizen. I dwell with little pleasure on this subject, though I am convinced that the infatuated policy of our ancestors has been the great source of the calamities which have afflicted their descendants. Certainly, during the course of his Majesty's long and auspicious reign, a wiser and more liberal line of conduct has been pursued towards this country; but, in human affairs, it is much easier to commit than remedy an error; the wisdom of one age cannot always repair the folly of another. Though much of those laws have been repealed, the consequences of a barbarous code are still evident amongst us. The dregs of this deadly poison still remain, and have implanted in too many bosoms those unhappy jealousies, those ill-founded suspicions, those idle fears, those sanguinary passions, which black, malignant, rancorous, religious fanaticism, alone can excite. This country has exhibited the singular spectacle of a parliament trampling upon the wisdom, the principles, and the duties of a legislator, and adopting the manners, the tone, and the habits of an inquisitor.

“The effects of this system were such as might naturally have been expected; Ireland, in many respects, sunk below the level of other European countries. It was impossible to hope for love to the law, zeal for the constitution, or attachment to the government; for protection is the parent of obedience, reverence and submission are its honourable children. That pure, unsullied,

sullied, unalloyed allegiance, the vital principle of states, the only solid foundation of legitimate rule, which will not yield to the clumsy chain of force, but is created by benefits, acknowledged by gratitude, and nourished by hope, can only be expected by a good and beneficent government from a happy and contented people. The powers of the earth will at length learn this salutary truth—that government must ever be in danger when the subject has nothing to lose. Surely there must have been some predisposing cause, which rendered the admission of French principles more easy and more general in this country than almost in any other in Europe. God has not cursed the land with barrenness, nor the people with intellectual darkness; but much of the energies of an acute, a brave, and a generous nation, have been suffered to prey upon its own powers, to rot and perish in obscurity, indolence, and wretchedness.

“ The vice and virtue of subjects must generally be attributed to the government under which they have lived. Hard and oppressive laws naturally tend to corrupt the human heart, and to make man brutal and ferocious. If to this shall be superadded the tyranny of manners, more insulting and humiliating than any system of law, nothing can be more wretched than the state of such a nation, nothing more dangerous and more menacing than such a government, resting on so frail and so tottering a foundation. What is the security of the tyrant? the debasement of his slave. What is his punishment? the corruption of his own principles. If, in a state so circumstanced, the forms of a free constitution shall still be adhered to, the ferocity of the lower class of men will assault from without, whilst the venality of the upper will undermine him from within.

“ The light of the French revolution, with all its fond delusions, broke on a country where there was neither equal law, nor equal liberty; where the line of separation between the rulers and the ruled was immense; where the spirit of persecution was substituted for the spirit of peace and charity, and even atoned for the want of religion itself. This island was, therefore, a prepared soil for the reception of jacobin principles, and they have flourished with all the growth of rank luxuriance. If almost the whole people of England have flocked to the
standard

standard of loyalty—if they have shewn the highest zeal for their constitution, and the greatest reverence for their laws, it has neither been the effect of passion nor of prejudice, but the wise and deep-rooted sentiment of the benefits which they have derived from the one, and of the protection which the other has afforded them. Under this system they have flourished and prospered; they have enjoyed for a century a degree of liberty and security unknown to other nations. With a limited population, with natural resources by no means of the first magnitude, they have become a great and flourishing empire; commanding commerce, displaying a triumphant flag, in every quarter of the globe; protecting Europe by its resources, its councils, its courage, and its energies; rallying again the powers of the continent to the standard of order, religion, and government; and covering the best institutions of social man with the adamant shield of true philosophy and immortal reason. From whence then arise the different circumstances of two islands, only separated from each other by a narrow channel? Open the annals of your own country; ask your own hearts; and you will then find the solution of the problem. In what events of your history can you take pride? The past is without glory; the present disastrous and humiliating: all is darkness and desolation around us. Oppression, rapine, anarchy, rebellion, follow each other in melancholy gradation. In nominal possession of the laws and constitution of one of the most illustrious nations that have ever existed; where liberty has been better secured, better understood, and better enjoyed, than in any other state, ancient or modern, we never have experienced for any lengthened period either order or peace. The British constitution appears to have lain a dead weight upon us, inoperate and oppressive; the magistrates without authority, the laws without respect. The frequency of insurrection among the lower class of men clearly proves that there has been something radically wrong in the state of Ireland. It would be absurd to argue, and a libel on the national character to assert, that the fault has been entirely with the people. The circumstances of the two islands are certainly as different as possible; but the operation of the laws, and the administration of the government, have also been as

different as that of two nations that were in possession of distinct and opposite constitutions. He who was capable of maintaining that Ireland has been well governed, would pay an ill compliment to your understandings, and be guilty of an idle perversion of the truth. We must acknowledge and deplore the sad circumstances of the times in which we live; licentious manners, profligate morals, the perversion of all sound and honest principle, the ardent desire of the poor to invade the property of the rich, have not only menaced the entire overthrow of all governments, but the utter subversion of civilized society."

When the expedition to Egypt, which forms so splendid a figure in the military history of Great Britain, was determined upon, and the chief command invested in Sir Ralph Abercrombie, that officer made such representations to his Majesty's ministers of the physical capabilities of Major-General Hutchinson, as induced them to appoint him second in command—a measure which created some surprise at the time, as the Major-General had not been employed on any previous occasion in the command of an army: the wisdom of the decision was, however, proved by the occurrences of a campaign which terminated in the discomfiture and flight of the enemy Buonaparte, and laid the foundation of much future glory to the British arms.

In the memorable battle of Alexandria, General Hutchinson bore a conspicuous part. An attack on the enemy being projected, he was detached to perform that service, but he was anticipated in his intention by the French, who met the column on its march; they were, however, repulsed by the British, and took up a defensive position on the fortified heights of Alexandria. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, in his official dispatch, uses the following expressions:—

"It was intended to have attacked them in this, their last position; for which purpose the reserve, under the command of Major-General Moore, which had remained in column during the whole of the day, was brought forward; and the second line, under the command of Major-General Hutchinson, marched to the left, across part of the lake Mariotes, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks: but, on reconnoitring their position,

tion, and not being prepared to occupy it after it should be carried, prudence required that the troops which had behaved so bravely, and were still willing to attempt any thing, however arduous, should not be exposed to a certain loss, when the extent of the advantage could not be ascertained. They were therefore withdrawn, and now occupy a position with their right to the sea, and their left to the canal of Alexandria and the lake Mariotes, about a league from the town of Alexandria."

After the fatal wound which evidently deprived the General-in-chief of life, the superior command devolving on General Hutchinson, he had every opportunity of displaying those powers by which he is enriched, and his narrative of the battle of Alexandria, and death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, does infinite honour both to his head and heart.

"We have suffered," said General Hutchinson, "an irreparable loss, in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented Commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier—and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

Although the battle of Alexandria had placed the British army in a triumphant posture, yet the Commander-in-chief did not conceive himself strong enough to threaten that city; and being in daily hopes of receiving reinforcements, by the arrival of the Ottoman auxiliaries, and also of the troops from Europe and Asia, he abandoned the design, and engaged his army in a war of posts.

Early in April, General Hutchinson detached Colonel
3 o 2
Spencer,

Spencer, with a corps composed of the combined English and Turkish troops, to force the enemy from the town and citadel of Rosetta, and open a communication with the Delta by the western branch of the Nile, in order to secure the army against the consequences attending a short supply of provisions.

This service was performed in the best possible manner; the French garrison, after a feeble resistance, surrendered the fort on the 19th of April, the English batteries having been opened upon it for three days.

In the beginning of May General Hutchinson quitted his position near Alexandria, and on the 7th occupied that of El-Aft, which latter position had been recently evacuated by the enemy. The General thus followed close on their retreat; and having pushed on a corps in advance, succeeded in taking possession of Rahmanich. The enemy then fell back upon Cairo, when the British again pursued; which operation was deemed highly judicious, as by it General Hutchinson was enabled to cover the Turkish army, and to effect a junction with that expected from India.

On the 14th of May, a valuable convoy of germs, which had been sent from Cairo by the canal of Menouff, at the same time several prisoners, some cannon of large dimensions, five thousand pounds in specie, and a quantity of clothing, wine, and spirits, fell into the hands of the British. After this, the British army encamped at Alkam; and on the 17th of May the Arabs gave notice of the approach of a considerable body of the enemy, who were coming from Alexandria: they advanced towards the Nile, and General Hutchinson immediately ordered the cavalry out, supported by the brigade of infantry under the command of Brigadier-General Doyle, the whole under the direction of that officer. The French perceiving the galleys or boats of the Turkish commander lying at anchor on the Nile, suspected that the British were in his vicinity, and retired into the Desert without further delay, where they were pursued by General Doyle, who after a march of three hours came up with them; when a flag of truce from the British, with a promise to respect private property, and that the French should be sent into France, induced the French corps, which was commanded by Colonel Cavasier, to surrender
to

to the British force, by which means 600 of the best French troops became prisoners of war, also part of the dromedary corps, a piece of artillery, and 550 camels. On the same day the French evacuated the fort of Lisbit and Burlos.

In consequence of these successes, and the able conduct of General Hutchinson in his command, his Majesty was pleased to confer on him the honour of Knighthood, and to advance him to the rank of Lieutenant-General.

General Hutchinson having succeeded, by gradual advances, in all his operations, invested the city of Cairo on the 21st of June, together with the Turkish troops under the Capitan Pacha; and on the morning of the 22d, the enemy having sent out a flag of truce, a capitulation was agreed upon, by which the enemy engaged finally to evacuate the place in ten days.

In all these operations the army under General Hutchinson endured the burning sun and sands of Egypt, thirst, fatigue, and anxiety, with the most heroic fortitude, and finally triumphed in every undertaking. The complete evacuation of Egypt by the French troops was now agreed upon, and General Hutchinson having reduced the ancient city of the Ptolemys, the British became masters of the whole of that extraordinary and interesting country.

When the peace of Amiens restored the soldiers of Great Britain to the enjoyment of domestic scenes, and our gallant army quitted the shores of Africa, General Hutchinson returned to this country to reap the reward of his toils on the plains of Egypt. He was created a Peer of the realm, and soon after employed on an important mission to the court of St. Petersburg; but unfortunately French influence, of a nature not to be overcome, at that time swayed the councils of the young Emperor, and the mission of General (now Lord) Hutchinson was more honourable than successful. Since that period, his Lordship has not been employed in any public capacity, but has divided his time between literary pursuits and those elegant pleasures for which his rank, manners, and talents, peculiarly qualify him.

Memiors
OF
MAJOR-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE
SIR CHARLES W. STEWART, K.B.

KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE MILITARY ORDER
OF THE TOWER AND SWORD, &c.

THIS gallant and distinguished officer is the second son of the Earl of Londonderry, and brother to Lord Castlereagh. His family is a branch of the house of Stewart, descended from Sir Thomas Stewart, of Minto, second son of Sir William Stewart, of Garlies, ancestor of the Earls of Galloway. The great-grandfather of Sir Charles Stewart, William Stewart, Esq. of Ballylawn Castle, in Donegal, (great-grandson of John Stewart, Esq. who had a grant from Charles I. of the manor of Stewart's Court, where he erected the Castle of Ballylawn) took an active part in the transactions of the north, to prevent the subversion of the constitution which James II. and his chief governor, Lord Tyrconnel, were attempting to effect: he reared a troop of horse at his own expence, when the city of Londonderry was invested, and did essential service to the Protestant interest in that part by protecting those who were well-affected to King William III. and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the regiment commanded by Sir William Stewart, of Fort Stewart, in Donegal, grandson of Sir William Stewart, Bart. privy counsellor to James I. whose descendant, Sir William Stewart, Bart. was created Baron of Ramalton and Viscount Mountjoy in 1682.

Sir Charles Stewart was born the 18th of May 1780; and, before he attained the age of fifteen, received a commission in the late 108th regiment of foot, in which he was appointed to a company in 1796; and, in the month of June of that year, joined the expedition under the Earl of Moira, destined to relieve his Royal Highness the Duke

Duke of York from the perilous situation in which he was placed after the reduction of Ypres, the defeat of General Clairfait, and the taking of Charleroy in Flanders. Captain Stewart was appointed Assistant-Quarter-Master-General to that division of the forces which landed at Isle Dieu, under General Doyle. On the return of the British army, he was attached to Colonel Crawford's mission to the Austrian armies, in 1795, 1796, and 1797. At the battle of Donauwert he was wounded by a musquet-ball, that entered his face under the eye, went through his nose, and was extracted on the opposite side: the wound was received whilst charging with some heavy Austrian cavalry, that were driven back by the French hussars; and, in a senseless state, he was carried back to the village of Donauwert, where he was put into a cart with some wounded Austrians, and in this condition conveyed to the rear. On his return to his native country, he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Lord Camden, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. He had succeeded, on the 31st of July 1795, to the Majority of the late 106th foot; and, on the 1st of January 1797, was promoted to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy in the 5th dragoons. At the time he received the latter appointment, the 5th dragoons, in point of discipline, was one of the worst regiments in the service; but, from the exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, it was shortly brought to a very high state of discipline and efficiency. The most satisfactory proof of the latter circumstance is a letter which the veteran General Dundas in 1799 wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, and which was made known to the officers of the 5th dragoons as an honourable testimony of their improvement. It is as follows:—

“ Kilkullen, 3d March 1799.

“ When we are separated by seas from those we love and esteem, the only resource is a letter; and I hasten to thank you, my dear Colonel, for your kind favour, which I received this morning. Continue now and then to make me happy in like manner. Your correspondence will be flattering and consolatory in the distracted line in which my command has placed me. What is intended to be done with your regiment, the 5th dragoons, I know not; but from what I know of them when encamped under my command in the Curragh, I will, without hesitation,

tation, pronounce them to have been the worst of all possible bad regiments. When you, soon after, got the direction of that corps, I was unacquainted with your merit: I felt the Herculean labour thrown on the shoulders of so young a man: I looked upon any progress towards discipline, or even decency in appearance, as a work of much time. I was, however, most agreeably surprised on seeing, soon after, a considerable part of this regiment under your immediate command, whose appearance and movements upon the camp-ground at Kilkullin, were such as to astonish me, and to lead me to think they had never formed a part of the 5th dragoons: but my admiration was greatly heightened when I came to consider that their reform had been effected in the midst of a raging rebellion, when no other corps but your own ever dreamt of a drill. This declaration, my dear Colonel, I owe to justice, to friendship, and to that love for the service, which even in old age is still in vigour with me. You possess the characteristic powers that are necessary to make a good officer; and I am perfectly convinced that had the 5th dragoons remained in Ireland under your direction, they would soon have become the best regiment of cavalry in this country. I have only to add, that you must recollect how much real pleasure I felt, and testified in my plain way, when you first called on me at Castle Martin. When I began to love and esteem you, I had soon after occasion to admire you as an officer. Then you saw, and I hope have ever since thought me incapable of flattery. My dear young friend, may God direct your steps, and may success attend them.

“ R. DUNDAS.”

Colonel Stewart served in the 5th dragoons during the rebellion in Ireland, and until it was disbanded. The insubordination of this regiment, and its departure from the discipline and principles which have ever distinguished the army, induced the Lord-Lieutenant to make a representation of the same to the Commander-in-chief, and his Royal Highness immediately ordered the corps to be disbanded. The Adjutant-General, in making public this order, also stated, that his Majesty was persuaded that there were many valuable officers in the regiment, who had used their best endeavours to restore the order and preserve the credit of the corps: and though in this
measure

measure of indispensable severity it was impossible to make any exceptions, yet his Majesty would hereafter make the most pointed discrimination, and those of any rank who were deserving of the royal favour might rely on his Majesty's disposition to reward their merit, and to avail himself of their future services. This favourable disposition was most particularly extended to Colonel Stewart, who, six days after the issuing of this order, was appointed to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 18th light dragoons, now made a regiment of Hussars, and which commission he has held ever since.

At the period he obtained the latter appointment, the 18th light dragoons was a skeleton regiment: however, his activity and success in completing and rendering efficient the corps, were equally conspicuous as in the instance which gave rise to the flattering testimonial from General Dundas.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart accompanied two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons in the expedition to Holland, which were attached to the left column, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and in the general attack made upon the whole of the enemy's positions on the 19th of September 1799, was highly distinguished. Whilst serving in Holland, he was wounded in the head, at the outposts near Schagenbrug, on the 10th of October, by a musquet-ball: the ball struck the glass he was looking through, which it broke, and was stopped by the brass tubes of the glass, or it would have proved fatal.

In 1803, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart was made a Colonel in the army, and honoured with the appointment of Aide-de-Camp to the King: soon afterwards he was selected for the civil situation of Under Secretary of State in the War Département, in which his professional knowledge and experience were of service in the active and extensive military measures that originated in that department during the period it was under the superintendence of his brother, Lord Castlereagh. He left this situation to assume the command of a brigade of Hussars under Sir John Moore in Portugal, where he was to act with the rank of Brigadier-General.

On the advance of that army into Spain, Brigadier-General Stewart covered the march of Sir John Hope's

division, which proceeded by the Escorial to Salamanca. During this march he surprised at Rueda a French post, and took the whole escort of a valuable convoy of cotton. Sir John Moore, in acquainting Lord Castlereagh with this event, observed, "The French seem to have been ill-informed of our movements; they are, however, soon acquainted with them, as our advanced posts have met, and General Charles Stewart, with a detachment of the 18th dragoons, on the night of the 12th of December, surprised a detachment of their cavalry and infantry in the village of Rueda, killed and took prisoners the greater part of them. The affair was trifling; but was managed by the Brigadier-General with much address, and was executed with spirit by the officers and men. It was a detachment from Valladolid, where General Franceschi commanded with three or four hundred cavalry." And in his letter of the 28th of December further observed that, "since that, few days have passed without his taking or killing different parties of the French, generally superior in force to those which attacked them." On entering Valladolid he took a French Major of cavalry, who was proceeding with an escort to join his regiment.

Throughout the retreat of Sir John Moore's army, Brigadier-General Stewart conducted himself in a manner that repeatedly called forth the warmest praises of that officer. Lieutenant-General Lord Paget, who was Commander-in-chief of the two brigades of cavalry, on the march to Sahagun, had information of six or seven hundred cavalry being in that town. He marched on the night of the 20th, from some villages where he was posted in front of the army at Majorga, with the 10th and 15th hussars. The 10th marched straight to the town, whilst Lord Paget, with the 15th, endeavoured to turn it. Unfortunately he fell in with a patrole, one of whom escaped and gave the alarm; by this means the French had time to form on the outside of the town before Lord Paget got round. He immediately charged them, beat them, and took from 180 to 190 prisoners.

On the 24th of December the advanced-guard of Napoleon's army marched from Tordesillas, which is an hundred and twenty miles from Madrid, and fifty from Benevente; and strong detachments of cavalry had been pushed forward to Villalpando and Majorga. On the

26th Lord Paget fell in with one of these detachments at the latter place. His Lordship immediately ordered Colonel Leigh, with two squadrons of the 10th hussars, to attack this corps, which had halted on the summit of a steep hill. One of Colonel Leigh's squadrons was kept in reserve; the other rode briskly up the hill: on approaching the top, where the ground was rugged, the Colonel judiciously reined-in to refresh the horses, though exposed to a severe fire from the enemy. When he had nearly gained the summit, and the horses had recovered their breath, he charged boldly, and overthrew the enemy, many of whom were killed and wounded, and above 100 surrendered prisoners. Nothing could exceed the coolness and gallantry displayed by the British cavalry on this occasion. The 18th hussars had signalized themselves in several former skirmishes; they were successful in six different attacks. Captain Jones, of that regiment, when at Palencia, had even ventured to charge 100 French dragoons with only thirty British: fourteen of the enemy were killed, and six taken prisoners.

The cavalry, the horse-artillery, and a light corps, remained on the night of the 26th at Castro Gonzalo; and the divisions under Général Hope and Frazer marched to Benevente. The next day Brigadier-General Stewart crossed the Eslar, and followed the same route, after completely blowing up the bridge. The gallant conduct of the cavalry on all occasions gave rise, about this time, to the following observation from Sir John Moore: "Our cavalry is very superior in quality to any the French have; and the right spirit has been infused into them by the example and instruction of their two leaders, Lord Paget and Brigadier-General Stewart."

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 29th, some of the enemy's cavalry were observed trying a ford near the bridge which had been blown up; and presently between five and six hundred of the Imperial Guards of Napoleon plunged into the river, and crossed over. They were immediately opposed by the British picquets, who had been much divided to watch the different fords, but were quickly assembled by Colonel Otway. When united, they amounted only to 200 men. They retired slowly before such superior numbers, bravely disputing every inch of ground with the enemy. The front squa-

drons repeatedly charged each other; and upon the picquets being forced by a small party of the 3d dragoons, they charged with so much fury that the front squadron broke through, and was for a short time surrounded, by the enemy's rear squadron wheeling up: but they extricated themselves by charging back again through the enemy. They then quickly rallied, and formed with the rest of the picquets. Lord Paget soon reached the field, and found Brigadier-General Stewart, at the head of the picquets of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, sharply engaged, the squadrons on both sides sometimes intermixing. His Lordship was desirous of drawing on the enemy further from the ford, till the 10th hussars, who were forming at some distance, were ready. This regiment soon arrived, and Lord Paget immediately wheeled it into line in the rear of the picquets. The latter then charged the enemy, supported by the 10th hussars. In the charge Brigadier-General Stewart had his sword struck out of his hand by a musquet-ball, which was immediately replaced by that of Lieutenant-Colonel Otway, with which he continued the contest. On the British cavalry commencing a charge, the French wheeled round, fled to the ford, and plunged into the river. They were closely pursued, and left on the field fifty-five killed and wounded, and seventy prisoners, among whom was General Lefebvre, the Commander of the Imperial Guard. As soon as the enemy reached the opposite side of the river, they formed on the bank; but a few rounds from the horse artillery, who arrived at that moment, quickly drove the French up the hill in the greatest disorder.

The gallant and enterprising manner in which this service was performed, displaying a degree of personal courage and intrepidity almost amounting to rashness, was pointed out by the following general order of Sir John Moore as an example for the emulation of the rest of the army under his command.

GENERAL ORDER.

Head-quarters, Astorga, Dec. 30th, 1808.

“It is very probable that the army will shortly have to meet the enemy; and the Commander of the forces has no doubt that they will eagerly imitate the worthy example

example set them by the cavalry on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of yesterday, in which Brigadier-General Stewart, with an inferior force, charged and overthrew one of the best corps of cavalry in the French army."

Sir John Moore also took occasion to notice it in his dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, dated from Astorga, December 31, 1808, in the following manner:—

"The morning I marched from Benevente, some squadrons of Buonaparte's guards passed the river Eslar, at a ford above the bridge. They were attacked by Brigadier-General Stewart at the head of the picquets, of the 18th and 3d German light dragoons, and driven across the ford. Their Colonel, a General of Division, Lefebvre, was taken, together with 70 officers and men. The affair was well-contested. The numbers with which General Stewart attacked were inferior to the French. It is the corps of the greatest character in their army; but the superiority of the British was very conspicuous."

On arriving at Corunna on the 13th of January, Sir John Moore determined to send to England Brigadier-General Stewart, for the purpose, as he stated, of detailing to the British minister the events which took place since his letter from Astorga, of the 31st of December. He had selected Brigadier-General Stewart as an officer who appeared to him best qualified to give the minister every information he might desire, both with respect to the actual situation of the army at that period, and the events which led to it. Sir John Moore remarks in his letter, that "Brigadier-General Stewart is a man in whose honour I have the most perfect reliance; he is incapable of stating any thing but the truth, and it is the truth which at all times I wish to convey to your Lordship and to the King's government: and, in a following paragraph, he adds, "In the mean time I rely on General Stewart for giving your Lordship the information and detail which I have omitted. I should regret his absence, for his services have been very distinguished; but the state of his eyes, having been seized at this time with a very bad ophthalmia, makes it impossible for him to serve, and this country is not one in which cavalry can be of much use. If I succeed in embarking the army, I shall send

send it to England; it is quite unfit for further services until it has been refitted, which can best be done there."

After this, Brigadier-General Stewart was appointed, in 1809, Adjutant-General to the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley: in which situation he particularly distinguished himself during the pursuit of the French army under Marshal Soult across the Douro, by leading on two squadrons of the 16th and 20th dragoons, who charged the enemy in the most gallant manner, and destroyed and took many prisoners. He continued to hold this appointment until his appointment as Ambassador to the court of Berlin; and, on various occasions, his name has been most honourably mentioned, particularly after the passage of the Douro, and the affair at El Bodon.

On the 5th of February 1810, he received the thanks of the House of Commons for his gallant conduct at the battle of Talavera; on which occasion he was addressed by the Speaker as follows:—

*"Brigadier-General Charles Stewart—*Amongst the gallant officers to whom this House has declared its gratitude for their distinguished services in Spain, your name has the honour to stand enrolled.

"During the progress of the two last campaigns in Spain and Portugal, whoever has turned his eyes towards the bold and perilous operations of our armies in Leon and Galicia—whoever has contemplated the brilliant passage of the British troops across the Douro, an exploit which struck the enemy himself with admiration as well as dismay, must have marked, throughout those memorable achievements, that spirit of energy and enterprise with which you have rapidly advanced in the career of military fame, and by which you have now fixed your name for ever in the annals of your country, as a chief sharer in those immortal laurels won by British fortitude and valour in the glorious and hard-fought battle of Talavera.

*"Upon the great Commander, under whom it was there your pride and felicity to serve, his sovereign, this House, and the voice of an applauding empire, have conferred those signal testimonies of honour and gratitude, which posterity will seal with its undoubting approbation. And it is no mean part of the merits for which you are to be this day crowned with our thanks, that you were
chosen*

chosen by such a commander to be the companion of his councils, and the sure hand to which he could entrust the prompt and effectual direction of his comprehensive and victorious operations.

“ To you, Sir, I am therefore now to deliver the thanks of this House; and I do accordingly, in the name and by the command of the Commons of the United Kingdom, thank you for your distinguished exertions on the 27th and 28th days of July last, in the memorable battles of Talavera, which terminated in the signal defeat of the forces of the enemy.”

Upon which Brigadier-General Stewart said,

“ *Mr. Speaker*—I feel myself totally inadequate to express the high sense I entertain of the distinguished honour that has been conferred upon me—an honour far exceeding any little services I may have rendered in the fortunate situations in which I have been placed. If a sentiment of regret could, at such a moment, arise in my mind, it would be that (from the circumstance of a severe indisposition) I stand alone here on the present occasion, the army being still on service; and that I am not accompanied by my gallant brother officers (equally members of this House) who are far more eminently entitled to its thanks, and to the applause of their country, than myself.

“ If I might venture to arrogate any thing beyond the most anxious zeal for the king’s service, and a sincere love for the profession I belong to, it is an ardent desire to follow the footsteps of my great and gallant commander, to whose sole abilities and exertions we stand indebted, not only for the battle of Talavera, but for all those successes which have rendered him alike an ornament to his country, and a terror to her foes. To follow his bright example, to emulate his achievements, and to be thought worthy of his confidence, I shall ever consider as the surest passport to the greatest distinction that can be conferred on a soldier—I mean, the approbation of this honourable House.

“ I must now offer my sincerest acknowledgments to you, Sir, for the very marked kindness you have shewn me in expressing to me the thanks of this House, by condescending to enumerate my humble services in the
partial

partial manner you have done. And I beg to assure you, it will be my anxious study, to avail myself of all occasions to merit the honour which has this day been conferred on me."

As a most distinguished testimony of the high estimation in which his general professional merits and services have been regarded, he has had conferred upon him the marked distinction of being admitted to the Order of the Bath, as one of the Knights of that order; and further permitted to accept and wear the insignia of an Honorary Knight and Commander of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, with which his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal was pleased to honour him, in testimony of the high sense which he entertained of his great courage and intrepidity displayed in the Peninsula.

When the defection of the King of Prussia from the cause of Napoleon took place, Sir Charles Stewart was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin. In this capacity he attended the Prussian army, and reported all its proceedings to the British government, until its triumphant entry into the capital of France. His dispatches are very clearly written, and evince great military knowledge. His personal exertions were not less remarkable than his activity in collecting every material information for his own government; and his ardour in the field had well nigh proved fatal to him, having received a severe contusion by the explosion of a shell shortly after the commencement of the battle of Kulm, which ended in the discomfiture of the French.

Peace, the fruit of so many victories, will doubtless afford this gallant officer an honourable repose in the bosom of his country, which has been so much benefited by his exertions.

Memoirs

OF

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR EYRE COOTE, K.B.

KNIGHT OF THE TURKISH ORDER OF THE CRESCENT, &c.

IN the prescribed limits of our work, it becomes a matter of some difficulty to select the Memoirs of individuals from amongst those who have strong claims upon the public attention. We shall not, however, be charged with trespassing upon the patience of our readers in presenting them with the Memoirs of the present distinguished individual, whose public services entitle him to our particular notice.

Sir Eyre Coote, youngest son of the late Charles Coote, Dean of Kilferhora, brother to Lord Castle Coote, and nephew of the late Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander of the British forces in India, very early displayed a particular ambition for military pursuits. In the year 1776, after finishing at Eton the education which he had commenced in the University of Dublin, he began his career in the 37th regiment, in which corps he carried the colours at the battle of Brooklyn, Long Island, &c. He was present at the reduction of Fort Washington and York Island; also in the expedition to Rhode Island and the Chesapeake; the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, New Jersey; and at the siege of Mud Island. As Captain in the same regiment, he was present at the attack of Washington's Dragoons at New Jersey, and made the whole campaign in the provinces of New York and South Carolina; was at the siege of Charlestown in the campaign in Virginia, and at that of York Town, where he was taken prisoner. Upon his release, he returned home; and, after performing duty five years in Ireland, as Major of the 47th regiment, he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 70th in 1788.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war in

1793, an expedition under the command of Sir Charles Grey was dispatched against the French West-India islands; and General Coote, then a Lieutenant-Colonel, was appointed to the command of the 1st battalion of light infantry. Throughout the whole course of that expedition, he exhibited the greatest gallantry, singular presence of mind, and professional knowledge, which were recorded by the notice of the Commander of the forces, in his dispatches to government, announcing the capture of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe; in the reduction of which places he was materially concerned, particularly in the siege of Fort Bourbon, Martinique, and the storming of the outworks of Morne Fortunée in St. Lucia, as will appear in the following general orders issued by Sir Charles Grey at St. Lucia.

St. Lucia, April 3d, 1794.

“ The Commander-in-chief embraces the first opportunity of declaring his thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Coote and the light infantry under his command, for their gallant and successful attack upon a redoubt and two batteries last night, so near to the enemy’s principal works upon Morne Fortunée, which must make a deep impression upon them. His Majesty’s service is particularly indebted to Lieutenant-Colonel Coote (as well as the Commander-in-chief) for his judicious and spirited conduct, having stormed and seized that important redoubt and two batteries, spiking their cannon, without firing a shot (bayonets alone being made use of), and without the loss of a man: at the same time two officers and thirty of the enemy were killed, one British sailor released from captivity, and one prisoner taken.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Coote has not failed to report the active and meritorious services of Major Evatt, Captains Buchanan, Crosbie, Welch, Stoven, and Captain Grey, aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief, with Major of Brigade Vesscher, and Lieutenant Drozier, and a detachment of royal artillery; to all of whom the General makes his particular acknowledgments for their able and zealous assistance.”

In the attack of the enemy’s camp at St. Lucia, the rapidity and energy of the British troops will never be forgotten in the military annals of their country. Owing
to

to the mistake of the French General Bellegarde in descending the heights which prevented the investment of Fort Bourbon, and attacking the left wing of the British army under the command of General Prescott, at a moment when Sir Charles Grey had meditated an attack on the heights, the success of the British troops was rendered almost inevitable. General Bellegarde being repulsed, the opportunity of storming the enemy's camp was immediately laid hold of, and they were obliged to abandon it, with very considerable loss. This point being accomplished, the Commander-in-chief was enabled to carry into immediate execution the remainder of his plan; and, by the surrender of Fort Bourbon, the whole island fell into his hands.

Soon after the recal of Sir Charles Grey, the enemy attempted to repossess himself of the above places; and the partial success which attended his first operations, induced the British government to dispatch General Sir Ralph Abercrombie to take the command. He arrived in the West Indies early in 1796; and soon after obtained possession of Grenada, Demarara, Essequibo, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad. In the different actions which took place during this West-Indian and South-American campaign, the valour of the British troops was not more conspicuous than the judgment of their several commanders. Many occasions were afforded of general instruction and information, to mature the young officer, and render him fully acquainted with active and arduous service. These favourable opportunities were never lost sight of by Colonel Coote; and he therefrom acquired a pre-eminence in military knowledge, for which he has ever since been highly distinguished.

On his return to England in 1795, with the dispatches of the unfortunate failure at *Flem d'Epée* in Guadalupe, Lieutenant-Colonel Coote was honoured with the appointment of Aide-de-Camp to his Majesty. In 1796 he was appointed Brigadier on the Irish staff, and commanded the camp near Bandon; and in 1798, being a Major-General, was removed to the English staff, and commanded at Dover, till he was appointed to take the command of an expedition sent to destroy the sluices and works in the canal near Ostend. The fleet arrived at its destination, and the troops effected a landing east-

ward of Ostend on the 19th of May. General Coote immediately directed Major-General Burrard to occupy the different forts which protected the sluices, and might impede the execution of the plan. The strongest opposition was shewn on the part of the enemy; but the perseverance of the British troops was finally successful, and numbers of the French were cut off from the town. This first obstacle being removed, the remainder of the operations was ably executed within five hours from the commencement of the attack; and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon a re-embarkation was ordered. Tempestuous weather unfortunately prevented the troops regaining their ships; several boats endeavoured to accomplish that point, but were compelled to return to the shore. In this untoward state of affairs, the enemy being enabled to collect a numerous force, Major-General Coote directed every possible means to be taken in order to strengthen their position. Early next morning several columns made their appearance: and, notwithstanding their superiority of numbers and in point of artillery indicated that resistance would be useless, the gallantry and spirit of the British troops, flushed with recent success, would not admit of a tame submission; and, every mode of defence which would aid their position being made, they steadily awaited the attack. At five o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the enemy's artillery opened a heavy fire on the British; and he was soon enabled, from his numerical strength, to turn their flank. Major-General Coote then perceived that his case was desperate; and in his dispatches to government observes, "that no measure remained to us, but to consult the honour of his Majesty's arms by defending ourselves as long as might be possible." The action lasted nearly two hours, during which an extremely galling fire was sustained, particularly against the left flank of the British, which, as well as the right, was finally turned. In endeavouring to rally the left wing of the army, the principal point of the enemy's attack, and which was obliged to give way to overpowering numbers, Major-General Coote received a severe wound; and, further resistance being unavailing, the British troops were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

Being exchanged, Major-General Coote returned to his former

former command at Dover; and, the following year, 1799, he commanded a brigade in the expedition to Holland. On the 19th September, in the attack made upon Alkmaer, Major-General Coote's and Major-General Don's brigades formed the third column, and, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, were directed to obtain possession of the great road leading to Alkmaer, called Ouds Carspel. This post, situated at the head of the Lang Dyke, was carried by storm; but the division was subsequently compelled to perform a retrograde movement, in consequence of the disasters that befel the 1st and 2d divisions of the army, from the wretched state of the country, and the formidable position occupied by the enemy at Alkmaer; as was also the 4th division of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had been equally successful as the 3d, and had taken possession of the city of Hoorn and its garrison, which he was now obliged to evacuate. In this expedition the conduct of Major-General Coote was honoured with the highest marks of approbation from the illustrious Commander-in-chief.

After the termination of the campaign in Holland, Sir Eyre Coote resumed the command at Dover till 1800, when he was employed in the expedition to Ferrol, and subsequently accompanied Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie to Egypt.

In this campaign, which terminated so gloriously to the British arms, Major-General Coote maintained the renown he had previously acquired, by the successful discharge of several important duties confided to him, in which his profound skill, military talent, and persevering ardour, were eminently conspicuous. He commanded the disembarkation of the 1st division of the army on the 8th of March 1801, one of the most brilliant exploits which the annals of this, or perhaps any country have upon record. The fleet had anchored in the Bay of Aboukir on the 1st of March; but the unfavourable state of the weather, and heavy surf on the beach, prevented them attempting a landing till the 8th. During this interval the enemy had an opportunity of making every preparation which he thought necessary, to oppose us. Notwithstanding this advantage, the
landing

landing was effected in the face of a large body of French troops, though with considerable loss on our part, the British troops having to form on the beach under a very heavy fire of grape and musquetry, exclusive of the heavy guns on the castle of Aboukir, which commanded the whole line. Both in this affair, in the attack on the 13th, and in the battle of the 21st, the enemy's most vigorous and repeated efforts were directed against our right and centre, where Major-General Coote's brigade was posted. The exertions of General Coote were eminently displayed during a most trying and arduous blockade of four months before Alexandria, while Lord Hutchinson's division of the army was at Cairo. Upon Lord Hutchinson's return, General Coote was detached with a large corps to the westward of the town. He took the castle of Marabout; attacked the enemy on the 22d August, completely defeated them, and, as he states in his official dispatches, drove them to the walls of Alexandria.

On his return to England, General Coote received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and the Order of the Bath, as a reward for his distinguished conduct. The Turkish Order of the Crescent was afterwards conferred on him by the Ottoman court.

In 1805, after doing duty some time on the English and Irish staff, Sir Eyre was appointed a Lieutenant-General, and Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, where he remained upwards of three years. In that honourable situation, his zeal for the public good, and his exertions for the welfare of the island, will ever be preserved in the memory of its inhabitants.

On the 22d of July 1809, he embarked at Portsmouth, in command of a division of the army sent to act with Lord Chatham, in an expedition to Walcheren, which was ready to sail about the end of July.

On the 28th of July the expedition sailed from the Downs, under convoy of Rear-Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, and anchored in East Capells Roads in the evening of that day, on the 29th, and on the 30th. The left wing of the army, under Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, was particularly destined for the operations against Walcheren, and arrived in the morning
of

of the last-mentioned day, under convoy of Rear-Admiral Otway. On the 1st of August the troops advanced to the investment of Flushing, which was vigorously contested by the enemy, who was, however, repulsed with much loss. The Commander-in-chief remarks on this affair, "that nothing could exceed the gallantry of the troops throughout the whole of this day, and my warmest praise is due to the several general officers for their judicious dispositions in the advance of their respective columns. To Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote I feel much indebted, for his exertions in this service, and the prompt and able manner in which he has executed my orders." The siege of Flushing commenced on the 3d; and on the 16th the town surrendered to the British arms.

It is here proper to remark, that a naval blockade was to be established, except on the side of Veer and Rammakins, but which did not take place; and the enemy succeeded in throwing from the opposite coast, probably from the canal of Ghent, considerable reinforcements into the place, which enabled him constantly to annoy our outposts and working parties, and to attempt a sally in force, when he was fortunately repulsed. The difficulty of communication which thence arose between the several parts of the British line, determined Lord Chatham to avail himself of the services of the troops under Sir Eyre Coote, though expressly intended for an after operation, in order that his Lordship might relieve the forces before Flushing, and press forward the siege as much as possible.

The unfortunate termination of this expedition, principally arising from the delay that had taken place previous to the army leaving the Downs, and which, as already mentioned, protracted the operations till the unhealthy season of the year, when upwards of one-third of the army were either destroyed or invalided, it is not necessary here to expatiate upon. We shall only observe, that the conduct of Sir Eyre Coote, in commanding the only part of the expedition which was successful, was not more deserving of praise than his unremitting and truly paternal attention to the comfort and relief of the brave but unfortunate soldiers, whom he saw in his crowded

crowded hospitals suffering under the effects of that pestilential climate*.

On the 24th of June 1810, Lieutenant-General Coote succeeded to the Colonelcy of the 34th regiment, the command of which he still holds, revered and beloved by all his officers, and highly respected by the whole regiment.

* The dangerous effects of this climate on British constitutions had been experienced in the year 1747. Walcheren was at that period in the possession of Great Britain, and the sick were in the proportion of four to one; and when auxiliaries were furnished to the Dutch by the Swiss cantons, they conceived it essential to stipulate that they should not be employed in Walcheren.

The statement laid before the House of Commons of our loss in this expedition was as follows:—

Adjutant-General's Office, 1st Feb. 1810.

	Officers.	Serjeants, Trumpeters, Drummers, Rank & File.
Embarked for Service	1738	37,481
Killed	7	99
Died on Service	40	2,041
Do. since sent home	20	1,859
Deserted	—	84
Discharged	—	25
Total of Officers and Men returned, who are now borne on the strength of their respec- tive Corps.	1671	33,373
Of which number are reported sick	217	11,269
(Signed)	HARRY CALVERT, Adj.-Gen.	

After this return the number of sick very much increased; and the effects on the constitution of the British soldiers engaged in this expedition became every day more visible.

Memoirs

OF THE LATE

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE, K.B.

A SMALL departure from our plan of giving the lives of living characters only, we are persuaded, will meet with the approbation of our readers, particularly when this deviation will afford us the opportunity of narrating many occurrences in the late eventful contest which it cannot but be desirable that the English reader should be acquainted with. Besides which, those illustrious characters who have fallen in their country's cause demand a portion of our notice on many accounts: their example will tend to stimulate and keep alive that noble ardour which so actively prevails amongst our naval and military heroes; and, whatever may be the importance attached to our labours, we deem it an act of gratitude due to them to record their achievements, as having contributed so largely to promote the honour and glory of their country. Acting under impressions such as these, we shall follow the present biographical notice (the life of Sir Ralph Abercrombie) with the Memoirs of Sir John Moore; both of whom fell gloriously in the hour of triumph, nobly sustaining a reputation acquired by long and successful services.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was descended from an ancient and most respectable Scottish family; he was the eldest son of George Abercrombie, Esq. of Tullibody, in the county of Clackmannon, by his wife Mary, daughter of Ralph Dundas, of Manour, Esq. The exact date of his birth is not satisfactorily ascertained, but it is supposed to be in the year 1733, as appears by the monumental inscription upon the tomb of this gallant veteran. It has always been acknowledged that the youth of North Britain were formerly sent into the army with a better

education than their southern fellow-soldiers; the officers of the British army not being, at the time Sir Ralph entered upon his military career, remarkable for enlightened minds or brilliant qualifications. The utmost care and attention had been bestowed upon the culture of his natural abilities, and he was considered as a young man of a solid understanding and cultivated mind. Sir Ralph entered into the military service of his country as a Cornet in the 3d regiment of Dragoon Guards on the 23d of May 1756: on the 19th of February 1760, he was appointed to a Lieutenantcy in the same regiment, wherein he continued to serve until the 24th of April 1762; when he was promoted to a troop in the 3d regiment of horse. In this regiment he rose to the rank of Major on the 6th of June 1770, and to that of Lieutenant-Colonel on the 19th of May 1773. We find the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie in the brevet list of Colonels in November 1780; and, on the 3d of November 1781, his appointment to the Colonelcy of a new-raised regiment, the 103d, or King's Irish Infantry. On the conclusion of peace in 1783, Colonel Abercrombie was placed upon half-pay; on the 28th of September 1787, was promoted to the rank of Major-General; and on the 17th of September 1790, the Colonelcy of the 69th regiment of foot was presented to him; from which corps he was removed, in April 1792, to an older regiment, the 6th; from this regiment he was again removed, on the 3d of November 1795, to the command of the 9th dragoons.

Early in the war which followed the French revolution, General Abercrombie was employed on the continent, and displayed all that rigid justice, goodness of heart, and mildness of temper, which were in him so happily combined. On the 23d of April 1793, he obtained the honour of local rank as Lieutenant-General, and on the 26th of January 1797, permanent rank. Throughout those arduous and sometimes distressing campaigns, the conduct of Lieutenant-General Abercrombie was in every instance such as to entitle him to the well-deserved commendations of the Commander-in-chief.

It was in the memorable action fought on the heights of Cateau on the 16th of April 1794, the first affair of great importance in which he bore a part, that the great talents

talents of General Abercrombie developed themselves; the General commanded the advanced guard on that day, when he refreshed the Scottish laurels in the blood of England's enemies. The dispatches of the Duke of York relative to this brilliant action mention General Abercrombie in the following honourable terms:—"I have particular obligations to Lieutenant-General Sir William Erskine, as well as Major-General Abercrombie:" this dispatch is dated the 16th of April. A subsequent one of the 19th of May, again mentions this distinguished officer in terms of approbation:—"The abilities and coolness with which Lieutenant-General Abercrombie and Major-General Fox conducted their different corps under those trying circumstances," &c. &c. In this short but severe action, the troops of the French republic made a vigorous attack on the British lines at day-break on the 26th of April, but were repulsed with considerable loss; their General Chapuy was made prisoner; 35 pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the British, whose troops, the cavalry in particular, covered themselves with glory. In this battle the British army had to lament the loss of a brave and most respectable officer, Major-General Mansell, who fell in the arms of victory.

In the untoward affair before Nimeguen, about the middle of October in the following year, General Abercrombie was wounded, for the first time. The successes of the republican troops at that period naturally alarmed the fears of every court in Europe, and called into active display talents for the field and for the cabinet, which, without such incentives, might have died with their possessors.

Circumstances of a most trying and painful nature served to exhibit the mildness and excellence of this respectable officer's mind and heart. In the winter of 1794, after Lieutenant-General Harcourt had retired into cantonments behind the river Ems, the sick and wounded of the army, as also the Guards, were entrusted to his command. In a melancholy march through an inhospitable country, and in a season of great severity, the active and humane mind of General Abercrombie had ample scope for exertion; he conducted the harassed army from Deventer to Oldenzaal, through roads almost

impassable, inclement weather, and surrounded by an infuriated enemy, licentious and overbearing, on whom neither the love of man nor the fear of heaven could make an impression. It was in the course of this arduous retreat, that the unbounded philanthropy of the veteran General was so strongly evinced; and it is to be lamented that the amiable bent of his mind rather operated to retard than to accelerate such dispositions in the forces under his command as might have rendered their situation less calamitous, and their final security more certain. However, after much mental suffering and bodily exertion, the General arrived with his army in Oldensaal at the end of January 1795.

French intrigues and republican principles were beginning to disseminate themselves in every part of the civilized globe, and the existence of our colonies in the western hemisphere was seriously threatened. General Sir Charles Grey had successfully terminated the war in that quarter; but, on the return of that officer to Europe, affairs assumed a discouraging aspect. The tri-coloured flag was hoisted in the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, and Marie Galante; the republicans had made reprisals of Guadeloupe and St. Lucia. The exigencies of circumstances demanded an able and enterprising commander there; and the ministry fixed upon General Abercrombie, who had been appointed a Knight of the Bath, to carry the victorious banners of his country to those rich and important settlements. In the autumn of 1795, an armament for this purpose was assembled near Southampton, whither Sir Ralph Abercrombie repaired; but circumstances untoward and unforeseen occurred to retard the sailing of the expedition; and it was not till after the equinox had set in, that the convoy could be got under weigh. After many losses in the Channel, and other disasters incident to a winter voyage, General Abercrombie and his staff arrived at their destination, when he immediately commenced his plan of operations. On the 24th of March 1796, by a sudden and unexpected attack, the troops under his command obtained complete possession of Grenada; and, shortly after, by his able and decisive directions, the British flag was seen flying on the ramparts of Demerara and Issequibo, settlements in the important and extensive Dutch provinces of Surinam.

After

After the reduction of the above places, Sir Ralph Abercrombie completed his arrangements with Admiral Christian, the naval commander on the station, for the attack projected on the island of St. Lucia. The armament intended for this service sailed on the 24th of April, and proceeded to attack the fortress of Morne. In this expedition the difficulties which presented themselves to the persevering Abercrombie were overcome by means of the most strenuous exertions and indefatigable endeavours; and, on the 26th of May, the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Pigeon Island also became a dependency of Great Britain. Having by a series of successful operations reduced the island of St. Lucia, in addition to those already enumerated, Sir Ralph Abercrombie turned his attention towards that of Grenada, where hostilities were carrying on under the orders of Major-General Nicholls against the celebrated Fedon, whose courage, talents, and ferocity, rendered him a powerful and implacable enemy. The presence of the veteran Abercrombie, aided by the talents and zeal of General Nicholls, insured complete success; and on the 19th of July the British standard was erected on every post in the island. The General now turned his attention to the Spanish settlement of Trinidad; and, in conjunction with the gallant Rear-Admiral Harvey, dispositions were immediately made for investing this important place. As soon as the season for military operations commenced, the squadron sailed without loss of time; and, on the 16th of February 1797, the armament, consisting of ships of war and transports, passed through the Gulf of Paria, and the fortifications of Gasper Grande: here the Spanish admiral, with four sail of the line and a frigate, lay at anchor. The British frigates led the transports higher up in the bay, where they came to an anchorage, and arrangements were made for a general attack upon the Spanish squadron the next morning before break of day; however, the enemy's ships were discovered to be on fire, and the only one which escaped the devouring element fell to the boats of the British squadron. That part of the island was also evacuated by the enemy, and the British commander landed his forces in order to reduce the town of Port d'Espagne, which was speedily effected, together with every defensible

sible point, except two small forts whither the Spanish garrison had retired. The next day, the whole island passed under the dominion of his Britannic Majesty by capitulation of its Governor, Don Josef Maria Chacun.

The navigation from the Leeward to the Westward Islands being infested by Spanish privateers, which found a safe and expeditious retreat in the harbour of Porto Rico, an expedition was planned against that place in about two months after the reduction of Trinidad: but, from the natural barriers opposed to invasion, the strength of its fortifications, and the impossibility of bringing artillery to act therein, the project was wisely and humanely abandoned by Sir Ralph Abercrombie: the troops were in consequence re-embarked with very trifling loss or molestation. This expedition concluded the services of Sir Ralph Abercrombie in those islands, and his campaigns of 1797.

On the return of Sir Ralph to Europe, his reception by his countrymen, and the ministers of his Majesty, gave him the most distinguishing proofs of the high estimation in which his zeal and talents were held; and, in the domestic circle of an amiable and affectionate family, the veteran for a short time found repose after the toils of war and the vicissitudes of climate. But those endearing comforts so grateful to the husband, the father, and the friend, were not long permitted to the General. Ireland exhibited symptoms of anarchy, and the stifled flame of insurrection threatened to burst forth in all its devastating horrors: from the inflexible justice, calmness, prudence, and moderation of Sir Ralph, he was selected to take the command in that kingdom. Unfortunately, a disposition to insubordination, and indeed actions bordering on licentiousness, had in some degree tarnished the character of the British troops serving there. The susceptible mind of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was keenly awakened by a disgrace which he felt as a soldier; and the strong language in which those feelings were expressed, although considered harsh and impolitic by some individuals, was nevertheless in strict unison with the proper and honourable sentiments of a man entrusted with the lives and honour of the army, and the interests of the king he served. Sound policy requiring that the
civil

civil and military government of that convulsed country should be united under one and the same commander, Sir Ralph was accordingly superseded by the late Marquis Cornwallis. The next appointment filled by the General was that of Commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain. In consideration of his services, Sir Ralph was appointed on the 4th of January a Privy-Counsellor.

In the summer of 1799, the British cabinet, actuated by the most honourable feelings of generosity and national honour, prepared, in alliance with that of St. Petersburg, to strike a vigorous blow for the emancipation of the States of Holland from her subjugators; and accordingly an expedition was prepared with almost unexampled rapidity.

On the 13th of August, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, accompanied by Admiral Mitchell, sailed from Deal. It may be said that this General was never the favourite of the silver-footed goddess, for in his passage the weather was more tempestuous than man could remember for the season. After a most dangerous and turbulent passage, the fleet and transports made the Dutch coast on the 21st of the same month, and immediately prepared for landing, but was again baffled by adverse winds; nor did he until the 26th overcome the elementary obstacles he was opposed to—obstacles which neither the zeal, fortitude, nor perseverance of this officer could provide against. At day-break on the 27th the troops began to debark, covered by Admiral Mitchell, and directed by Sir Ralph, with all the vigour and intrepidity so eminently his own: the most cordial unanimity prevailed in the two services, and, to use the expressive words of the gallant Admiral, they “pulled most heartily together.” The British had no where sufficient ground to form more than a battalion in line; but in the opinion of Sir Ralph the position was not unfavourable, he having neither cavalry nor artillery. The enemy attacked the right flank of our army; and after a severe contest, in which the British lost 500 men, the enemy retreated to a position five miles distant. An attack on the Helder was resolved upon; but, the garrison withdrawing, the town was on the 28th taken possession of by the Marquis of Huntley and Major-General Moore. Reinforcements slowly

slowly arrived; and Sir Ralph, considering the force and strong position of the French and Batavian troops, prudently resolved to continue on the defensive until fresh supplies should enable him to attempt offensive warfare. Here the enemy attacked him on the 10th of September, and were repulsed with very considerable loss.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York landed in Holland on the 13th of September; and reinforcements arriving augmented the allied force to 35,000 men, of which 17,000 were Russians. A general attack was determined upon, and planned accordingly, the left column of which was commanded by the subject of this Memoir: but, owing to the impetuosity of the Russian troops, the whole of the admirably-planned order of battle was disorganized; and the division of Sir Ralph, which had advanced and taken possession of Thorn together with its garrison, was recalled, and the army took up its former position. The Duke of York, not disheartened by the adverse fortune of the day, and having acquired strength by a fresh arrival of Russian troops, determined on offensive measures. On the 26th of September the allied army was put in motion; and on the 2d of October an attack commenced on the whole of the enemy's line. In this affair the right wing of the British was led on by the veteran Abercrombie: the enemy were totally defeated, and retired in the night. The Gazette account of this battle, transmitted by his Royal Highness, bestows warm praises on the conduct of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; but, however brilliant might be the exploits of our gallant army, they could not prevent a reverse of fortune, occasioned principally by the severity of the season, and disadvantages of the country in a military point of view. These circumstances conspiring induced the Duke of York, in concurrence with Sir Ralph, to enter into a convention with the French general for the unmolested embarkation of his army. The veteran Abercrombie quitted his command, and landed with a dejected air, and countenance strongly expressive of the feelings of a disappointed soldier, at Tynemouth in Northumberland; from whence he proceeded to join his family in North Britain.

On the 5th of October 1800, Sir Ralph, having the chief command in the Mediterranean, appeared off Cadiz jointly

jointly with Lord Keith. Morla, since so famous in the annals of his unhappy country, as the traitor who delivered up her capital to her enemies, was governor there. The two British commanders summoned him to surrender the fleet and citadel; the proposal was rejected with indignation: Sir Ralph therefore made preparations to land his forces, consisting of 20,000 men; but the strength of the works being found adequate to the defence of Cadiz, and an epidemic disease raging there, Sir Ralph, with his accustomed prudence, relinquished the enterprise, and the British armament withdrew from before Cadiz.

In the year 1800, the "successful destinies" of Buonaparte led him to attempt the possession of the inexhaustible riches of Hindostan, through the wilds and deserts of Africa: the whole of Egypt was in possession of his myrmidons; and the safety of British India demanded vigour and promptitude on the part of the cabinet of St. James's. The regular troops of France then in Egypt, together with adventurers of every nation, driven by necessity, or drawn by the hopes of gain, into the service, amounted to 45,000 men. The English force destined to expel the tyrants and desolators of Europe from the barbarous but interesting shores and cities of Egypt, had, under cover of annoying the coasts of France, Italy, and Spain, assembled at Malta, and sailed from thence under Sir Ralph Abercrombie on the 10th of December 1800. They arrived at Minorca on the 28th, when the whole army, amounting to 18,000 men, were alternately landed and refreshed by the land breezes of Coromania.

Having waited there nearly two months, during which time a small reinforcement arrived from England, they sailed for Egypt on the 22d of February 1800. The troops, in health and spirits, arrived in Aboukir Bay upon the 2d of March, at ten in the morning. A sham descent had been practised in Marmorice to exercise the soldiers. It was found by this that 6000 men might be landed in the most perfect order, and ready for immediate action, in the short space of twenty-three minutes. Their passage had been boisterous. Several Greek transports had parted from the fleet during a gale of wind, and disappeared for many days, with part of the 12th, the 26th, and Hompesch's regiments of Dragoons. From these

circumstances, and the lateness of the day, the landing was postponed till the following day, and therefore a great advantage lost. Had the landing been attempted then, there would have been no opposition. The enemy, although long before informed of our approach, was totally unprepared, and the lives of many brave soldiers would have been spared. The army was unable to land on the following day, and thus the enemy gained time to collect their forces. Preparations were accordingly made for a stout resistance. The succeeding morning was equally unfavourable, and six days were lost in the same manner. During all this time the English fleet continued in sight of the French army, and were at length so little regarded, that the French, becoming dupes to the delay, actually believed that the whole was merely a feint to cover operations in another quarter; and that our real intention was to steal off in the night, and land at Jaffa, upon the coast of Syria.

The delay, however, was not solely owing to the weather: a part of it may be referred to another cause. Major M'Arras, chief engineer, had preceded the fleet from Marmorice to reconnoitre the country. He had been twice on the Egyptian shore, and with the greatest success. He had observed the lake of Aboukir; had surveyed all the adjoining territory; ascertained the different heights; and selected a convenient spot for landing. Having finished all his plans, he unfortunately ventured on shore a third time to confirm their accuracy, and was observed by a French armed boat at the very instant he was putting off to return to his ship. The wind was against him; and the crew of his boat, finding every effort ineffectual, fell alongside the enemy, and surrendered. By a most dastardly instance of cruelty on the part of the French, they poured a volley of musquetry into the boat after the surrender had taken place, by which Major M'Arras was killed. Our fleet arrived very shortly after this disaster; and the Commander-in-chief, instead of obtaining the information expected, was compelled to wait till the business of reconnoitring, now become more difficult than ever, could be again accomplished.

Thus was the descent of our army postponed until the 8th of March 1801. The French had thus gained even
more

more time than they thought proper to use as the means of defence, and were stationed on the sandy heights eastward and within gun-shot of Aboukir Castle, between that fortress and the entrance to the Lake Said. The spot selected for landing was immediately under this hill; and that a worse place could hardly have been chosen is evident from this circumstance, that the enemy had, besides their artillery upon the heights, a covering for their flanks of eight field-pieces on the right and four upon the left. These, together with the guns of the castle, bore down upon the place of landing. The day prior to that of the descent, signals were made to cook three days' provisions for the troops, and for the boats of every description to put off from their respective ships, and to repair to the Mondavi brig, as a point of rendezvous, when a false fire should be shewn from the Foudroyant, the ship of the Commander-in-chief.

On the following morning, the 8th of March, at three o'clock, A.M. the expected signal was made. Every boat instantly repaired to the several ships to take in their quota of troops; and then proceeded to the appointed station, close in under the hill, about three miles from the enemy, whence they were to move according to the order of battle. Thus they all remained until the whole of the reserve was collected around the Mondavi.

This interesting and ever-to-be-remembered operation is described, by those fortunate persons who composed the gallant army, as the most beautiful, solemn, and imposing spectacle, that man could witness or imagine—a scene that filled the reflecting mind with the most sublime and lofty ideas, which carried it back to those ages hidden behind the veils of fable, or to those more heroic times when the shores of Egypt were trodden by the kings of the world, the heroes of Homer, the patriots of Greece. Silently the British advanced, determined and in arms, to the ancient state of the Ptolemys, within view of that city which yet bears the name of its immortal founder—the scene of Cleopatra's enchantments, of Anthony's magnificence, of the coldness of Octavius, and the fall of Pompey—the ancient mother and nurse of the sciences—that land where the great and divine legislator of the Hebrews was nourished by a daughter of the house of Pharaoh—the land flowing with “corn, wine,

and oil," with "milk and honey," now the hot-bed of fanaticism, ignorance, and barbarism. Language does not describe, nor history record, a military operation of more dignity and interest, or conducted with greater skill and intrepidity, than this memorable descent on the Egyptian coast.

Never was any thing conducted with greater regularity. The French, to their astonishment, as they afterwards related, instead of beholding a number of men landed pell-mell, saw the British troops preparing a regular line as they advanced in their boats, although the wind was directly in their teeth, and finally landed in regular order of battle, under the heaviest fire perhaps ever experienced. Shells, cannon-balls, and grape-shot, coming with the wind, fell like a storm of hail about them, yet not a soldier quitted his seat or moved, nor did a single sailor shrink from the hard labour of his oar. Not a musquet was suffered to be charged until the troops could form upon the strand. They were commanded to sit still in the boats; and this command, with inconceivable firmness, did these men obey, with the exception only of returning for each volley of shot from their enemies three general cheers—an effect of ardour in which their officers found it impossible to restrain them. The feelings of those who remained in the ships were not proof against such a sight. Several of our brave seamen wept like children, and many of those upon the quarter-decks, who attempted to use telescopes, suffered the glasses to fall from their hands, and gave vent to their tears.

But the moment of triumph was at hand. For three long miles, pulling in this manner against the wind, did our brave tars strain every sinew. Several boats were sunk by the bursting of the shells, and about 270 men were killed before they reached the shore. At length, with all their prows touching the beach at the same instant, the boats grounded. Then a spectacle was presented that will be ever memorable. Two hundred of the French cavalry actually charged into the sea, and were seen for a few seconds hacking the men in the boats: these assailants were every one killed. It was now about ten o'clock in the forenoon; and within the space of six minutes from this important crisis, the contest was decided.

cided. The 42d regiment, leaping up to their middle in water, formed rapidly upon the shore; and, with a degree of impatience nothing could restrain, without waiting to load their musquets, broke from the main line before it could be formed, and ran gallantly up the hill, sinking deep in the sand at every step they took. In this perilous situation a body of French cavalry pushed down upon them; but, instead of being thrown into any disorder, they coolly received the charge upon the points of their bayonets, and, the rest of the army coming up, routed the enemy on all sides. The French fled with the greatest precipitation. Our troops had been taught to expect no quarter, and therefore none was given. The wounded and the dying neither claimed nor obtained mercy; all was blood and death. Humanity remembers some things she may wish to forget. Let us express a hope that British glory will not often be thus impaired by such unnecessary havoc on a subdued enemy. Our loss in killed and wounded amounted to 560.

When our troops landed, Jacques Abdallah Menou, commander-in-chief of the French armies in Egypt, was in Cairo. Intelligence had been repeatedly sent to him, accompanied by entreaty, that he would hasten to the relief of Alexandria. The French describe him as a pompous, obstinate, corpulent man, entirely absorbed in composing or in delivering harangues to his soldiers. No persuasion could induce him to move. He considered the affair of our invasion as of little importance. Until our army had actually gained footing in the country, and twice defeated the French troops, he took no measures to interrupt their progress. According to the French statement, General Friant, with a body of cavalry, amounting to 1500 men, was the only force upon the spot to oppose the landing of the English army. Had the resistance been greater, and Menou present, it is believed that the superior advantages of the French position would have rendered a descent upon the coast impracticable.

A skirmish took place upon the 12th of March. In this affair the 12th regiment of dragoons, by too precipitate a charge, suffered very considerably. Colonel Archdale, who commanded it, lost an arm, receiving a shot in the very instant he was raising his sabre as a signal

nal for his troops to advance. This did not prevent him from leading his men gallantly through a body of the enemy, much superior in numbers. Captain Butler, of the same regiment, was also taken prisoner. This brave but rash action was publicly noticed by the Commander-in-chief, and a caution added against the ill effects of such intemperate valour.

On the 13th, the following day, our army attacked and drove the enemy from the heights to which they had retreated after the action of the 8th. This battle was desperately fought on both sides. The result, however, proved the superiority of the English bayonet. The French were found to have used on this occasion bullets and cannon-shot of copper and brass, generally deemed a dishonourable practice, as calculated only to gratify cruelty and malice. The slightest wounds so inflicted are said to be mortal. This species of ammunition was obtained from the sheathing of the ships in the port of Alexandria. Several of those balls were exhibited in the fleet, and some of them were afterwards found in the sand where the action took place. This action, it was reported, was not duly followed up. The enemy were allowed to establish themselves in a most advantageous position, upon some heights, whence it was found extremely difficult to dislodge them. To this place our army pursued them, and then retreated to an eminence near some ruins, rendered afterwards renowned, as the theatre of the most dreadful carnage during the battle of the 21st.

About the 19th of March, Menou arrived in Alexandria, pouring forth a torrent of abuse against the garrison and troops who had opposed the landing of the English army. He reproached them in one of his turgid harangues, with "*allowing, to their everlasting shame, an army of heroes to be chastised by a mob of English school-boys.*" The fat figure of Menou, added to his blustering and gasconading manner, rendered him a pleasant object of ridicule to the natural vivacity of the Frenchmen, who distinguished him by the name of the "*Cochon General.*" Immediate preparations, however, were made for a general attack upon the English with his whole force, *pour les aneantir*, as he expressed it. The day for this great event was fixed for the 21st, when our army was to be surprised

surprised before day-light in its encampment, routed, and tumbled into the lake Aboukir.

At the hour appointed the attack was made. In the beginning of it the French conducted themselves with admirable skill. It is certain our army did not then expect them, although, for two preceding nights, the soldiers had been ordered to lie down upon their arms, and to be ready at a moment's notice. They came silently on, and in good order. With amazing perseverance they crept even upon their hands and knees, through the fear of alarming our videttes. The French videttes were, however, observed to draw nearer and nearer to our's, until, at length, the English sentinel observed the French army close behind, coming slowly on in a line. This man gave the alarm, by firing his piece, and retreating with all possible expedition. The French instantly and rapidly charged up the hill, beginning a false attack upon our left, and carrying a redoubt by means of the bayonet; intending thus to draw our attention from its right, where the main assault was intended. This project, however, was soon perceived by our commander, and failed of its effect. It was still dark. The firing ceased upon the left, and was soon heard very warm upon the right. To that point; therefore, General Abercrombie directed all his attention, although both armies discharged their artillery without discerning a single object, except during the flashes of the cannon, when the French army was not otherwise visible, although now so near, than by the appearance of a long black line, disclosed during those momentary coruscations. As dawn appeared, the French were found to have succeeded in turning our right wing; and a party of their cavalry were actually seen advancing to the rear of the 28th regiment. The prudence and gallant conduct of this regiment gave the first favourable turn to the conflict of the day. Cavalry in the rear of the infantry, have generally the power to throw them into disorder. It was at this critical moment, decisive as to the fate of Egypt, that an Adjutant of the 28th gave the word, "*Rear rank, right-about, face!*" This was readily obeyed; and the soldiers, with astonishing firmness and presence of mind, sustained a severe attack in front and rear

rear at the same time, without a single man moving from his place. At this juncture, the 42d regiment coming up to aid the 28th, were themselves overwhelmed and broken by a body of the enemy's cavalry. Still, though dispersed, they resisted to a man; and were seen so intermingled with the enemy, that the flank companies of the 40th, stationed in the openings of the ruins upon the right, were afraid to fire for fear of destroying them. Menou had promised a louis to every French soldier who should be concerned in establishing a position in that building; and several attempts were made for the purpose. The 58th had been stationed there in the beginning of the action, with a part of the 23d, and had already repulsed a column of the enemy in its attack upon this place; when, during the severe conflict sustained by the 28th in front, three columns forced in behind the redoubt where that regiment was stationed, and, while some of them remained to carry on the attack upon its rear, the principal part penetrated into the quadrangular area formed by the ruin. Here they were received by the 58th and 23d, and followed by a part of the 42d, who cut off the retreat, so that a most desperate conflict ensued. Our men attacked them like wolves, with less ardour than valour, displaying a degree of intrepidity nothing could resist. After expending all their ammunition, they had recourse to stones and the butt end of their pieces, transfixing the Frenchmen with their bayonets against the walls of the building, until they had covered the sand with the blood and bodies of their enemies; where they remain heaped at this hour, a striking monument of the horror of that day. Not fewer than 700 Frenchmen were bayoneted or shot among those ruins.

By some unaccountable negligence, the principal part of the artillery and ammunition had not been brought to the station then occupied by our army; hence originated the saying, that the French had been beaten by an enemy destitute of artillery. Certain it is, that both the 28th and 42d regiments, towards the termination of the conquest, were reduced to the necessity of throwing stones. General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with a view, as it is related, of rallying the 42d, hastening towards the dreadful conflict in the ruin upon the right, was nearly surrounded

rounded by a party of French cavalry. A dragoon made a thrust at him; but Sir Ralph, receiving it between his breast and his left arm, wrested the weapon from his antagonist. At this instant an English soldier, seeing another ride towards the General to aim a blow at him, and being without ball, thrust his ramrod into his piece, and with it shot the dragoon. Soon after, Sir Ralph was seen without his horse, the animal having been shot under him; when Sir Sydney Smith coming up supplied him with that whereon he was mounted. It was on this occasion that Sir Ralph presented to Sir Sydney the sabre he had wrested from the dragoon. Soon after, our venerable Commander received in his thigh the fatal shot of which he afterwards expired.

Victory now declared itself for the English; and it may be said to date from the moment when Abercrombie received his mortal wound. Five French generals were killed. Menou's horse was shot under him. It is said that he wept when he beheld the fate of the day, and exerted himself in vain endeavours to rally his retreating army. Amongst the wounded on our side were Generals Oakes, Moore, Hope, and Sir Sidney Smith. The loss sustained by the French was not less than 4000. Eleven hundred of their dead were buried by our own troops. After the action, both armies maintained the same positions they had occupied before the battle.

Every officer, every soldier bearing British arms, shared in the glories of that memorable day, when the French were routed and driven from every part of the plains. But, in the language of Schiller, "it was a dear bought victory, a melancholy triumph;" for their father, their friend, their humane and just commander, the venerable Abercrombie, carried his death-wound from the field. He had been struck in the thigh by a musquet-ball early in the action, but continued to lead his army to conquest, until, faint from loss of blood, the grey-haired warrior retired to his tent. It was not until victory displayed her broad banner over his venerable head, that the old man's spirits forsook him; while the fortune of the day was yet doubtful, he remained upon his horse cheering and directing his troops.

Every care which medical skill joined to affection and respect could invent, was tried in vain to save Sir

Ralph: the ball could not be found; and he expired on board of the fleet on the 28th of March 1801. He was interred in the Island of Malta in a soldier's grave, embalmed with their tears, and fixed in their remembrance; and in the same year the British government voted him a monument at the public expence, which is erected in the cathedral church of St. Paul's.

General Abercrombie fully knew, and deeply felt, the nice responsibility of a man who is intrusted with the lives of his fellow-creatures, and the interests of his native land. He considered war not so much the school of fame and high road to fortune, as a sacred and trying duty; and he looked upon victory as only gratifying when it served to advance the prosperity and security of mankind. "These victories," he would say, "make me melancholy." The simplicity of his manners, and the integrity of his principles, had endeared him to those who best knew him, and who survived to mourn his loss; and his renown as a soldier rendered his fall a source of regret to the nation he had served, in almost every climate, for forty-six years.

Memoirs

OF THE LATE

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

SIR JOHN MOORE.

SIR JOHN MOORE was born at Glasgow, in the year 1760. He entered the army at a very early period of life; and, from the connexion which his father, Dr. Moore, had formed with the families of Hamilton and Argyle, he rapidly rose in the service. In 1790 he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 51st regiment of foot, and shortly after was actively employed in the Mediterranean.

The force under Lord Hood having been obliged to evacuate Toulon in the latter part of the year 1793, notwithstanding the most spirited exertions on the part of that gallant commander; and a place of arms in that quarter being absolutely necessary for our troops and navy, and for the reception of those numerous bodies of emigrants who at that period solicited the protection of Great Britain, the kingdom of Corsica was regarded as suitable to those objects. General Pascal Paoli had determined to contend once more for the sovereignty of his native isle; and this officer entered into a secret correspondence with Great Britain, to which he made an offer of the sovereignty of Corsica.

Lieutenant-Colonel Moore and Major Koehler were selected as most proper officers to inquire into the probability of success that would attend operations in that quarter. These officers landed secretly, had an interview with Paoli, and made a flattering report of his power and authority. This intelligence determined Lord Hood to anticipate the French, who had embarked a body of troops at Nice for the subjugation of the island, and accordingly sailed from the Hieres in the beginning of 1795. Having anchored in a bay to the westward of

Mortella tower, a body of troops (consisting of the 2d battalion of the Royals, the 11th, 25th, 30th, 50th, 51st and 69th regiments, amounting in all to about 1400 men) was landed under Lieutenant-General Dundas, and it was determined that this important post should be immediately seized, without which the anchorage could not be deemed secure. A regular siege was, however, rendered necessary; and the garrison surrendered in two days. Lieutenant-Colonel Moore was not present; he had been detached with two regiments, a small howitzer, and a six-pounder, for the purpose of seizing on Fornelli by a sudden and unexpected movement. Having dragged these for the space of several miles through a mountainous country, on reconnoitring the place (which in the preceding year had resisted the attack of our flying squadrons), it was found that it could not be taken by a *coup de main*. The present expedition, however, proved the means of its capture; for Sir John Moore reported that, provided heavy artillery was brought up, an attack on the enemy's posts seemed likely to be attended with success. Accordingly, after four days' incessant fatigue, a sufficient quantity of ordnance was advanced to an eminence, elevated no less than 700 feet above the level of the sea. From this commanding height a single eighteen-pounder so annoyed two French frigates in the adjacent bay of St. Fiorenzo, that they were forced to retire; while one battery, consisting of three pieces of artillery, enfiladed the redoubt of the convention, and a second took it in reverse. A body of Corsicans, amounting to 1200 men, now advanced to the support of the British troops; and the French commander having refused to capitulate, an immediate assault was resolved upon. The assault commenced on the evening of the 17th of February: a column under Lieutenant-Colonel Moore advanced against the nearest part of this redoubt, while Lieutenant-Colonel Wauchope and Captain Stewart extended in the centre and on the left, and having thus divided the attention of the enemy, drove them down a steep hill in the rear. The English now became masters of the town as well as the gulf of St. Fiorenzo.

The possession of Calvi was the next object of the British General; and on the 9th of June 1795, the troops having received considerable reinforcements under Lieutenant-

tenant-General Stewart, they encamped at Serra del Cappuchine, distant three miles from the object of their attack. But, before the body of the place could be attacked, it became necessary to carry two detached forts, Mollinochesco and Mozello. The movements of the army compelled the French to evacuate the former; and, a breach appearing by this time practicable in the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore was directed to take it by assault. Day-break was judged the most proper for making the attempt, while, to arrive there at the appointed moment, it became necessary to post the troops among bushes, and as near the breach as possible, so as not to alarm the enemy, who refused to yield until drawn out by force, and were prepared with grenades, as well as musquetry and cannon, to defend the position. In the mean time false attacks were made in other quarters; and General Stewart, who was extremely anxious for the event, having arrived before day-light, after a short consultation gave the signal for attack. On this, Lieutenant-Colonel Moore and Major Brereton rapidly advanced with unloaded arms, so as, if possible, to surprise the enemy. While in the midst of this career, they were observed from the ramparts, and a volley of grape-shot was fired, which did little execution. The storming party now scrambled up amidst the rubbish, regardless of the fire of small arms, and the bursting of shells. While Lieutenant-Colonel Wemyss, with the Royal Irish regiment of artillery, and two pieces of cannon, carried the battery on the left, the assailants pursued their progress towards the breach. A variety of impediments occurred, both from the nature of the ground and the desperate resistance made by the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Moore received a contusion in the head by the bursting of a shell, yet, notwithstanding the effusion of blood, he entered the place along with the grenadiers. On General Stewart quitting Corsica, he recommended Lieutenant-Colonel Moore, now invested with the rank of Adjutant-General, as a proper person to succeed him.

On the return of Adjutant-General Moore to England, he was appointed to serve in an important expedition projected against the French West-India colonies, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

The

The expedition left the British shores in the autumn of 1795; and the fleet and transports arrived early in the succeeding year at Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes. After the capture of the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Issequibo, and Berbice, part of the troops selected for the reduction of St. Lucia (among which the subject of this Memoir served with the rank of Brigadier-General) proceeded to Longueville's Bay, and effected a landing without any considerable opposition. Having advanced next morning to Choe Bay, the centre division of the army disembarked near the village of the same name, on which an advanced body of the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strongest posts in the island. Before any further progress could be made, it was deemed necessary to occupy this high and commanding eminence. Accordingly two officers were selected to lead the troops, and were employed in two separate attacks. General Moore, with seven companies of the 53d regiment, 100 of Malcolm's, and 50 Lewinstein's Rangers, was ordered to advance by a circuitous path, while General Hope, with 350 of the 57th, was to march by a nearer and more direct route. But, in consequence of some error on the part of the guides, arising from the circumstance of its being a night attack, the former fell in with an advanced picquet, considerably more than had been expected, so that his intentions were discovered, and the meditated assault anticipated. Notwithstanding this, General Moore immediately resolved to commence operations without waiting for the approach of the other column, and, by a prompt and decisive movement, succeeded in carrying this post. The next day he advanced and seized on Morne Duchassaux, in the rear of Morne Fortunée, in the possession of which the principal strength of the enemy consisted. The French batteries, however, were not carried for some days after; but two parallels, provided with heavy artillery, having been completed, and the enemy repulsed by General Moore during a desperate sally for the protection of the village, a lodgment was effected within a few hundred yards of the fort; and on the 25th of May 1796, this island surrendered to the British arms.

The next services of General Moore were in the expedition to Holland under the command of the Duke of York.

York. In that army he commanded a brigade, and highly distinguished himself on all occasions.

From Holland he went with Sir Ralph Abercrombie to Egypt. The army arrived in Aboukir Bay on the 7th of March; and the first division having embarked in the boats, a rocket was fired at three o'clock in the morning as a signal to proceed to the place of rendezvous, and at nine they advanced towards the beach, steering directly towards that part of the shore where the enemy appeared most formidable. The position occupied by the enemy consisted of a steep sand hill, receding towards the centre, in form of an amphitheatre, which, together with the castle of Aboukir, poured down a destructive and continual discharge of shot, shell, and grape, so as to furrow up the waves on all sides of the approaching flotilla. Notwithstanding this, Major-General Moore having leaped on shore with the reserve, the 23d regiment, and the four flank companies of the 40th, belonging to his brigade, rushed up the eminence, and charged with fixed bayonets. The effect produced by this movement was such as might have been expected; for another body of troops was also enabled to get on shore. The army continued to advance, pushing the enemy with the utmost vigour, and ultimately forcing them to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights, which form the principal defence of Alexandria. It was intended to have attacked them in their last position; for which purpose the reserve under Major-General Moore, which had remained in column during the whole day, was brought forward, and, the second time, under the command of Major-General Hutchinson, marched to the left, across a part of the lake Marcotis, with a view to take the enemy on both flanks: but, on reconnoitring their position, prudence required that the troops which had behaved so bravely should not be exposed to a certain loss.

In the action of the 13th of March, the reserve under Major-General Moore was kept in column for a considerable time, with a view to assail one of the flanks of the enemy; but after some hesitation it was deemed advisable to encamp with the right to the sea, and the left to the canal of Alexandria. After this action, "when the enemy had been repulsed and driven back to the heights

heights near Alexandria, it seems the British columns followed the French, and advanced close to their heights. The enemy, believing that they should be instantly attacked, had withdrawn their artillery, and were preparing to retreat, when to their surprise the English army was halted. The moment this was observed, an officer belonging to the French *Etat-Major* made a signal with his hat, and the artillery which had been withdrawn was instantly brought again on the heights, and a severe fire directed on the British army. His cannonade could not be returned, as General Abercrombie had not been able to bring up his artillery. This unfortunate halt, and the consequent deliberation which took place among the general officers, consumed a considerable portion of time, during which the English forces suffered severely. At length, a retreat was ordered, and they retired out of the reach of the enemy's cannon. It is well known, however, that the late gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie's sight was very imperfect; the indecision which has been noticed on this occasion, may, perhaps, be attributed to that cause."

In the battle of Aboukir Major-General Moore was wounded in the leg; he, however, refused to quit the field, and continued to exert himself to the utmost. We shall in this place introduce the observations of his Royal Highness the Duke of York on this battle, when he thanked the troops for their gallant exertions:—"An attack begun an hour before day-light could derive no advantage over the vigilance of an army ever ready to receive it; the enemy's most vigorous and repeated efforts were directed against the right and centre. Our infantry fought in the plain, greatly inferior in the number of their artillery, and unaided by cavalry. They relied upon their discipline and courage. The desperate attacks of a veteran cavalry, joined to those of a numerous infantry, which had vainly styled itself *Invincible*, were every where repulsed; and a conflict the most severe terminated in one of the most signal victories which ever adorned the annals of the British nation."

Notwithstanding General Moore's wound, Major-General Cradock having been confined at Cairo by illness, General Hutchinson, who had succeeded the gallant Abercrombie, entrusted the command of the troops to Major-General
Moore,

Moore, who, during a long march of a very novel and critical nature, displayed his usual judgment.

After the campaign in Egypt, Major-General Moore was placed on the staff of the southern military district, and commanded the troops stationed at and in the neighbourhood of Sandgate. In May 1808, he was entrusted with the command of 10,000 men to assist the King of Sweden against a combined attack from Russia, France, and Denmark.

The expedition reached Gottenburgh on the 17th of May; but, some opposition having been made to the landing of the troops, Sir John Moore repaired to Stockholm. The General's brother, Mr. James Moore, in "*A Narrative of the Campaigns of the British army in Spain*," has furnished the public with the following statement of his conduct at the court of Sweden.

On Sir John Moore's arrival at Stockholm, "he there found to his surprise that, although the Swedish army was quite inadequate even for offensive operations, his Majesty's thoughts were entirely bent on conquest. It was first proposed that the British should remain in their ships, till some Swedish regiments should be collected at Gottenburgh; and that the combined forces should land and conquer Zealand. Upon an examination of this plan, it was acknowledged, that the island of Zealand, besides containing several strong fortresses, was filled with a far superior regular force to any that could be assembled; and also that the island of Funen was full of French and Spanish troops, which could not be hindered from crossing over in small bodies. Sir John Moore, in the mildest and most respectful manner, represented that these difficulties seemed too great to be surmounted by the bravest troops. It was next proposed that the British alone should land in Russian Finland, storm a fortress, and take a position there. This notion was still more preposterous than the former; and Sir John Moore endeavoured to prove, that 10,000 British were insufficient to encounter the principal force of the Russian empire, which would quickly be brought against them at any point so near Petersburg. The objections which he was obliged to make to these, and to another scheme equally impracticable, drew upon him the resentment of his Swedish Majesty, who arrested him in his capital.

He, however, with considerable address, withdrew himself from the thralldom of Sweden without committing his government; and, conformably to his instructions, brought back the army to England."

Allowing for the natural partiality of a brother, the above statement may be considered in a great degree correct. It is, however, well known that Sir John Moore possessed a reprehensible warmth of temper, which was most particularly evident in the case of Monsieur de Charmilly; and we have therefore every reason to suppose that the King of Sweden would not have resorted to so violent and unjustifiable a measure, had not some grounds existed for the same, further than the mild and respectful manner in which Mr. James Moore states his brother to have started objections to the plans of the Swedish monarch.

By far the most important event, however, in the life of Sir John Moore, is the command of that expedition entrusted to his charge, which was undertaken in aid of the Spanish patriots, for the defence of their country against the usurpations of France. In every former field of action, with the exception of his expedition to the Baltic (where his military talents were not called into display), Sir John had only held a subordinate command: in his campaign in the Peninsula, however, he commanded in chief; his conduct of that campaign must therefore form the principal grounds on which impartial history will be enabled to form a judgment of his character as a general. But, although it too often happens, that the opinion of mankind as to the merits of an individual in the execution of an important operation is drawn from the fortunate or unfortunate result of it, without regarding the causes which more immediately or remotely affect such a contingency; yet, in the case of the unfortunate termination of Sir John Moore's campaign, however disastrous to the army which he commanded, and to the cause which he was sent to serve, no one has ever ventured to accuse the General of incapacity or want of military skill in the conduct of the forces entrusted to his command. The high reputation his former services had acquired him, as well as his last signal triumph over the enemy, when he fell gloriously in the arms of victory, utterly preclude the possibility

sibility of any such imputation. The difficulties by which he saw himself surrounded when advanced into the heart of Spain, and the overwhelming force of the enemy opposed to him, appeared to him to render any farther exertions unavailing; and the only alternative that remained, was the relinquishment of a cause already deserted by a government and people whose interests it was more particularly calculated to serve.

Although a slight review of the transactions of this campaign has already appeared in our former Memoirs, particularly in those of the immortal Wellington (where, for the sake of continuity in our narrative, we had found it necessary to take a retrospective glance at the proceedings of the British army in the Peninsula previous to the period of that illustrious character being invested with the chief command); yet the circumstances connected with that campaign form so prominent a feature in the life of the gallant subject of our present biography, that it would be by far too great an omission to pass over the whole unnoticed in this place. We shall, however, endeavour to avoid as much as possible a repetition of what has been already related; confining ourselves principally to a developement of those circumstances which operated in inducing a conviction in the mind of Sir John Moore, of the necessity of that abandonment of the Spanish cause which terminated so disastrously in the unfortunate retreat to Corunna.

Immediately after the return of Sir John Moore from his expedition to the Baltic, he was directed to proceed with the army then under his command, and Lord Paget's brigade of cavalry, to Portugal, where he arrived whilst the convention of Cintra was pending; and it was intended that he should have served in that country as third in command. Soon after that event, however, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard were recalled, to attend a Board of General Officers instituted to inquire into the merits of that convention. Sir John Moore was then nominated to the chief command of that army destined to advance into Spain in aid of the patriots.

In order to shew the views of the British ministry as to the operations to be undertaken by the British army after its arrival in Spain, and upon other subjects connected with the deliverance of the Peninsula, we cannot refer to a better authority than to Lord Castlereagh's

letter, of the 30th of September 1808, to Major-General Lord W. Bentinck, who had proceeded to Madrid for the purpose of consulting with Count Florida Blanca and the Central Assembly upon those subjects. His Lordship says—"The amount of the British force, which it is proposed to employ in Spain, will fall very little short of 40,000 men; to consist of 30,000 infantry, rank and file, 5000 cavalry, and the necessary proportion of foot and horse artillery, waggon train, &c. the whole to be assembled under the orders of Sir John Moore, on the borders of Galicia and Leon, from whence they may operate in the open country, as soon as the necessary proportion of horses and mules can be procured to render them moveable; leaving it to the Spanish armies, not having a due proportion of cavalry, to act on their flanks in the mountains. Sir David Baird, with 12,000 men, is ordered immediately to sail for Corunna. Sir John Moore is to move the remainder of the force required to complete the 30,000 infantry, from Portugal, either by land or sea, as he may find most convenient, sending the two regiments of cavalry under Brigadier-General Stewart, through the interior; the rest of the cavalry will be sent from hence as speedily as circumstances will permit. To render the northern provinces the more secure while our army is assembling, and to co-operate with the other Spanish corps in circumscribing the enemy's positions on the Ebro, the Marquis of Romana has determined to proceed with his own corps, amounting to nearly 10,000 men, to St. Andero; and he proposes, on his arrival there, by the incorporation of the armed peasantry of the Asturias and the Montagna, to augment their numbers to at least 20,000 men, which, with the Asturian army and Blake's, will carry the force in that quarter to 60 or 70,000 men, exclusive of the armies operating towards the front and left of the enemy's line. I am not enabled to send you any precise calculation of the number of horses and mules we shall want; the cavalry, artillery, and waggon train, will be provided from hence; the stores and baggage of the army, the commissariat, &c. must be equipped in Spain. I have sent a commissary into the northern provinces to collect what can be had. Sir David Baird is directed, on his arrival at Corunna, to equip his corps, if possible, from the resources of Galicia and the north
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of Portugal. Sir John Moore, when he has arranged the movement of his army from Portugal, will probably superintend the equipment on the spot. I have only, in the mean time, to request you will communicate with those in authority on the best means of rendering this important force serviceable as early as possible, and that you will cause orders to be sent into the provinces of Galicia, &c. to facilitate the equipment of the army, and insure them a good reception. The Marquis of Romana has written to make his government perfectly understand the principles upon which our decision has been taken, and why they must not expect the British troops to take the field in detached corps."

Such were the plans devised by the British ministry for affording the most effectual aid to the Spanish patriots. Their recent successes, and the spirit which seemed to animate the whole nation against its perfidious invader, as displayed in the heroic defence of Saragossa by General Palafox, together with the surrender of Dupont's army at Baylen to the forces under General Castanos and Reding, appeared to warrant the expectation of the most zealous co-operation on their behalf.

Sir John Moore, having received the final instructions of his court, quitted Lisbon on the 27th of October, the whole of his troops having previously marched in three columns, and by different routes. The right column, under the command of General Hope, consisting of the cavalry and artillery, with four regiments of infantry, proceeded by Elvas and Badajos, on the high road to Madrid; and two brigades, under Major-General the Honourable Edward Paget, by Elvas and Alcantara: the rest of the army moved through Almeida; two brigades, under Major-General Beresford, by way of Coimbra; those under Lieutenant-General Fraser took the route of Abrantes. These troops were to unite at Salamanca, which was fixed upon as the point for the whole army to concentrate. Head-quarters, and the medical staff, proceeded by the central route.

Sir John Moore warned the troops, in general orders, previous to the commencement of his march, that the Spaniards were a grave, orderly people, extremely sober, but generous and warm in their temper, and easily offended by any insult or disrespect that was offered them;

them; and he endeavoured to impress upon their minds the propriety of accommodating themselves to these manners, and not shocking, by their intemperance, a high-minded nation, who were grateful to the British, and worthy of being their allies. Respecting the sick, he observed, with much concern, their numbers were daily increasing; it was owing, in a great degree, to their own intemperance, that so many of them were rendered incapable of marching against an enemy; and, having stated this, he felt confident that he need say no more to British soldiers to insure their sobriety. This sickness was greatly increased by the heavy rains to which they were exposed in their ill-constructed huts.

In passing through the Portuguese territory the troops were regular and orderly in their conduct towards the inhabitants, which formed a striking contrast to the cruelty and rapine that, of late years, have disgraced the armies of France. The people were civil; but considerable difficulties arose in provisioning the troops. The army had marched from Lisbon without money; and great inconvenience was the result. The difficulty arising from this being at length surmounted, Sir John Moore, on the 12th of November 1808, arrived at Ciudad Rodrigo, and on the 13th with his advanced guard at Salamanca, the leading regiments from Almeida on the following day; and, except the 1st battalion of the 32d, which was left to bring up the heavy stores from Villa Velha, all the troops reached Salamanca before the 24th.

Previous to his entering the city, he was apprised that the army of Estremadura, commanded by Blake, had been defeated after several actions, commencing on the 31st of October, near Sornosa, where he was repulsed, and obliged to retire on Valmaseda, and from thence on Espinosa de los Monteros. At the first place an action was fought on the 5th of November, which was partially favourable to our allies; but an attack made by the French on the 10th and 11th, at Espinosa de los Monteros, completely destroyed the Spanish army; their left wing was forced to give way, and the road by which the Spanish general attempted to defile being commanded by a hill in the possession of the enemy, further resistance on the part of the Spaniards was useless.

On the second night after his arrival, Sir John Moore was
awakened

awakened by an express from General Pignatelli, the governor of the province, to inform him that the French army had taken possession of Valladolid, twenty leagues only from Salamanca. This intelligence gave the British General the greatest uneasiness: he had only three brigades of infantry with him, and none of his artillery had come up. In this dilemma his first thought was to fall back upon Ciudad Rodrigo; but he soon learnt that the enemy had retired to Palencia, and that none of their infantry had advanced beyond Burgos; he, therefore, sent orders to Sir David Baird, who had arrived with a force of 12,000 men at Corunna on the 14th of October, and Sir John Hope, to concentrate their divisions, and join him with all speed.

Every day now brought with it new causes of anxiety, and intelligence of fresh disasters. Blake's army was dispersed, and Buonaparte was at perfect liberty to turn his force against Castanos, or march to prevent a junction of the English. Sir John Moore, placed nearly in the centre between two divisions of his army which were approaching upon Salamanca by different points, was compelled to remain inactive. In this situation of affairs, perceiving the supineness of the Spanish government, and indignant at discovering the weakness which they had concealed from him until he was in the heart of Spain, he began to despair of their cause. He saw nothing around him but an inactivity, which he attributed to torpor and indifference. They had not, he said, shewn themselves a wise and a provident people; their wisdom was not apparent in their actions. Such were the impressions the British General received of the Spanish nation; and he daily regretted his advance into the country without having previously ascertained the real sentiments of the Spanish nation, and their ability to resist the invaders.

In the mean time the army under Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird had reached Corunna on the 14th of October. It did not appear that the Junta was prepared for the arrival of these troops; and consequently it became necessary to send an express to the Supreme Junta, at Madrid, for directions in respect to their debarkation. Sir David Baird is a brave experienced veteran; he had signalized himself in Indian warfare, and
conducted,

conducted, with considerable ability, across the burning sands of Arabia, the army destined to co-operate with Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the expulsion of the French from Egypt; but the difficulties he experienced in the first instance, respecting the landing of his troops, and subsequently in their advance through the country, gave him an unfavourable idea of the cause in which he was now employed, and his sentiments tended to increase the despondence which had already taken deep root in the breast of the Commander of the forces.

Sir John Moore, in a letter to Lord William Bentinck, observes, "that he is sorry to say, from Sir David Baird he hears nothing but complaints of the Junta of Corunna, who afford him no assistance. They promise every thing, but give nothing; and, after waiting day after day for carts, which they had promised to procure for the carriage of stores, his commissary was at last obliged to contract for them at an exorbitant price. This is really a sort of conduct quite intolerable towards troops that the Spanish government have asked for, and whose advance they are daily pressing." Owing to these circumstances, Sir David Baird was under the necessity of dividing his army into small detachments, which followed each other at considerable distances.

About the 18th of November the position of Sir David Baird's army, with the advance somewhat beyond Astorga, and a tail of troops reaching to Corunna, became a matter of serious moment. The Lieutenant-General, therefore, assembled his general officers, and informed Sir John Moore of their unanimous opinion, in consequence of Blake's army being defeated, and the critical situation of that under Castanos, that he ought not to attempt to advance till his force was assembled there, which would not be before the 4th of December. The distance between Corunna and Astorga is little more than 200 miles, but the British commissaries were at that time inexperienced, and the Spaniards gave no assistance to facilitate the advance of the troops. Sir John Moore's opinion of the hopelessness of affairs was thus confirmed by the report Sir David Baird made of the difficulties he had already met with in his march from the coast.

On the 28th of November, Sir John Moore received
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the intelligence of the armies of Arragon and Valencia, under Generals Castanos and Palafox, being defeated at Tudela. He had never entertained any other expectation; it had always been his opinion that the south of Spain should have been fixed upon as the scene of action in preference to the north, and that Cadiz, not Corunna, should have been chosen for the disembarkation of the British, who might afterwards form a junction at Seville or Cordova. He now determined to retire upon Portugal. "In this case," Sir John expresses himself in a letter to Mr. Frere, "I shall fall back upon my resources at Lisbon; cover a country where there is a British interest; act as a diversion in favour of Spain, if the French detach a force against me; and am ready to return to the assistance of the Spaniards, should circumstances again render it eligible. By marching into Spain I detach myself from my resources, and should probably be able to take with me only a small portion of the military stores I have brought forward; in which case I should not be able, for a time, for much contest: but every thing could be sent from Lisbon to Cadiz, and thence join me. The movement into Spain is one of greater hazard, as my retreat to Cadiz or Gibraltar must be very uncertain. I shall be entirely in the power of the Spaniards; but, perhaps, this is worthy of risk, if the government and the people of Spain are thought to have still sufficient energy, and the means to recover from their defeats; and, by collecting in the south, be able, with the aid of the British army, to resist, and finally repel, the formidable attack which is prepared against them."

On the same day that Sir John Moore made this communication to Mr. Frere, he expresses himself in a private letter to Mr. Stuart as follows:—"I have every inclination to think well of the Spanish cause; that I wish it well is most certain, and shall be most proud to give it every aid in my power; but, really, so little ability has been displayed by the government, or by those employed to direct their armies; there appears so much apathy in the people, and so little means prepared for resistance, that I do not see how they can stand against the enemy. The French will have troublesome subjects; but, in the first instance, they will have little more than a

march to subdue the country. I have not a shilling. The Spaniards, I find, promise much more than they perform. Sir David Baird, upon some false intelligence that the French had collected a large force at Rio Seco and Ampudia, has taken measures to retreat, but I shall be able to stop him; and I hope, by the 7th or 8th of December, we shall be able to effect a junction. I hope to meet Romana on his passage to the army. The intelligence was sent to Baird by General Blake. The French have many friends in this country; it is from them that a thousand reports are daily spread to the disadvantage of the *good cause*."

Circumstances, henceforward, still continued to increase this gloomy presentiment of the future, which filled the mind of the British general. It is true, the patriotism which he had been taught to expect, was not visible in the actions of the Spaniards, nor was a due attention paid to the wants of their ally; however, this cannot, with justice be charged upon the people, but was, in truth, owing to their disjointed and ill-constructed form of government, in which there was not a sufficient portion of talent and ability to direct and organize the vast means and resources of the kingdom.

Previous to the destruction of the army commanded by General Castanos, at Tudela, Sir John Moore entertained a slight hope that something favourable to the cause might yet occur; this unfortunate event, however, confirmed his apprehensions. The first idea that presented itself afterwards was a retreat upon Portugal, although by so doing he was aware that an opportunity would be afforded the enemy of destroying the remaining Spanish armies in detail. While a respectable British force remained in the country, the patriotic spirit was kept alive and animated to a further resistance against the power of France. Of this Sir John Moore was sensible, and also of how much importance the presence of his army was to the success of the great struggle in which Spain was engaged; yet, by remaining in his present position, he was afraid of drawing the whole power of the French upon himself. With this impression upon his mind, he ordered Sir David Baird to fall back upon Corunna, and sail from thence to the Tagus, directing him to write immediately to England, and request that transports might be

be sent without delay to Lisbon, as he conceived it would be impossible to defend Portugal if Spain was completely subdued by the enemy, and therefore the only remaining object appeared to be the embarkation of the troops. This object seemed now to be uppermost in his mind, as he concluded the safe return of the army would be grateful to the people of England, and reconcile them, in some degree, to the disappointments which he was well aware would be generally felt on the non-success of the measures proposed by government to secure the Peninsula from the thralldom of Buonaparte. He had written, a few days before, to Lord Castlereagh, saying, "that he had ordered a depôt of provisions, for a short consumption, to be formed at Almeida, and perhaps the same should be done at Elvas; in that case the progress of the enemy might be checked, while the stores were embarking at Lisbon, and arrangements were made for carrying off the army. Beyond this, the defence of Lisbon, or of Portugal, should not be thought of."

In communicating his resolution of retiring to the British government, Sir John Moore wrote in the same desponding spirit. "Portugal," he said, "could not be defended against a superior enemy; the Spaniards, however, might rally in the south, and the English might still be of use if they were landed at Cadiz. But it was impossible to be very sanguine on the subject, after what had been seen."

When the intention of retreating was made known to the army at Salamanca, it was very generally disapproved of. Murmurs against it were heard in every quarter, from men of all ranks. Even the staff officers lamented this resolution of their Commander, and doubted the wisdom of his decision. In his letter to Mr. Frere, written before the defeat of Castanos was known, Sir John Moore proposed the question, what the British army should do, in case of that event; whether he should retreat upon Portugal, or march upon Madrid, and throw himself into the heart of Spain? thus to run all risks, and share the fortunes of the Spanish nation. "The question," he observed, "was not purely a military one. It belongs, at least, as much to you as to me to decide upon it. Your communications with the Spanish government, and the opportunities you have had of judging

of the general state of the country, enable you to form as just an estimate of the resistance that is likely to be offered. You are, perhaps, better acquainted with the views of the British cabinet; and the question is, what would that cabinet direct, were they upon the spot to determine? It is of much importance that this should be thoroughly considered; it is comparatively of very little, on whom shall rest the greatest share of responsibility. I am willing to take the whole, or a part; but I am very anxious to know your opinion."

Mr. Frere knew that what the Spanish government most deprecated was a retreat of the British upon Lisbon, from the well-grounded apprehension that it would depress the hearts of the whole country, and would make them believe, that England, after an ineffectual effort, had relapsed into the old limited system of protecting Portugal. If, therefore, a retreat was determined upon as absolutely necessary, he thought the army should fall back upon Galicia, and the strong country about Astorga. But, he said, in his reply to the Commander of the forces, that Leon and the two Castiles (with the exception of La Mancha and the city of Madrid) were the provinces least distinguished for a military, patriotic, or provincial spirit in all Spain; the people had been passive during the late events, and had seen their country successively occupied by the strongest party. It was difficult to blame them; living in open villages, in vast plains, without arms and without horses, they had neither the means of defence or escape. That country must necessarily belong to the party which was superior in cavalry; yet there was no want of a right feeling: the towns were abandoned at the approach of the enemy; not a single magistrate had been brought over to take the oath of allegiance to the intruder, nor had the French been able to enlist a single soldier. The other provinces were possessed by the most ardent and determined spirit. There was no doubt of the people. The government was new, and had hitherto been too numerous to be very active; but there was hope that that inconvenience would soon be remedied. "They are resolute," said Mr. Frere, "and I believe every man of them determined to perish with the country. They will not, at least, set the example, which the ruling powers and higher orders of other

other countries have exhibited, of weakness or timidity." Great advantages, the Ambassador thought, would result from advancing speedily to cover Madrid. It was a point of great moment for effect in Spain, and still more in France, and in the west of Europe. The people of the town were full of resolution, and determined to defend it, in spite of its situation; and nothing could be more unfavourable to the claim of the intruder than a siege of the capital. The first object of the English therefore, he thought, should be to march there, and collect a force capable of resisting the French, before further reinforcements arrived from France. There were reports that the resistance to the conscription had been much more obstinate than usual, and a pastoral letter of the bishop of Carcassone seemed to prove that these reports were not wholly without foundation. Any advantage obtained over the French at the present moment would be doubly valuable, as it would render a conscription, for a third attempt upon Spain, infinitely difficult, if not impracticable. But if, with their present strength, they were allowed to retain their present advantages, and to wait the completion of the conscription, they would pour in forces which would give them immediate possession of the capital and central provinces, and the war would then be reduced to an absolute competition between the two countries which could stand out longest against the waste of population. If, however, Mr. Frere said, this view of the subject should not appear sufficiently clear or conclusive to the Commander-in-chief, to induce him to take this step, which he (the Ambassador) was well convinced would meet with the approbation of his Majesty's government, he would venture to recommend retaining the possession of Astorga. A retreat from thence to Corunna (as far, said he, as an unmilitary man may be allowed to judge of a country which he has travelled over) would be less difficult than through Portugal to Lisbon; and we ought in that position to wait for reinforcements of cavalry from England: the army would thus be enabled to act in the flat country, which opens immediately from that point, and extends through the whole of Leon and Old Castile.

Before this letter arrived, the General's resolution had been taken, in consequence of the news of Castanos' defeat.

feat. It was not shaken by the able reasoning of the Ambassador, and he waited only for the junction of General Hope to commence his retreat on Portugal. The plan which Mr. Frere had proposed, of making a stand at Astorga, Sir John Moore appears not to have deemed worthy of consideration.

On the 5th of December a messenger arrived, with a dispatch from the Prince of Castel Franco and Don Thomas Morla, informing him, in the name of the Junta, that about 25,000 men of the army of Castanos were falling back on Madrid, to unite with its garrison; that 10,000 from Somosierra were coming to the city for the same purpose; and that nearly 40,000 would join them. With that number of troops, the French army which had presented itself was not to be feared. But the Junta, apprehending an increase of the enemy's forces, hoped he would be able to unite with their army, or fall on the rear of the enemy; and they did not doubt that the rapidity of his movements would be such as the interests of both countries required. This letter was written on the 2d, and it is now proved that the men who signed it were then plotting to betray their country; but the success of their treason was not yet certain, and though they might have wished, and designed to draw on the British army to destruction, the proposal that it should advance came not from them alone, but from the civil and military Junta also.

While Sir John was considering this letter, Colonel de Charmilly, a French emigrant in the British service, and denized in England, arrived with dispatches from Mr. Frere. Colonel Charmilly was in Madrid on the night of the 1st of December, when the inhabitants were working by torch-light at the trenches, breaking up the streets, and barricading the houses. He had seen the Duke del Infantado, who told him that a new Junta had been formed, of which he was the president; that there were provisions and ammunition in Madrid; that more than 30,000 men had that day enrolled themselves as volunteers; and that it was of material importance to the common cause that the British Commander should make a diversion, which would compel the French to divide their forces, and thus afford some relief to Madrid, which he was determined to defend to the last moment. This he requested

requested Colonel Charmilly to communicate to Sir John Moore, as he himself had been an eye-witness of the spirit of the people, and the preparations which they were making for resistance. By another grandee (whose name does not appear) he was requested to inform Sir John, that he must employ this moment to save Spain, by making conditions with the Junta for a better government, but especially that he should require the Spanish army to be put under the orders of the British General for the time being, as it had been formerly under Lord Peterborough.

When Colonel Charmilly reached Talavera de la Reyna on his way, he found that Mr. Frere had just arrived, following the Central Junta, who were retiring from Aranjuez to Badajos. To him he communicated the state of Madrid, and the subject of his conference with the Duke del Infantado; and the Ambassador requested him, as a Colonel in the British service, to take charge of a letter to Sir John Moore, urging him to suspend his retreat, as a measure which would have the worst effect upon the Spanish cause, and be of the greatest injury both to Spain and England. But thinking that, having commenced the retreat, Sir John might suppose his responsibility engaged to go on with it, Mr. Frere entrusted Colonel Charmilly with a second letter, to be delivered in case the General persisted in his determination of retreating. The purport of the letter was to request the bearer might be examined before a council of war; and the reason given for this measure was, that the decision of a council of war might exonerate the Commander-in-chief from the responsibility by which he might otherwise feel himself fettered.

Charmilly reached Salamanca while Sir John was deliberating upon the dispatch from Morla and Castel Franco. He delivered the Ambassador's first letter. The state of Madrid, Mr. Frere said, was so strong a confirmation, or more properly speaking, so much exceeding every thing which he had ventured to say of the spirit and resolution of the people, that he could not forbear representing to the General, in the strongest manner, the propriety, not to say the necessity, of supporting the Spanish people by all the means which had been entrusted to him for that purpose. "I have no hesitation,"

hesitation," he added, "in taking upon myself any degree of responsibility which may attach itself to this advice, as I consider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely, for the present, upon the decision which you may adopt; I say for the present, for such is the spirit and character of the country, that, even if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their ultimate success."

Having read this letter, and heard Charmilly's communication, Sir John Moore gave him no reason to suppose the idea of retreating was given up. He retired, however, to reflect upon what he had heard. His instructions directed him to receive the representations both of the Spanish government and the British Ambassador with the utmost deference and attention: both deprecated his retreat. Charmilly had been an eye-witness of the preparations which were making at Madrid, and accounts confirming his report came from various other quarters. Sir John Moore was persuaded that a great improvement in the public affairs had taken place, and that it was not becoming him to fly at such a time; and he wrote that night to Sir David Baird, telling him to suspend his retrograde march till he heard again, and to make arrangements for returning to Astorga, should it be necessary.

Notwithstanding this communication, Sir John Moore's hopes of any effectual co-operation on the part of the Spanish people were very little improved; his sentiments at this period may be gathered from a letter of this date (5th December) to Lord Castlereagh, in which he thus expresses himself—"I find considerable hopes are entertained from the enthusiastic manner in which the people of Madrid resist the French: I own, I cannot derive much hope from the resistance of one town against forces so formidable, unless the spark catches, and the flame becomes pretty general; and here the people remain as tranquil as if they were in profound peace. I have, however, in consequence of the general opinion, which is also Mr. Frere's, ordered Sir David Baird to suspend his march, and shall continue at this place until I see further, and be guided by circumstances: unless the spirit becomes general, Madrid must soon fall. At all events, if I marched into Portugal, it would be with a
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view to return the moment a favourable opportunity offered; but I shall not go towards Madrid until I know with more certainty the force of the enemy, and see something to convince me that more confidence can be placed in the steadiness of the Spaniards."

Next morning (December 6th) he addressed Sir David Baird to the following purport:—"I wrote to you last night to suspend your retrograde movements; I now write to beg that you will put to the right-about, and return bag and baggage to Astorga. The people of Madrid, it is said, are enthusiastic and desperate, and certainly at this moment do resist the French; the good which may result from this, it is impossible to say; I can neither trust to it, nor can I altogether despise it. If the flame catches elsewhere, and becomes at all general, the best results may be expected; if confined to Madrid, that town will be sacrificed, and will be as bad or worse than ever. In short, what is passing at Madrid may be decisive of the fate of Spain, and we must be at hand to aid and take advantage of whatever happens. The wishes of our country, and our duty, demand this of us, with whatever risk it may be attended. I mean to proceed bridle in hand; for if the bubble bursts, and Madrid falls, we shall have a run for it." These were ominous words: it was apparent that he had no confidence in the patriotism of the Spaniards, nor in his own means of resisting the French, however strong the country; it was apparent also, that while these apprehensions weighed upon him, he looked forward with dread to the opinion of the English public, and in deference to that opinion he was sacrificing his own.

While Sir John Moore was dispatching these instructions to General Baird, it was not known at Salamanca that he had changed his intention of retreating; officers and men alike were delivering their opinions loudly, and speaking of another investigation. Charmilly hearing this, and being equally ignorant of the determination which had been formed, supposed that his second letter was necessary, and accordingly delivered it. The General, not perceiving the intent for which it was written, and feeling like a high-spirited officer, who thought himself injured, tore the letter in pieces, and gave vent to his indignation in violent language. Part of his anger fell

upon Charmilly; and on the following day he ordered him to quit Salamanca. By what authority he was empowered to order an English subject to quit a Spanish town, he probably did not ask himself; and his prepossession against Charmilly, as a French emigrant, prevented him from perceiving that there were circumstances in his situation which might exempt him from such a suspicion, or from feeling the cruelty of thus insulting and disgracing an officer in the British service, because he had been trusted, by the British ambassador, with a commission which had offended him. Charmilly respectfully represented that he had not deserved this treatment. The General replied, that he did not mean to give him the smallest offence; but he repeated the order, and it was obeyed.

Sir John Moore, in his resentment against what he conceived the improper interference of the Ambassador, soon, however, recollected what was due to him as the King's minister. He told him, therefore, that he should abstain from any remarks on the two letters delivered by Colonel Charmilly, or on the message which accompanied them. "I certainly," said he, "did feel and express much indignation at a person like him being made the channel of a communication of that sort from you to me. These feelings are at an end, and I dare say will never be excited towards you again. If M. Charmilly is your friend, it was perhaps natural for you to employ him; but I have prejudices against all of that class, and it is impossible for me to put any trust in him." He informed the minister that every thing should be done for the assistance of Madrid and the Spanish cause, that could be expected from such an army as he commanded; but he could not make a direct movement on Madrid, because the passes of Guadarama and Somosierra were in the hands of the French, and besides he was much too weak until joined by Sir David Baird.

On the following day (December 7th) Sir John received a letter from the Junta at Toledo, telling him that they intended to re-unite the dispersed armies there, and defend the city to the last extremity. He replied, that if the Spaniards acted up to such sentiments, there could be no doubt of their ultimate success, whatever temporary advantages the French might gain; and he
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sent a British officer to reside at Toledo, and concert measures for its defence. On the 8th, he informed Sir David Baird, that he should move a corps on the 10th to Zamora and Toro, and ordered him to push on his troops, by brigades, to Benevente. But on the 9th Sir Thomas Graham (now Lord Lyndoch), whom he had dispatched to Morla and Castel-Franco, returned from Talavera with tidings that these men had betrayed Madrid. The number of the French there was computed at between 20 and 30,000; and it was said that they remained at the Retiro, not having taken possession of the city, in consequence of the temper of the inhabitants. Another part of the French army was engaged in besieging Zaragossa. From Toledo the news was equally discouraging; Victor no sooner approached the place than it surrendered to him.

These circumstances did not induce the British General to alter his plan; his object was to threaten the French communications, and draw their attention from Madrid and Zaragossa, and thus favour any movements which might be projected by the armies forming on the south of the Tagus. If no advantage was taken of it, and no efforts made, he saw that the French might turn against him what portion of their force they pleased. That they would be able to do this he expected; and he believed that nothing which his army could effect would be attended with any other advantage than the character which might be won for the British arms. He looked, therefore, to a retreat as an event which would soon be unavoidable; in his dispatches home, dissuaded the government from sending out reinforcements, and desired that transports might be ready at Lisbon and at Vigo to receive the troops; being fully persuaded that the efforts of England would be of no avail, and that it would be necessary to evacuate the Peninsula.

He left Salamanca on the 12th of December. Lord Paget, with the principal part of the cavalry, marched from Toro to Tordesillas; and General Stewart surprised and cut off a party of French who were posted at Rueda: this was the first encounter between the British and the French in Spain; and the prisoners all declared that it was universally believed the English army had retreated. On the 14th, when Sir John was at Alaejos, a packet of

letters, from the head-quarters of the French army was brought to him. Some peasantry had killed the officer who had them in charge. Among them was a letter of Berthier's to Marshal Soult, directing him to take possession of Leon, drive the enemy into Galicia, and make himself master of Benevente and Zamora: he would have no English in front, it was said, for every thing evinced that they were in full retreat. A movement had been made to Talavera, on the road to Badajoz, which must compel them to hasten to Lisbon, if they were not already gone; and when they had retired, the Emperor thought Soult could do whatever he pleased. It appeared from this letter, that Soult had two divisions with him at Saldanha; that Junot was collecting another Burgos; and that another under Mortier (Duke of Treviso) had been ordered to march against Zaragossa.

Sir John Moore had intended to march to Valladolid; but, seeing that Soult was stronger than had been represented, he thought it better to move to Toro, and unite his army there, Sir David Baird doing the same at Benevente; from whence the two corps might be joined, either by a forward or flank movement, and strike a blow against Soult, before that General could be reinforced. The cavalry under Lord Paget were pushed so forward, that their patrols reached Valladolid; and frequent skirmishes took place, in all of which the British displayed that superiority which, whenever a fair opportunity is given them, they are sure to maintain.

On the 20th the Commander of the forces reached Majorga, where Sir David Baird joined him. The British forces were now united; they amounted to 23,000 infantry, and about 2300 cavalry, besides some small detachments left to keep up the communication.

On the 21st of December the head-quarters were advanced to Sahagun; the weather was severe, the roads bad, and covered with snow; and, as the soldiers had suffered a great deal from forced marches, the General halted, that they might recover. A co-operation was also completely concerted here between the British and Romana, who was collecting the wreck of Blake's army at Leon. They were in a miserable state—badly armed, and worse clothed; but they might still occupy the attention of a part of the enemy's force, and, if he were

were defeated, would prove active in completing his destruction.

Soult had concentrated his troops, to the amount of 18,000 men, behind the river Carrion. Every arrangement was made for attacking him, and orders were issued accordingly—never more welcome to a British army. The convents in Sahagun were prepared for the reception of the wounded; and the soldiers confidently anticipated a glorious victory. But the sentiments of the General were not in unison with his brave troops. “The movement I am making,” he said to Mr. Frere, “is of the most dangerous kind. I not only risk to be surrounded every moment by superior forces, but to have my communication with Galicia intercepted. I wish it to be apparent to the whole world, as it is to every individual of the army, that we have done every thing in our power in support of the Spanish cause, and that we do not abandon it until long after the Spaniards had abandoned us.

At the hour appointed, on the 23d of December, the whole force was under arms; the right column had begun its march, and the rest were in high spirits expecting the word of command. Just at this time came a letter from the Marquis de la Romana, with intelligence that the French were advancing from Madrid, either to Valladolid or Salamanca; and information to the same purport was received by other messengers; and also, that considerable reinforcements had arrived at Carrion from Palencia. Orders were immediately issued, that the troops should go back to their quarters, and by day-break next morning, be again under arms. “In my life,” says one who heard the order, “I never witnessed such an instantaneously-withering effect upon any body of living creatures; a few murmurs only were heard, but every countenance was changed, and they who, the minute before, were full of that confidence which insures victory, were at once deprived of all heart and hope.”

The next morning General Hope fell back to Majorga, on the road to Benevente, with his own division and General Fraser's. Sir David Baird was ordered to pass the river at Valencia; and on Christmas-day the Commander-in-chief followed General Hope, with the reserve and the light brigades; and the cavalry, under Lord Paget, followed the reserve on the 26th.

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Sir John Moore had made up his mind to lose some of his baggage, and not to fight, if he could avoid it. Astorga was to be his rallying point: there he informed Romana he should stand, as his retreat from thence, if necessary, would be secure, and he should be in the way to receive the supplies, and the reinforcements which he expected from England. At the worst he could defend himself, and, with Romana's aid, defend Galicia. "You may rest assured," he added, "that I shall not retreat a foot beyond what is necessary to secure my supplies from being intercepted." But his dispatches from Benavente, on the 28th, show that this intention was abandoned. His force, he said, when he reached Astorga, would be about 27,000: Romana could not have above 8000. The troops moving against him he estimated at not less than 50,000; and it was said that Buonaparte himself was coming with 10,000 of his guards. His intention was not to stop longer at Astorga than to secure the stores, and then retreat to Villa Franca, where he had been told there was a position. Romana had intimated to him, some time ago, his intention of retiring into Galicia by this route, but Sir John begged it might be left open to the British, as being the only communication they had for their retreat or supplies.

From the 22d to the 24th, Soult received such reinforcements as made his army superior to the British. Junôt had advanced to Palencia, and threatened their right flank. Buonaparte was hastening on, in person, from Madrid, with his Imperial cavalry, and also the disposable force in that quarter. The force under Lefebvre (Duke of Dantzic) was counter-ordered from the road to Badajos, and directed towards Salamanca. Of the numbers that were advancing against him Sir John Moore was not informed; and so little idea was there of flying, when he began his retreat, that it was determined to carry off the prisoners which had been taken, and they were accordingly stowed in covered waggons. A thaw came on the day when they first fell back, and on the following it rained heavily, without intermission; the soil in that part of the country is a heavy loam, and the roads were about a foot deep in clay. The proclamations of the French travelled faster than the British army; these were, as usual, full of promises which would not
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be fulfilled, and menaces which would. They were come, they said, to deliver Spain; to emancipate the people from the yoke of a tyrannical nobility, and a fanatic priesthood. All persons who remained quiet in their houses, or who, having forsaken them, speedily returned, should receive no injury; but otherwise all that belonged to them should be confiscated.

Unhappily, the conduct of our people now began to give effect to these hand-bills. The soldiers were indignant with the Spaniards for their apparent supineness; they were exasperated by the conduct of some poor wretches, whose carts had been pressed to carry the sick and wounded, and who, as many of them as could, had taken their mules, and run away in the night; partly from natural selfishness, still more because the movements of a retreating army exposed themselves to imminent danger, and their beasts to certain destruction. Weary and disheartened—in want of rest and of food—disappointed of their confident hopes of victory, and indignant at turning their backs upon an enemy whom they would so eagerly have met in the field, it was a relief to the soldiers to give vent to these feelings, in the shape of anger, upon the only objects within their reach.

Sir David Baird, who took the shorter line to Astorga by way of Valencia, effected his march without molestation: the sick and wounded, following the same track, halted at the latter place, to pass the night; this was on the 26th. Hardly were they provided with the necessary food, and lain down to rest, before the alarm was sounded, and they were again hurried into the waggons. The night was cold and misty, and exceeding dark, and the Ezla was to be forded, some little distance from the town. The ford is dangerous, because of the rapidity of the stream, occasioned by two narrow banks of shingles, which form an angle in the middle; and at this time the water was fast rising, from the melting of the snow upon the mountains. A serjeant's guard had been left by Sir David Baird, on the opposite bank, to assist the waggons in passing, and skuttle two ferry-boats when they had effected their passage. They kindled a fire with grass and rushes for the sake of its light; but the materials were wet, and the wind soon extinguished it. A Spanish
muleteer

muleteer attempted to cross, to guide them over the ford; his mules tript in the mid stream, he was thrown, and saved by a soldier when just in the act of sinking. Perilous, however, as the ford was, the passage was accomplished without other loss than that of some baggage-waggons, which broke down.

Sir John Moore next day reached Benevente, with the other division of the army, and there issued General Orders, which reflected severely upon the conduct both of his men and officers. "The misbehaviour of the column which marched by Valderas exceeded," he said, "what he could have believed of British soldiers. He could feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, nor towards soldiers who disgrace their country by acts of villainy towards the people whom they are sent to protect." Alluding then to the discontent which was manifested at the hurry of the retreat, and the mystery which was thrown over their proceedings, he said, it was impossible for the General to explain to his army the motive of the movements he directed; he could, however, assure them that he had made none, since he left Salamanca, which he did not foresee, and was not prepared for; and, as far as he was a judge, they had answered the purposes for which they were intended. When it was proper to fight a battle he would do it, and he would choose the time and place which he thought most fit. In the mean time he begged the officers and men of the army to attend diligently to discharge their parts, and leave to him, with the general officers, the decision of measures which belonged to them alone. Strong as this language was, it had no effect, and the havoc which had been committed at Valderas was renewed at Benevente. The castle there is one of the finest monuments of the age of chivalry; we have nothing in England which approaches to its grandeur. With Gothic grandeur, it has all the wildness of Moorish decoration; open galleries, where Saracenic arches are supported by pillars of porphyry and granite; cloisters, with fountains playing in their courts; jasper columns and tessellated floors, niches, alcoves, and seats in the wall, over-arched in various forms, and enriched with every grotesque ornament of gold and silver, and colours which are hardly less gorgeous. The extent of
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the magnificent structure may be estimated from this circumstance, that two regiments, besides artillery, were quartered within its walls. They proved the most destructive enemies that had ever entered them: their indignant feelings broke out again in acts of wanton mischief; and the officers, who felt and admired the beauties of this venerable pile, attempted in vain to save it from devastation. Every thing combustible was seized; fires were lighted against the fine walls; and pictures of unknown value, the works, perhaps, of the greatest Spanish masters, and of those other great painters who left so many of their finest productions in Spain, were heaped together as fuel.

The soldiers had, however, here an opportunity of displaying a spirit more becoming them as Englishmen. This was on the 28th; and, soon after the rear of the army had marched into the town, the alarm was given that the enemy were on the opposite heights. In an instant all was on the alert; every man hastened to the place of rendezvous, and the cavalry poured out of the gates; the plain in the opposite direction was covered with fugitives; and the streets were filled with women, bewailing their fate, and calling on their saints and the Virgin for protection. The French, seeing with what alacrity they would be encountered, looked at our men from the heights, and retired. It was towards evening; and as the enemy were so near, orders were given to destroy the bridge. This was effected about day-break the following morning, and it was supposed their progress was for a while impeded. The troops again continued their retreat; and the whole of the infantry and heavy artillery had departed, when intelligence arrived that the French were re-appearing, and that their cavalry were in the act of passing the Ezla: they had formed a ford about three hundred yards below the bridge. Lord Paget and General Stuart were still in the town. The picquets of the night, under Lieutenant-Colonel Otway and Major Bagwell, amounting to 250 men, were sent down; the cavalry were ordered to repair to their alarm posts; and many volunteers came forward. Lord Paget hastened to the spot: he found four squadrons of Imperial guards already formed, and skirmishing with the picquets; other cavalry were in the act of passing. The 10th hussars were sent

for: as soon as they arrived, Major-General the Honourable Charles Stuart placed himself at the head of the picquets, and charged the enemy. The French never have been able to withstand the charge of British soldiers, whether cavalry or foot; they gave way, and repassed the ford more precipitately than they had crossed it. On the other side they formed again, and threatened a second attempt; but three pieces of horse artillery, which now came up, were stationed near the bridge, and opened a fire upon them, that did considerable execution. About 100 prisoners were taken; among them was General Lefebvre, commander of the Imperial guard of cavalry. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained: several were drowned, many killed and wounded; it was variously guessed, from 60 to 200. Our's was about 50 in killed and wounded; among the latter was Major Bagwell. It was reported that Buonaparte was on the heights during this action.

As very ample details of the farther prosecution of this disastrous retreat have already been given in our Memoirs of the Marquis of Anglesea, who had the command of the cavalry, a very short summary will be sufficient in this place. From Benevente the troops proceeded to Astorga, which place they reached on the 30th of December, and Villa Franca on the 2d of January. In the neighbourhood of this latter place, the rear-guard had a slight affair with the advance of the enemy under General Colbert, who was killed in the encounter. From hence the army proceeded to Lugo where the different divisions were ordered to halt and collect. Sir John Moore now found it impossible to execute his design of proceeding to Vigo, whither he had ordered the transports to be sent, as the distance was double that to Corunna, and the roads were said to be impracticable for artillery. Here the French attacked our outposts on the 6th, and again on the 7th; which assaults were repelled with great steadiness and spirit: and Sir John, expecting from the reports of the prisoners a more formidable attack, drew up his whole army on the 8th, and offered the enemy battle. But the sample of British valour which the French had received during the two preceding days, made them desirous of waiting the arrival of more troops before they came to an engagement: Sir John, therefore, to

to whom delay was dangerous, after waiting the whole day in order to bring the enemy to action, continued his retreat during the night, and reached Corunna on the 11th of January with little further molestation.

Here, however, the transports which had been ordered round from Vigo, had not yet arrived; and it soon became apparent, that, before an embarkation could be effected, a battle must be fought, for which arrangements were accordingly made. One division, under General Hope, occupied a hill on the left, commanding the road to Betanzos; the height decreased gradually to the village of Elvina, taking a curved direction: at this village General Baird's division commenced, and bent to the right: the whole formed nearly a semi-circle. On the right of Sir David Baird the rifle-corps formed a chain across a valley, and communicated with General Fraser's division, which was drawn up about half a mile from Corunna, on the road to Vigo. The reserve, under Major-General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half a mile in the rear of General Hope.

The French made their appearance on the morning of the 12th, moving in force on the opposite side of the river Mero. They took up a position near the village Perillo, on the left flank, and occupied the houses along the river. Their force was continually increasing. On the 14th they commenced a cannonade, which was returned with such effect, that they at last drew off their guns. In the evening of this day the transports from Vigo hove in sight. Some slight skirmishes took place the following morning. Preparations, meantime, were making for the embarkation; and Sir John, finding that, from the nature of the ground, much artillery could not be employed, placed seven six-pounders and one howitzer along the line, and kept four Spanish guns as a reserve, to be advanced to any point where they might be wanted. The rest of the artillery was all embarked. The sick and the dismounted cavalry were also sent on board with all possible expedition. Some of the horses also were embarked; but there was little time for this; most of them were completely disabled: slaughter, therefore, was made of them, and the beach was covered with their bodies. Some of these poor animals, seeing their fellows fall, were sensible of the fate intended for them; they

became wild with terror, and a few of them broke loose.

All the preparations for embarking were completed on the morning of the 16th of January; and the General gave notice, that he intended, if the French did not move, to begin embarking the reserve at four in the afternoon. This was about mid-day. He mounted his horse, and set off to visit the outposts: before he had proceeded far, a messenger came to tell him that the enemy's line were getting under arms; and a deserter arriving at the same moment confirmed the intelligence. He spurred forward. Their light troops were pouring rapidly down the hill on the right wing of the British, and the advanced picquets were already beginning to fire at them. Lord William Bentinck's brigade, consisting of the 4th, 42d, and 50th regiments, maintained this post. It was a bad position; and yet, if the troops gave way on that point, the ruin of the army was inevitable. The guards were in their rear. General Paget was ordered to advance with the reserve, and support Lord William. The enemy opened a cannonade from eleven heavy guns, advantageously planted on the hills. Two strong columns, one advancing from a wood, the other skirting its edge, directed their march towards the right wing; a third column approached the centre; a fourth advanced slowly upon the left; a fifth remained half way down the hill, in the same direction.

Sir David Baird had his arm shattered by a grape-shot as he was leading on his division. The two lines of infantry advanced against each other: they were separated by stone walls and hedges, which intersected the ground; but, as they closed, it was perceived that the French line extended beyond the right flank of the British, and a body of the enemy was observed moving up the valley to turn it. Half of the 4th regiment, which formed this flank, was ordered to fall back, forming an obtuse angle with the other half. This manœuvre was excellently performed, and they commenced a heavy flanking fire. Sir John Moore called to them, that this was exactly what he wanted to be done, and rode on to the 50th, commanded by Majors Napier and Stanhope. They got over an inclosure in their front, charged the enemy most gallantly,

gallantly, and drove them out of the village of Elvina; but Major Napier, advancing too far in the pursuit, received several wounds, and was taken prisoner, and Major Stanhope was mortally wounded.

The General now proceeded to the 42d: "Highlanders," said he, "remember Egypt!" and they rushed on, driving the French before them till they were stopped by a wall: Sir John accompanied them in this charge. He now sent Captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of guards to the left flank of the 42d. The officer commanding the light infantry conceived, at this, that they were to be relieved by the guards, because their ammunition was nearly expended, and he began to fall back. Sir John, discovering the mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your comrades; ammunition is coming, and you have your bayonets." Upon this they instantly moved forward. Captain Hardinge returned, and pointed out to the General where the guards were advancing. The enemy kept up a hot fire, and their artillery played incessantly on the spot where they were standing. A cannon-shot struck Sir John, and carried away his left shoulder, and part of the collar-bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh. He fell from his horse on his back; not a muscle of his face altered, nor did he betray the least sensation of pain. From the size of the wound, it was in vain to make any attempt at stopping the blood; and Sir John consented to be removed in a blanket to the rear. In raising him up, his sword, hanging on the wounded side, touched his arm, and became entangled between his legs: Captain Hardinge began to unbuckle it; but the General said, in his usual tone and manner, and in a distinct voice, "It is as well as it is; I had rather it should go out of the field with me." Six soldiers of the 42d and the guards bore him. Captain Hardinge, observing his composure, caught at the hope that the wound might not prove mortal, and said to him, he trusted he would be spared to the army, and recover. Sir John turned his head, and looking stedfastly at the wound for a few seconds, he replied, "No, Hardinge; I feel that to be impossible."

General Paget, meantime, hastened with the reserve to support the right wing. Colonel Beckwith dashed on with the rifle-corps, repelled the enemy, and advanced
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on them, flanking so far as nearly to carry off one of their cannon; but a corps greatly superior moved up the valley, and at length forced him to retire. General Paget, however, attacked this body of the enemy, repulsed it, and pressed on, dispersing every thing before him, till the enemy, perceiving their left wing was now quite exposed, drew it entirely back. The French then advanced upon Generals Manningham and Leith in the centre, and there they were more easily repelled, the ground being more elevated, and favourable for artillery. The position on the left was strong, and their effort there was very unavailing: but a body of them took possession of a village on the road to Betanzos, and continued to fire from it, till Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls attacked it, and beat them out. Night was now closing fast; and the French had fallen back in all parts of the field. The firing, however, was not discontinued till it was dark.

Never was any victory gained under heavier disadvantages. The French force, at the lowest computation, exceeded 20,000 men, and was more generally estimated at 30,000; the British were not 15,000. The superiority in artillery was equally great: they had met English guns on the way, sent off, thus late, to the patriotic armies; and these they had turned back, and employed against the English army. Our artillery was embarked; and the Shrapnell shells, which contributed so materially to the success at Vimiera, were not used in this more perilous engagement. If the moral and physical state of the two armies be considered, the disadvantages under which our soldiers laboured were still greater. The French, clothed in the stores which they had overtaken upon the road, elated with a pursuit in which no man had been forced beyond his strength, and hourly receiving reinforcements to their already superior numbers: the English, in a state of misery, to which no army, perhaps, had ever before been reduced, till after a total defeat; having lost their military chest, their stores, their baggage, their horses, their women and children, their sick, their wounded, their stragglers, every thing but their innate—unequalled—unconquerable courage. Our loss in the battle did not amount to 800; that of the French exceeded 2000.

The General lived to hear that the battle was won.
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"Are the French beaten?" was the question which he repeated to every one who came into his apartment; and he expressed how great a satisfaction it was to him to know that they were defeated. "I hope," said he, "the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice." Then addressing Colonel Anderson, who had been his friend and companion in arms for one-and-twenty years, he said to him, "Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die in this way. You will see my friends as soon as you can; tell them every thing. Say to my mother—" but here his voice quite failed, and he became excessively agitated, and did not again venture to name her. Sometimes he asked to be placed in an easier posture. "I feel myself so strong," he said, "I fear I shall be long dying! It is great uneasiness—it is great pain." But, after a while, he pressed Colonel Anderson's hand close to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle. He fell, as it had ever been his wish to do, in battle and in victory.

No man was more beloved in private life, nor was there any General in the British army more universally respected. All men had thought him worthy of the chief command. Had he been less circumspect; had he looked more ardently forward, and less anxiously around him, and on all sides, and behind; had he been more confident in himself and in his army, and impressed with less respect for the French generals, he would have been more equal to the difficulties of his situation. But, let it ever be remembered with gratitude, that when some of his general officers advised him to conclude the retreat by a capitulation, Sir John Moore preserved the honour of England.

He had often said, that if he was killed in battle, he wished to be buried where he fell. The body was removed at midnight to the citadel of Corunna. A grave was dug for him on the rampart by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured; and the officers of his staff wrapped the body, dressed as it was, in a military cloak and blankets. The interment was hastened; for about eight in the morning some firing was heard, and the officers feared that, if a serious attack were made, they should be ordered away, and not suffered to pay him
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their last duty. The officers of his family bore him to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain; and the corpse was covered with earth*.

We shall now conclude the biography of this lamented officer with the General Orders issued by his Royal Highness the Duke of York in commemoration of a distinguished and devoted life passed with honour in the defence of his country, and which pourtray Sir John Moore as a bright example to British officers, by whom he was universally beloved and respected; and a brief account of his most honourable private character, as represented by his brother, Mr. James Moore.

“ GENERAL ORDERS.

“ The benefits derived to an army from the example of a distinguished commander, do not terminate at his death; his virtues live in the recollection of his associates, and his fame remains the strongest incentive to great and glorious actions.

“ In this view, the Commander-in-chief, amidst the deep and universal regret which the death of Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore has occasioned, recalls to the troops the military career of that illustrious officer for their instruction and imitation.

“ Sir John Moore, from his youth, embraced the profession with the feeling and sentiments of a soldier; he felt, that a perfect knowledge, and an exact performance of the humble, but important duties of a subaltern officer, are the best foundations for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself with energy and exemplary assiduity to the duties of that station. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order, and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. Having risen

* For some farther particulars attending the last moments of Sir John Moore, see the note to page 274 of the first volume of this work.

to command, he signalized his name in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt. The unremitting attention with which he devoted himself to the duties of every branch of his profession, obtained him the confidence of Sir Ralph Abercrombie; and he became the companion in arms of that illustrious officer, who fell at the head of his victorious troops, in an action which maintained our national superiority over the arms of France.

“ Thus Sir John Moore at an early period obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life.

“ In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise: it exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the Commander-in-chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation.

“ The life of Sir John Moore was spent among the troops.

“ During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe.

“ Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him the post of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit, and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory.

“ His country, the object of his latest solicitude, will rear a monument to his lamented memory; and the Commander-in-chief feels he is paying the best tribute to his fame, by thus holding him forth as an example to the army.

“ By order of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief.

“ HARRY CALVERT, *Adjutant-General*.

“ Horse-Guards, July 1st, 1809.”

His character has been thus drawn by Mr. James Moore, in a letter to his mother, with which we shall conclude this subject. “ Should they (historians) enter

into his (Sir John Moore's) private character, they ought to represent him as a man who felt for his father and mother filial piety, and for his sister and brothers paternal affection; who was faithful in friendship, and in his intercourse with the world was guided by honour. When they shall display those qualities and actions which properly belong to the province of history, if truth be observed, he must be described as exercising his genius in the profession of arms for the service of his country, to which he had devoted his life. Finally, he must be shewn leading on to victory a British army, which he had preserved by his wisdom, and falling gloriously in the front of battle."

Memoirs

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ADDINGTON, VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

THE family of Lord Sidmouth cannot trace its origin from any illustrious ancestry, but it may boast of ancient and highly respectable connexions. His Lordship's virtues and talents have deservedly raised him to the British peerage; and a short sketch of his life cannot fail of proving a source of gratification to the reader.

The father of Lord Sidmouth, who died in the spring of the year 1790, was educated at Trinity College, Oxford, where he took his third degree of M.D. on the 4th of January 1744. He first resided at Reading, in Berkshire, where he kept a private mad-house, and where he married a Miss Hiley, from whose father the brother of Lord Sidmouth takes one of his Christian names. He at length became a physician of great eminence; and, by his professional exertions, he succeeded in amassing a large fortune. His mind, however, was not wholly occupied by medical researches; he entered considerably into the subject of politics; and as his principles were congenial with those of the great Earl of Chatham, to whom he was then physician, he was employed by his Lordship in a negotiation with the Earl of Bute respecting the ex-minister's return to power. Though this negotiation did not succeed in bringing the Earl of Bute and Lord Chatham into office together, yet it laid the foundation of the future greatness of the Addington family, since it improved the intimacy between the Doctor and the latter nobleman to the day of his death. Sir James Wright was the plenipotentiary of the Earl of Bute on the above subject; and, as the two negotiators could not agree upon the precise verbal terms said to have been in the first proposal made use of, Dr. Addington

wrote a short pamphlet concerning the whole affair. This, with a small tract on the scurvy, was all the Doctor ever wrote for the press, except now and then a political paragraph for the newspapers.

His son, Henry Addington (now Lord Sidmouth), was born in the year 1756, and was sent to Cheam School under the care of the Reverend Mr. Gilpin. He was next sent, with his brother John Hiley, to Winchester School, where Dr. Wharton presided; and, while there, an incident occurred which unfolded his natural goodness of heart, and displayed no small share of fortitude. Several of the boys had been guilty of depredations in the neighbouring orchards, and various complaints had been made to the master. One day, when Dr. Wharton had taken an excursion on horseback, he perceived at a distance several of his pupils engaged in the predatory act which we have mentioned. The Doctor immediately proceeded to the spot; but, as his approach had been descried, the scholars had the good fortune to effect their escape. One of them, however, accidentally dropped his hat in the flight, which was secured; and as it bore the initials H.A. the Doctor was resolved upon making an example of its owner. A boy whose name corresponded with those initials, and who was strongly suspected of being guilty, was accordingly brought up for punishment; which he would no doubt have received, had not young Addington advanced, with trembling step and downcast eye, exclaiming, "Pray, Sir, do not hurt him—it is my hat." After an avowal so noble in a boy, it would be a libel on the good sense of the master to suppose that any punishment was inflicted. From Winchester School, the two brothers were removed to Oxford.

From the transaction which we have related to have taken place between Dr. Addington and the Earl of Chatham, it is easy to suppose that a great degree of intimacy must have subsisted between the families. We accordingly find the sons of the Earl and of the Doctor sedulously cultivating a friendship, which was drawn still closer by their becoming members of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, and eating commonly in the same hall. One of the first briefs, if not the very first, which Mr. Pitt ever received, was from Mr. Petrie, in the case of
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the famous Cricklade election. We are uncertain as to the progress which Mr. Addington made in the way of his profession. His first seat in the House of Commons was for Devizes; and it was not long before an opportunity presented itself for eliciting a display of his powers: this opportunity was furnished by the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox. Mr. Addington afterwards strongly opposed the India bill of the latter gentleman, and thereby contributed his assistance to raise his friend, Mr. Pitt, to the eminent station which he so long held, and through which he almost exclusively owed his own advancement.

On the promotion of Mr. Grenville to a peerage, the chair of the House of Commons became vacant, and Mr. Addington was elected to fill it. His nomination was made by the Marquis of Graham; and his majority over Sir Gilbert Elliot was 74, the numbers being, for him 215, against him 141. In addressing the King, he adhered to the common practice of the Speakers of the House of Commons when they are presented for his Majesty's approbation. He observed, that "he felt himself unequal to the arduous task which the partiality of the House had imposed upon him, and hoped that his Majesty would be pleased, by his royal disapprobation of their present choice, to afford his faithful Commons an opportunity of electing a person better qualified to discharge the duties of an office so important." On the assembling of a new parliament, a few months after Mr. Addington was unanimously re-elected to the office of Speaker, an event soon occurred which gave him an opportunity of exercising that power of discrimination for which he is remarkable. The assiduity and judgment which he displayed in his researches after precedents, and his clear stating of them to the committee, proving that an impeachment (as in the case of Warren Hastings, Esq. then before the House) would exist after the dissolution of parliament, gained him great and deserved respect. The manner in which he pointed out the close connexion in principle between impeachment and writs of error, excited the admiration of most of the law members; and the whole House could not but be pleased with his conduct as Speaker throughout, since it was not only strictly constitutional, but calculated also to add

add to the dignity and importance of the third branch of the legislature by securing to it the exercise of its own rights and privileges. He proved in many instances his zeal to preserve the franchises of the House over which he presided; for, upon the House of Lords, in 1791, making a slight alteration in a bill intended to amend the 8th of Queen Anne, respecting the reward to be given on the conviction of felons, he caused the bill to be thrown out, by referring to a precedent on the journals, where a similar bill had been rejected because it affected the revenue.

After having filled the chair of the House of Commons for a considerable period, Mr. Addington at length resigned it to occupy a place of much higher importance. At the time when Mr. Pitt undertook the difficult task of uniting the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, it was much feared that difficulties almost insurmountable would be opposed to it on the part of the Irish Roman Catholics. To smooth the way, therefore, Mr. Pitt, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Cornwallis, gave it to be understood to the chiefs of the Catholic party, that if they would assist in carrying the measure into execution, the government would, immediately after the union, concede to the Catholics such advantages as would be almost equivalent to a complete emancipation. The King does not appear to have been consulted by his ministers respecting this engagement; and as soon as he was informed that it was in agitation to bring in a bill with sweeping clauses in their favour, he declared that he never would consent to pass such an act, so directly contrary to his coronation oath, which bound him "to maintain to the utmost of his power the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law." On this Mr. Pitt and his friends resigned.

The Catholic question, however, we conceive to have been rather the ostensible, than the real cause of Mr. Pitt's resignation. His health had been for some time extremely deranged, which had obliged him to go, during the summer of 1800, to Bath for its re-establishment. Lord Sidmouth's friends (after he became minister) gave it out, that about that time Mr. Pitt had intimated to the King that in case his health would not permit him to continue to direct his Majesty's government, no person was

was in his opinion so proper to conduct it as Mr. Addington, then Speaker of the House of Commons. Be this as it may, it is certain, that in the course of the summer the King shewed a very marked attention towards Mr. Addington, first at Windsor, and afterwards at Weymouth, where he had frequent and long conversations with his Majesty; who, when he found himself under the necessity of changing his administration, sent for Mr. Addington, and offered him the place of First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Addington requested permission to consult Mr. Pitt, who advised him to accept it. Mr. Addington observed on the occasion, that he was about to leave a most honourable and permanent situation for one which was uncertain and dangerous. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to dissipate his alarms: Mr. Addington alleged his want of experience in the new career which was laid open to him; but his fears were appeased by Mr. Pitt's assurances of assisting him with his advice. The general belief is, that Mr. Pitt's primary motive for resignation was, that, considering a peace as necessary for the welfare of the country, he thought it most advisable that the negotiation of it should be left to another administration. The government of France had changed, but the sentiments of the French had remained nearly the same: Mr. Pitt had been declared by the National Convention of France "an enemy to the human race," and it was said the French would not treat with him: Mr. Addington was thought adequate to the negotiation; and his objections having been done away, he proceeded to form a new administration. Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Mr. Windham, were replaced by the Earl of St. Vincent, Lord Hawkesbury (now the Earl of Liverpool), and Lord Hobart (now the Earl of Buckinghamshire). Lord Hawkesbury, who was Master of the Mint, wished to resign; but Mr. Pitt advised him to remain, and accept the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, promising him the assistance of his counsel and support. Lord Loughborough, the then Chancellor, would have willingly remained; but, going to see Lord Eldon, he found that the latter had already received a letter from the King with the offer of the seals of the Court of Chancery; and, on his return home, he himself received a letter from his Majesty containing his dismissal, but at
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the same time granting him an Earldom (with remainder to his nephew), and the rank of an Earl's daughter to his niece.

Whether the emancipation of the Catholics really occasioned Mr. Pitt to retire from office, is not now the question. However, he kept his word so well with the new ministers, that, even after his resignation, he opened the budget for the year 1801; was constantly consulted during the negotiations for a peace; approved the preliminaries; and, during the discussion in parliament on the treaty of Amiens, after Lord Hawkesbury had in a very detailed speech justified all the articles of it, Mr. Pitt gave entire acquiescence to his arguments. Whatever might be Mr. Pitt's real opinion, the palm of wisdom, as well as that of magnanimity, was due to Mr. Windham for his just and manly sentiments respecting this unfortunate treaty. It must be well remembered, that, as Mr. Windham expressed himself, the wax had scarcely had time to cool upon the treaty of peace, before the war re-commenced; and it soon became manifest that it was the wish of the country that Mr. Pitt should again take a share in the administration. To this object a common friend of both parties opened a kind of negotiation; but it was not attended with success. Every one spoke of this affair according to his attachment to the one or the other party. It is, however, unfounded, that Mr. Pitt had consented to leave Lord Grenville out of the administration: on the contrary, he insisted that the seals of the foreign department should be again confided to his Lordship. Moreover, Mr. Pitt shewed no eagerness to re-enter the cabinet. He declared that in such a momentous crisis it would be indecorous to embarrass the administration by an unseasonable opposition. He protested he would not consent to force himself into power; observing that, if his Majesty should see occasion for his services, it was easy to signify to him his royal commands. Lord Spencer gave the same example of moderation, and repaired to his country-seat to form a corps of volunteers for the national defence. Mr. Pitt did the same; and, as his place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports gave considerable influence, he soon found himself at the head of 7000 men, whom he exercised and manœuvred with a science and activity very unusual with a person

person not trained to military tactics. His attention was next drawn to the defence of the river Thames; and it was from his counsels and recommendations that a few frigates and some armed Indiamen were stationed at the mouth of the river, for the defence of this important post.

In spite of the moderation in the conduct of the members of the former administration, it is not to be doubted that they would have returned to office if Mr. Addington would have consented to retire. The emancipation of the Irish Catholics was no longer a question, for it had become evident that the majority of that body was perfectly indifferent to the measure. The King was, however, unwilling to give up Mr. Addington: he found himself more at his ease, and exercised his kingly functions with less restraint than heretofore. Mr. Addington considered himself bound in gratitude to obey the orders of his Majesty, who had conferred upon him so many favours, and shewn him such undisguised attachment. From this exposition, we cannot refrain from admiring the moderation, wisdom, and patriotism of Mr. Pitt. His friends were, however, rather displeased at his not exerting the whole force of his influence and talents in forming an opposition against the existing administration, which could not fail to be successful; but this reasoning is far from being conclusive. Mr. Pitt himself, about twenty years before, had shewn the example, that it is not so easy as some imagine to overturn an administration supported by the King. Mr. Pitt had then a great majority of votes in the House of Commons; yet he remained at his post, and public affairs proceeded without interruption. The parliament was dissolved; a new election took place; and the nation, by its suffrages, approved his Majesty's choice, and the conduct of the ministers. Nevertheless, some among the subalterns, who called themselves Mr. Pitt's friends, shewed a disposition less noble and prudent than marked the conduct of their patron. More anxious for places than for the prosperity of their country, they were not deterred from raising a tempest, provided they could fish in troubled waters.

Such was the situation of affairs when the King became seriously ill. As there was reason to fear that this malady was the same as had attacked him fifteen years

before, Mr. Pitt was the more desirous to abstain from any systematic opposition to Mr. Addington's administration. He observed, that it was to be apprehended that such an attempt would tend to agitate the King's mind, and endanger the public tranquillity. He satisfied himself, as occasion required, with giving his opinion on certain bills in parliament; and his advice was frequently followed. In spite, therefore, of the opposition of several noble families, the ministers might have continued to hold their places, if, on a sudden, the heads of opposition—those who had heretofore been the loudest in declaiming against the measures and principles of Mr. Fox—had not shewn a disposition to join in his views, and to partake of the loaves and fishes with him and his friends. A sort of political shame, however, rendered the term *coalition* obnoxious: *co-operation* was now the phrase. "Each party had the same ends; each pursued the same road to attain them: nothing was more natural." By this means it was attempted to elude the odium which must have resulted from such an heterogeneous union. "When we reflect on this new coalition between the Grenville party and Mr. Fox and his friends," observes a certain anti-jacobinical writer, "our astonishment increases beyond measure. These parties were the very antipodes of each other: during the whole course of the last eventful war, on every leading question, on every principle, on the French revolution, and, lastly, on the peace of Amiens, their sentiments were opposite as the poles. Mr. Fox held up the regicides of France to the admiration of Europe; publicly adopted and proclaimed their grand principle of the *sovereignty of the people*, whence all their subsequent opinions and acts were almost necessarily deductions; reprobated the war as unjust and unnecessary; systematically opposed every measure of the ministers for prosecuting it with success; declared his joy at the peace of Amiens, not because he thought it safe or honourable to his country, but because it was a glorious peace for France; paid his adorations at the consular shrine; and, lastly, on the renewal of hostilities, steady and consistent for once in his life, he pleaded with energy and eloquence the cause of Napoleon, and pretty plainly insinuated that he had justice on his side. To say that Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham,

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and their friends, did the reverse of all this, is to say only that which is notorious to all the world." To consolidate, and to render irresistible, an opposition already so formidable, nothing remained but to engage Mr. Pitt to act in concert. He at length consented to do so, but without entering into any engagement with the different parties as to the consequences that might result from their joint efforts. The opposition thus constituted produced the desired effect. The ministers, perceiving their influence in parliament to decline daily, tendered their resignations to the King. His Majesty, whose health had been for some time progressively amending, observed to the Chancellor, that he had long expected the event which had just happened, and that his health was sufficiently re-established to cause no apprehensions of any unfavourable return of his indisposition.

On the 7th of May 1804, Mr. Pitt was sent for by the King, who offered him the same situation which he had formerly held, and desired he would form a new administration. On the following day, Mr. Pitt presented a list to the King, in which he had selected all the names in the kingdom most distinguished for their talents; Mr. Fox, Lords Grenville and Spencer, and Mr. Windham, were among the number. The King refused to admit Mr. Fox into the administration: Mr. Pitt was going to make some representations on the subject; but his Majesty observed, that it appeared a contradiction, that a person should be proposed to him as one of his ministers, whom the cabinet (of which Mr. Pitt was at that time a member) had recommended to be struck off the roll of his privy-counsellors. On account of the principles which he had avowed, and his speeches in parliament, Mr. Pitt had nothing further to say. He then proposed to Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and some others, to take a part in the new administration; but, although a month had scarcely elapsed since the new opposition had connected itself with Mr. Fox, and that many of them had been in strict alliance with Mr. Pitt upwards of fifteen years, they conceived themselves bound in honour to follow the fortune of Mr. Fox. Mr. Pitt now became sole master of the field of battle; and he, who for a long time had been urged to join the opposition, to turn out Mr. Addington, became sole possessor of the spoils,

which he distributed among his friends. Thus, those who had laid the foundation of this opposition, and who had cemented it by different coalitions, and who had already anticipated the disposal of the great offices of state among their own connexions, now found their hopes frustrated, with no one but themselves to blame.

The Addington administration had been obnoxious as well to the higher shafts of ridicule, as to the more serious attacks of political writers; but it was mostly admitted to be of a well-meaning nature. The writer in the *Anti-Jacobin* expresses himself thus, upon this subject:—"No administration, perhaps, possessed a greater portion of good personal qualities, of public integrity, and of fairness of intention; nor was it, in its subordinate parts, destitute of talent: but he who ought to have instilled life, spirit, and vigour into the whole body, was unfortunately himself destitute of those endowments and qualifications which are at all times essential in a prime-minister, and were at the present critical period indispensably necessary; hence, with this deficiency in its leader, the administration was destitute of energy and decision. It is a singular fact, which will not fail to be noticed by the historian of the times, that, though Mr. Addington was certainly a sound member and a staunch friend of the established church, he nevertheless wanted resolution to act up to his principles, and to do for the church all that his situation enabled him to do; and suffered in this, as in many other instances, the advice of those who were not competent to advise him to control his own sentiments and wishes: at least, this is the most favourable construction we can put upon the neglect which we deplore—sad effects of a wavering and temporizing policy! Justice requires us to add, that Mr. Addington's departure from office has been attended with circumstances highly creditable to his feelings, and to his character."

Of those who composed the preceding administration, Mr. Pitt retained the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, Lords Hawkesbury, Chatham, Westmoreland, and Castlereagh; and admitted with himself into the cabinet Lords Melville, Camden, Harrowby, Mulgrave, and the Duke of Montrose.

The opposition, who were left in the back ground, being

being frustrated in their attempt, appeared disposed to contest the King's prerogative in the choice of his ministers: but this right was so well established as being essential to the constitution, that all the speeches and pamphlets published on the occasion evaporated into smoke; and the idea which was attempted to be enforced, that it was the duty of the King not to oppose any one individual's being a part of his cabinet, soon appeared not only futile but ridiculous.

Mr. Pitt commenced his administration by introducing a bill into the House of Commons for regulating the establishment of the volunteer corps. The opposition, which was almost hopeless, took this opportunity to summon all its forces against this measure, but in vain; and, during some very acrimonious debates which arose out of the discussion of this bill, Mr. Pitt, perceiving that the opposition entertained hopes of gaining a triumph over him in the conflict, used some very remarkable expressions which produced a considerable effect:—"Suppose for a moment," said this great statesman, "that this bill was thrown out, my antagonists would not approach nearer to the object of their wishes. If they could get rid of the bill, they cannot get rid of me. I am resolved not to quit my post so long as I enjoy the confidence of his Majesty and his faithful subjects; and the repeated attacks of my adversaries shall only increase my energies, and the means of my defence. In respect to the King's prerogative, it is well known that I have always maintained it; and the attempt to dispute the right of his Majesty in the choice of his ministers, is, in effect, to destroy one of the most fundamental principles of our constitution, which *still remains monarchical*" Mr. Pitt then launched out into some warm eulogiums of his noble relations among the Grenville party:—"I remember," says he, "with pleasure and satisfaction, their declarations in my favour, and I was always grateful for the partiality they have shewn me. Having a better opinion of me than I have of myself, they pressed me to resume my station; they solicited me to join without stipulation or conditions, and publicly declared that his circumstance alone would inspire general confidence. I am sure I have done nothing to alter their good opinion of me; and they can alone explain why I no longer enjoy
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that regard which I have always held in such high estimation."

Being unable to shake Mr. Pitt, the opposition next attempted to weaken his administration by ruining his friend and colleague, Lord Melville. This nobleman had been successively Treasurer of the Navy during eighteen years, Secretary of State for the Home Department for eight years, Secretary of State for the War Department three years, and afterwards First Lord of the Admiralty. He had, besides, and at the same time, the direction of the affairs of Scotland, as well as the control over the Indian affairs, during eight years; so that he had the superintendence of three or four principal departments for several years. But the capacity of his genius, the clearness of his understanding, the method and regularity in his conduct of business, made that easy to him which in another would have been found impossible. He had filled all the functions of these departments with the greatest success, and had rendered the greatest service to the state. Why then attack a person of this description? His integrity was equal to his talents; and he seemed invulnerable. What did the opposition do? It was found advisable to scrutinize into the conduct of his deputy, who, it was said, had enriched himself greatly by converting the public money to his own profit, while he was Treasurer of the Navy. Lord Melville was accused of conniving at this management, and even of participating in the profits. It was alleged, that he had employed £10,000 of the funds of his department to the illegal means of corruption. His Lordship had himself declared, that this sum had been appropriated to secret services, which he neither could nor ought to reveal; but it was not admitted that he had a right to do so. Very long debates arose in the House of Commons on this subject; and, as we have seen, the result was a formal impeachment, which terminated in the honourable acquittal of his Lordship.

Mr. Addington, in the mean time, by the mediation of some common friends, had become reconciled to Mr. Pitt; had been re-admitted into the administration; made a Peer of the realm, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth; and appointed, on the 17th of January, President of the Council. But this reconciliation appears to have been
neither

neither cordial nor sincere on his part. His friends in the Lower House of Parliament very frequently voted against Mr. Pitt on those occasions which were known to be nearest his heart, and particularly in the impeachment of Lord Melville. Lord Sidmouth, perceiving that he ought no longer to continue in office, made a voluntary resignation of his office on the 5th of July following.

His Lordship remained in somewhat an inactive state until after the lamented death of his early friend and patron, Mr. Pitt. On the formation of the new ministry, which took place subsequent to this event, his Lordship was invested with the honourable office of Keeper of the Privy Seal, which he continued to fill until the death of Mr. Fox.

In the subsequent changes of the administration, his Lordship filled different posts; and, at present, he holds the high office of Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Memoirs
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS
LORD ERSKINE.

THE subject of this Memoir is the third son of the late, and youngest brother to the present, Earl of Buchan. There are no satisfactory documents of the youthful part of his history. It is, however, well known that he entered very early in life in the navy, a service for which he had imbibed a strong predilection.

Lord Erskine went to sea with the late Sir John Lindsay, nephew of the great Earl of Mansfield. He never, it is believed, had the commission of Lieutenant, but acted for some time in that capacity by the appointment of his captain. His reason for quitting the navy is said to have been the slender chance of obtaining promotion; and as he had only served as an *Acting Lieutenant* in consequence of the friendship of his commander, he was unwilling, after having been honoured with such a distinction, to return to sea in the inferior capacity of Midshipman.

On quitting the naval service, he entered into the army as an Ensign in the Royals, or 1st regiment of foot. In the year 1768, he went with his regiment to Minorca, in which island he spent three years, and continued in the service about six.

During the period he served in the army, he acquired considerable reputation for the acuteness and versatility of his talents in conversation. Mr. Boswell, who met him about this time in a mixed company in London, mentions, in his *Memoirs of Dr. Johnson*, the delight which the Doctor and himself felt from the ability of a gentleman, who was no other than the subject of this Memoir, while discoursing on some temporary topic which, at that time, happened to be an interesting question of dispute in the circles of the metropolis.

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Whether the consciousness of these powers, or the suggestions of his friends, or the embarrassments of a scanty income, first invited him to make preparations for the study of the law, it is of no importance to inquire. The resolution, from whatever cause it proceeded, must, in a great measure, have been supported by that internal confidence in his own talents, which is inseparable from great and elevated minds, and from that spirit of adventure which is incidental to genius—which overlooks slight obstacles, and contemns ordinary difficulties. It has been said, that his Lordship had no merit whatever in embarking in so new and arduous a pursuit; but that it was literally and most unwillingly forced upon him by the importunities of his mother, the Countess of Buchan, after the death of his father; and that the hopes of succeeding in it were fortified and kept alive, against his own prepossessions, by her counsel and persuasions.

Lord Erskine was about twenty-six when he commenced his course of legal study. He entered as a fellow-commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1777; and, at the same time, inserted his name as a student on the books of Lincoln's Inn. One of his college declamations is still extant, as it was delivered in Trinity College Chapel. The thesis was the revolution of 1688. It displays extraordinary powers of language; and it is easy to discover, in some of its passages, the elements, as it were, of that forensic eloquence in which he afterwards acquired such a decisive pre-eminence. It would be too mean a praise to say, that it bears very striking features of superiority over the declamations which are usually produced on those occasions. It gained the first prize, which he refused to accept; not attending Cambridge as a student, and only declaiming in conformity to the rules of the college.

His Lordship did not enter the university for any academical purpose, but merely to obtain a degree to which he was entitled as the son of a nobleman, and by which he saved two years and a half in his passage to the bar. His education had been previously completed in Scotland. His father, one of the most accomplished men of his time, had uniformly felt an extraordinary solicitude as to the education of his children, and actually removed from his family estate in Scotland for the purpose of re-

siding at St. Andrew's, where he continued for many years. During this time he procured for them a private tutor, one of the most elegant scholars of that part of the island, to assist their studies at the school and university.

In order to acquire a necessary idea of the mechanical parts of his future profession, his Lordship entered as a pupil into the office of Judge Buller, then an eminent special pleader at the bar. During this period of his life, he experienced all the difficulties arising out of a very limited income. He had been already married about four years, and was obliged to adhere to a most rigid frugality of expenditure. While he remained in the office of Mr. Buller, he pursued the business of the desk with unremitting activity and ardour; and, on that gentleman's promotion, he went into the office of Mr. Wood, where he continued a year after he had been in considerable business at the bar.

In what manner he first cultivated popular declamation does not clearly appear. It has been said, that he was an assiduous attendant at Coachmakers' Hall, where a debating club of some estimation was at that time held. But the style of his oratory bears internal testimony against this assertion: the eloquence acquired by such means is of a nature far remote from the uses of the bar or the senate.

His Lordship had now completed the probationary period allotted to the attendance in the inns of court; and he was called to the bar in Trinity term 1778. An opportunity was almost immediately afforded him of distinguishing himself in Westminster-Hall. Capt. Baillie, who had been removed from the superintendence of Greenwich Hospital by the late Earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the admiralty, and one of the governors of Greenwich Hospital, was charged with having published a libel on that nobleman, and the Attorney-General was instructed to move for leave to file a criminal information against him; this was the occasion of Lord Erskine's first speech in court. In opposing the motion of Mr. Attorney-General, an opportunity presented itself of entering into the merits of the case in behalf of Captain Baillie. He accordingly expatiated upon the services which had been rendered by his client, and on the firmness

ness with which he resisted the intrigue and artifice to which he attributed the prosecution set on foot against him. In the course of his speech, he also attacked the noble Earl in a tone of sarcastic and indignant invective. Lord Mansfield interrupted him more than once; but the advocate did not abate of the severity of his animadversions. It was at that time no common spectacle to observe a man, so little known to the court and the bar, commenting with asperity of remark on the conduct of a powerful statesman who held an elevated post in the administration, and distinguishing himself by a species of confidence not usually felt in early efforts of public speaking, under circumstances that rendered it prudent to abstain from personal severity, and conciliate the bench he was addressing. These strictures on the noble Lord were unquestionably severe; but, if any faith is to be placed in the testimony of his contemporaries, both in office and in opposition, they are not unfounded. Mr. Luttrell, speaking of him in the House of Commons, observed, with a pointed eloquence, that "*there was in his conduct such a sanctimonious composure of guilt, that the rarity and perfection of the vice almost constituted it a virtue.*"

This was the first trial of his talents at the bar, having been called only in Trinity term, and having been employed for Captain Baillie in the Michaelmas term following. He is said to have been indebted for this opportunity to no interference, recommendation, or connexion. His acquaintance with Captain Baillie originated in his having accidentally met him at the table of a common friend. Almost immediately after, his Lordship appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, as counsel for Mr. Carnan, the bookseller, against a bill introduced by Lord North, then prime-minister, to re-vest in the universities the monopoly in almanacks, which Mr. Carnan had succeeded in abolishing by legal judgments; and he had the good fortune to place the noble Lord in a considerable minority upon a division.

To the reputation which these speeches conferred upon him, it has been said, that he attributes the subsequent success he has experienced in his profession; and that, as he left the court upon one of these occasions, nearly thirty briefs were offered to him by the attorneys who

happened to be present. He was now surrounded by clients, and occupied by business. Of the various cases in which he was employed, it would be absurd to expect any mention, as they consisted only of the ordinary and daily transactions of the term and the sittings.

The public feelings were now altogether occupied by the interesting trial of Admiral Keppel. Lord Erskine was retained as counsel for the Admiral: a circumstance owing to the ignorance the counsel (Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee) who were originally engaged displayed relative to the sea phrases, without some knowledge of which the case was in a great measure unintelligible. The former (afterwards created Lord Ashburton) recommended him as completely qualified for the task, in consequence of having been made acquainted with the manner in which he had past the former part of his life.

The duty of a counsel before a court-martial is very limited, by the rules and usages of that tribunal: he is not permitted to put any question to the witnesses, but he may suggest to his client such as occur to him as necessary to be asked; nor is he suffered to address the court: and almost the only assistance he can render is in the arrangement of his defence, and the communication of such remarks on the evidence as are most likely to present themselves only to the minds of those who are habituated to the rules of testimony in courts of justice. This service was most effectually and ably performed. Having drawn up his defence, he personally examined all the Admirals and Captains of the fleet, and satisfied himself that he could substantiate the innocence of his client, before the speech which he had written for him was read. For his exertions on this memorable occasion he received a thousand guineas.

He was now in possession of the best *second business* in the King's Bench. By the phrase *second business* is meant that sort of business in which the lead is not given to the counsel who are not yet arrived at the dignity of a silk gown, and of a seat within the bar of the court. But an event took place which called his talents into activity on a most memorable occasion: we allude to the riots which disgraced the city of London in 1780. Every one knows the universal consternation which at that time agitated the kingdom, when the security of the nation
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was threatened in the destruction of the capital. After the suppression of these tumults, the vigilance of the magistracy was exercised in directing the insulted justice of the country against the actors in that dreadful conflagration. The part attributed to Lord George Gordon in these outrages is well known. His Lordship was retained as counsel for Lord George, in conjunction with Mr. Kenyon (afterwards Lord Kenyon). The duty which more immediately devolved on his Lordship, was that of replying to the evidence—a duty which he sustained with infinite judgment and spirit. His speech on this trial abounds with many of the most finished graces of rhetoric. It is rapid and impetuous, and altogether in that style and character which are most impressive in judicial assemblies. The exordium is after the artificial method of the ancients, who never begin an oration without an appeal to the tribunal they are addressing, upon the embarrassments and peril of the function they have undertaken. “I stand,” said his Lordship, “much more in need of compassion than the noble prisoner. He rests secure in conscious innocence, and in the assurance that his innocence will suffer no danger in your hands. But I appear before you a young and inexperienced advocate; little conversant with courts of criminal justice; and sinking under the dreadful consciousness of that inexperience.” There is perhaps no department of his profession, in which this celebrated advocate has reached higher excellence, than in his observations on evidence. The defence of Lord George Gordon required the exercise of these powers to their amplest extent; as the case on the part of the crown was supported by a variety of witnesses. Having delivered to the jury the doctrine of high treason, as it had been established by the celebrated act of Edward the Third, and as it was expounded by means of the best authorities, he made a most dextrous application of those rules to the evidence which had been adduced. They who study this speech will observe, with emotions of admiration, the subtleties with which he abates the force of the testimony he is encountering, and the artful eloquence with which he exposes its defects, and its contradictions. “I say, *by God*, that man is a ruffian, who on such evidence as this seeks to establish a conclusion of guilt!” was his exclamation, as he was finishing

finishing this topic of his defence:—an impassioned mode of address, which, although it may find some apology in the perpetual example of Cicero, is not altogether suited to the soberness of English eloquence. Of this speech the concluding sentence is truly pathetic: we scarcely hesitate to pronounce it to be the best effort of Lord Erskine's talents. It does not, indeed, display the minute beauties of cultivated diction, nor those grave remarks of moral wisdom with which his latter speeches, in imitation of Mr. Burke, are pregnant; but, considered in reference to the occasion on which it was delivered, it is a most astonishing effort of vigorous and polished intellect.

In the month of May 1783, he received the honour of a silk gown; his Majesty's letters of precedence being conferred upon him, as has been said, on the suggestion of the venerable Lord Mansfield. To this distinction, his portion of the business, and his acknowledged talents, gave him unanswerable pretensions. His professional labours were now considerably augmented, and he succeeded to that place which had been so long occupied by Mr. Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton).

In no part of his professional engagements has he deserved or acquired an higher reputation than in the mode of conducting trials for *Crim. Con.* It has frequently fallen to his lot to be concerned in behalf of plaintiffs in these actions—a circumstance which has given him considerable advantage; for, besides the attention which is sure to be afforded to accusing eloquence, the sympathies of mankind are naturally in alliance with him who hurls his invective against the disturber of domestic peace, and the invader of conjugal happiness; and, alarming as the frequency of these cases may be, yet the torrent of public licentiousness has received no slight impediment from the indignant feelings of the world, and the exemplary damages awarded by juries. To this honourable and useful end the eloquence of the advocate is subservient: he calls the slumbering emotions, and the virtuous sensibilities of men, into a sort of active league against the crime which he denounces. Lord Erskine's speech, in the memorable cause of Sykes and Parsloe, is still remembered by those who heard it as an uncommon effort of rhetorical ability.

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He has also been concerned in some of the remarkable causes for *Crim. Con.* on behalf of defendants. His exertions are well known in the memorable cases of Baldwin against Oliver, tried at York, and of Sir Henry Vane Tempest; in both which there were but one shilling damages awarded: and, on these occasions, his Lordship has done equal service to the cause of morality and virtue, by pointing out the infamy of unyoking the female passions from the restraints of conjugal protection and domestic attachments. His speech in Howard against Bingham will be long remembered at the bar: it contains a most affecting apology for the lady, who was married against her consent, while her affections had been bestowed upon another: it abounds with pathetic remarks on the harshness and cruelty of chaining down to a man whom she hated a young and beautiful woman, and, for the purposes of family arrangement or ambition, dedicating her life to a reluctant discharge of duties, the obligations of which she could not perceive, and the conditions of which she could not sustain. In this speech there is no apology for vice, but an excuse for human frailty, which is pleaded with great warmth and great eloquence.

From the infinite variety of these causes in which he has been concerned, it is not extraordinary that he should have acquired too artificial and common-place a method of putting his topics; but it is no just cause of reproach that he should, in a great measure, have expended his store of expression and of thinking on these subjects: this is not poverty, but exhausted wealth—the indigence arising from too lavish a prodigality of his mental opulence. He who looks for a perfect model of his style, must examine his speech on the trial of Stockdale. When the charges against Mr. Hastings were published by the House of Commons, a Mr. Logie, a clergyman of the church of Scotland, and a friend of the Governor-General, wrote a tract, in which those charges were investigated with some acrimony, but with considerable warmth and vigour; so that the pamphlet being considered as libellous by a resolution of the House, a criminal information was filed by the Attorney-General against Stockdale, the publisher. In the course of his defence, Lord Erskine urged many collateral topics in favour of Mr. Hastings, in a style of fervid and ornamented

mented eloquence. Adverting to the charges preferred against that gentleman, he expatiates on the obvious absurdity exhibited by a power, guilty of rapine and oppression, in presuming to sit in judgment upon those to whom its authority had been delegated, and by whom its own tyranny had been exercised. He dwells upon the ridiculous conduct of a nation, proceeding in its iniquitous career of plunder and rapacity, in saying to the subordinate instruments of its usurpation, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." He remarks, that a great empire was to be preserved by Mr. Hastings, and that it was only to be preserved by the means which were used to acquire it—by acts of rigorous and severe authority. He then takes notice of the violation of human happiness, for which the nation was responsible, in the exercise of her eastern dominion; concluding the topic in the following strain of energetic oratory:—"Gentlemen, you are touched by this way of considering the subject; and I can account for it. I have been talking of man, and his nature, not as they are seen through the cold medium of books, but as I have myself seen them in climes reluctantly submitting to our authority. I have seen an indignant savage chief, surrounded by his subjects, and holding in his hand a bundle of sticks, the notes of his unlettered eloquence: 'Who is it,' said the jealous ruler of a forest, encroached upon by the restless foot of English adventure, 'Who is it that causes these mountains to lift up their lofty heads? Who raises the winds of the winter, and calms them again in the summer? The same Being who gave to you a country on your side of the water, and our's to us on this.'"

Lord Erskine was elected member for Portsmouth in the year 1783; an honour which he probably derived from the reputation he had acquired at the court-martial which sat there on the trial of Admiral Keppel. His political character may be extracted from his speeches in courts of justice, as well as from his uniform conduct in parliament: whether the consistency of his course is to be attributed to a singular felicity of fortune, or to the demands which his business has at all times had on his time and his exertions, and which rendered his political ambition subordinate to his love of professional fame; yet the praise of inflexible patriotism, and a rigid ad-
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herence to the men and measures he approved, must ever be yielded to his character.

From no transaction of his life is a greater and more permanent reputation derived by him than from his noble struggles in defence of the trial by jury. The law, as it is now expounded by Mr. Fox's bill, which Lord Erskine paved the way for in the courts, and seconded and supported in parliament, is a monument erected to his patriotism and ability. A strange paradox had crept into the judicial practice, which, restricting the power of juries in questions of libel to the arbitrary interpretation of the judges, reduced it in fact to a shadow and a nullity. A rule derived from the venal opinion and practice of bad judges in bad times, was adopted by honest and upright men from real conviction, and a sense of duty in adhering to what they conceived to be precedent and authority. The question had already been frequently agitated in trials for libel. It had exercised the pens and tongues of the ablest lawyers, and had been discussed in the luminous and elegant letters of Junius. It was reserved for Lord Erskine, in his celebrated argument in support of a rule for a new trial in the Dean of St. Asaph's case, to concentrate all the doctrines, and to combine all the reasonings, which lay scattered throughout so many volumes of legal learning. In this elaborate harangue, he most triumphantly established his position, that juries were judges of the law as well as the fact. Upon the principles laid down in this speech, Mr. Fox framed his immortal bill; which, though it received the most acrimonious opposition in both houses of legislature, happily rescued the question from controversy, by the establishment of a criterion to which the rights and duties of juries may at all times be referred.

On the original trial of the Dean of Asaph, at Shrewsbury, where Lord Erskine appeared as counsel for him, a special verdict was delivered by the jury, finding the defendant guilty only of the *fact of publishing*. Mr. Justice Buller, who presided at the trial, desired them to reconsider it, as it could not be recorded in the terms in which they expressed it. On this occasion Lord Erskine insisted that the verdict should be recorded as it was found. This was resisted by the Judge, who, meet-

ing with unusual opposition from the advocate, peremptorily told him to sit down, or he should compel him. "My Lord," returned the advocate, "I will not sit down. Your Lordship may do your duty, but I will do mine." The Judge was silent. It would have been more consistent with the dignity of the court, if the threat, which he did not feel himself prepared to execute, had not escaped the learned Judge. Lord Erskine concludes his argument in this case with the following sentiment:—"It was the first command and counsel of my youth, always to do what my conscience told me to be my duty, and to leave the consequences to God. I shall carry with me the memory, and I trust the practice, of this parental lesson to the grave. I have hitherto followed it, and have no reason to complain that my obedience to it has been even a temporal sacrifice. I have found it, on the contrary, the road to prosperity and wealth; and I shall point it out as such to my children."

The independence exhibited on every occasion threw upon him the defence of a multitude of persons prosecuted for sedition or libel by government. No reasoning can be more uncandid than to infer that his political opinions had any real sympathy with those entertained by the numerous race of libellers who resorted to him for legal protection. They know but little of the duty of a counsel who reason in this manner. As a servant of the public, he was bound by the obligations of professional honour to afford his assistance to those who engaged him in their behalf. It is the privilege of the accused, in a free country, to be heard impartially and equitably, and to be tried by the fair interpretation of the laws to which he is amenable. They who imagine that the advocate identifies with his own the opinions and acts of the party he is representing, are carried away by erroneous reasonings, tending, in their consequences, to deprive the innocent of protection, by denying a fair measure of justice to the guilty. This sense of duty Lord Erskine has carried to an honourable extreme, not having been deterred from it by the malignant representations of party calumny, nor tempted to abandon it by the hopes and promises of professional promotion.

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His defence of Paine, however, occasioned his sudden dismissal from the office he held as Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales. In justice, however, to the Prince, there is no reason to believe that he approved of the measure, or willingly acceded to it. In a period of political phrenzy, it was forced upon him by those who could not feel the enlarged and liberal sentiments of that great personage on such an occasion, and who were not ashamed to make use of the most unworthy instruments of political artifice and intrigue, having no other science than that of pursuing objects most familiar to their minds, by means most adapted to their understandings.

The most brilliant event in Lord Erskine's professional life was the part cast upon him, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir Vicary) Gibbs, in the state trials, in the year 1794. He undertook their several defences with an enthusiasm which rendered him insensible to the fatigues of a long and continued exertion; nothing was omitted that could elucidate their innocence; nothing overlooked that could tend to weaken the force of the case stated against them by the crown lawyers. These trials lasted several days: the public expectation hung upon them with the most inconceivable anxiety; and the feelings of good men and virtuous citizens accompanied the accused to their trial, with hopes, not unmingled with apprehension, that, from their acquittal, the liberty of the subject would receive additional strength and confirmation.

One of his latest speeches as a counsel was on the prosecution of the publisher of Paine's *Age of Reason*. It is a signal blessing, during a period when the sentiment is openly undervalued and despised, that men of great talents should display a lively sensibility to the obligations of religion, as the best support of morality and conscience, and that they should employ their eloquence and their reason (the best gift of God to man) in impressing on the general mind the consolations derived from the truths it has imparted. A more eloquent, solemn, or impressive oration was never delivered, than that which his Lordship made on this occasion.

Soon after that period, a great change in the political hemisphere converted this eloquent advocate into a Judge,

and a Peer of the Realm. On the demise of Mr. Pitt, he was sworn a member of the Privy Council; created a Baron (Feb. 7, 1806), by the title of Lord Erskine, of Restormail Castle, in Cornwall; and entrusted with the great seal as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. His seat for Portsmouth being thus vacated, he was succeeded in the representation of that borough by one of his sons.

He did not long fill the important post to which he had been elevated, the death of Mr. Fox having dissolved the ministry. He was succeeded in his office by the noble Lord who now fills it; and Lord Erskine has ever since remained inactive, except by the exercise of an unremitting attention to his parliamentary duties.

Memoirs

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD LAW,

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

AMONGST the crowd of public characters that claim a notice in this work, we presume there are few whose Memoirs would be more acceptable to our readers than the present subject.

This nobleman is a native of the county of Cumberland, and the son of the late Dr. Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle. He was educated, until he arrived at the age of twelve years, by his uncle, the Rev. Humphrey Christian, who resided at Bottisham, near Cambridge; and was then sent to the Charter-House: thence he removed, in 1768, to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, of which his father had been appointed Master in 1756.

After he had taken his Bachelor's degree, he was admitted of Lincoln's Inn. He was not, however, called at the usual standing, preferring to practise during some time under the bar. In this situation barristers are not allowed to appear as advocates: they assist in drawing up written pleadings, from whence they are called special pleaders, but the fees they receive are less than those given to the special pleaders who have been admitted to the bar. The advantages resulting from this plan are practice at an early period, and the opportunities afforded of forming useful connexions with clients. Of the profits attending it, our readers will not form a very high idea from the following whimsical anecdote:—A late attorney-general, at a consultation, after considerable discussion of the point under consideration, in a high and decisive tone, concluded with saying, "And, gentlemen, this is *my* opinion." A solicitor present, who had a high respect for the talents of the speaker, but was roused by the peremptoriness of his manner, observed, "It is *your* opinion

opinion—and I remember when I could have had that opinion for five shillings," (alluding to the time when he practised under the bar). To which the attorney-general good-humouredly returned, " And, probably, at that time my opinion was not worth five shillings."

After he had been called to the bar, Lord Ellenborough (then Mr. Law) went the northern circuit, most probably on account of the advantages which he expected to derive from the influence of his father, the Bishop of Carlisle. At this time, the principal causes were in the hands of Messrs. Wallace and Lee, men so distinguished, that the young lawyers could aspire to their practice only after they had declined it. Among the junior counsel were Lord Auckland, Lord Eldon, and the late Lord Alvanley. Lord Auckland soon abdicated the profession of the law for politics; Lord Alvanley was induced, by the prospect of greater advantage, to remove to the chancery-bar; while Lords Eldon and Ellenborough remained to divide between them the rich harvest of that field, which the advancement of their great predecessors soon left open to them.

Wallace, whom we have noticed with Lee as taking the lead, was a native of Cumberland, and began the profession of the law as an attorney's clerk. His circumstances are said to have been so low, that he could not have paid the sum which is now required from attorneys before they can be enrolled. Thus a regulation, one of whose objects is to exclude improper members from this department of the law, would have deprived the profession of one of its greatest ornaments. His abilities gradually developed themselves. He had the happiness of feeling himself rising during the whole of his life, and of knowing that his success was the reward of that ability and perseverance with which he had contended against extraordinary difficulties. At Westminster Hall he was constantly opposed to Dunning; and, although inferior to this great advocate in genius and attainments, he maintained his ground by the extent and accuracy of his legal knowledge, and by the vigour and industry which he displayed on all occasions. When his constitution had been worn out by age and fatigue, he was advised by his physicians to seek benefit from the air of Devonshire. At an inn he met with Dunning, who, in a
still

still more desperate state, was trying the same experiment for the restoration of his health; and these men, who had long acted together in the most busy and laborious scenes of life, again contemplated each other, when they expected a speedy termination to all their pursuits. The interview must have been particularly melancholy and affecting. Dunning died shortly after it took place, and Wallace did not long survive him.

The last business in which Mr. Wallace was engaged was the prosecution of a great state-criminal. This man was high in one of the public offices, and had been guilty of enormous peculation. It was, however, generally rumoured and suspected, that the law-officers under the influence of government were not much anxious for the success of the prosecution, but would, if possible, discover means of rendering it ineffectual. Wallace, therefore, finding his character at stake, exerted himself to the utmost on this occasion; drew up the pleadings, revised them, copied them, and, after having satisfied himself that there was no flaw, submitted them to the inspection of several of his learned friends. When they had expressed themselves convinced of their accuracy, he thought he might safely commit them to the court; but, after he had entertained this well-grounded opinion for some time, the late Sir John Wilson discovered in them a flaw which, if it had been allowed to remain, would have quashed the whole proceeding. This was no other than having written £20,000 instead of *twenty thousand pounds*, the legal forms not allowing that sums should be expressed by figures.

Of Lee, the great cotemporary of Wallace, we shall notice a few anecdotes. He was a very extraordinary character. His abilities and legal knowledge were of the first order. His person was not prepossessing, but was calculated to give effect to that boldness of manner which he thought essential to the success of his pleadings. He was of a very jovial temper, and a methodical "*bon vivant*." When he had amassed £50,000, he determined to save no more, justly thinking that more would not be of service to his only child, a daughter. He therefore spent his whole income; and, among other methods of expenditure, drank Champagne, like small beer, out of a pint mug. Many other eccentricities which strongly marked

marked his character might be added to those already mentioned.

Lee was famous for studying *effect* when he pleaded, of which there is adduced a curious instance. On the circuit at Norwich a brief was brought him by the relatives of a woman who had been deceived in a promise of marriage. Lee inquired, among other particulars, whether the female was handsome; it was replied, "she possessed a most beautiful face." Satisfied with this, he desired that she should be placed at the bar immediately in front of the jury. When he rose, he began a most pathetic address, directing the attention of the jury to the charms which were placed in their view, and painting in glowing colours the guilt of the man who could injure so much beauty. When he perceived their feelings worked up to a proper pitch, he sat down, under the perfect conviction that he should obtain a verdict. What then must have been his surprise, when the counsel for the opposite party rose and observed, that it was impossible not to assent to the encomiums which his learned friend had lavished on the face of the plaintiff, but he begged leave to add that she had a *wooden leg*! This fact, of which Lee was by no means aware, was established to his utter confusion; his eloquence was thrown away; and the jury, who felt ashamed of the effects it had produced upon them, almost immediately gave a verdict against him.

The brother of Lord Ellenborough having married a sister of Wallace, the latter exerted himself to throw his business on the northern circuit into the hands of his Lordship when he retired from it; and whatever his Lordship once acquired he was sure to retain and improve.

Business in the country naturally leads to business in London; besides which, he was assisted on the latter more important theatre by numerous friends, among whom the earliest and most useful was the late Judge Buller. With Mr. Justice Buller he had no connexion before he went to the bar, and we are not able to mention the origin of their acquaintance, but it might possibly have been produced by the following circumstance. Lord Ellenborough was a member of a club of lawyers who dined at Rolfe's Coffee-House, and which consisted of many eminent characters. Among them was probably

bably Mr. Buller, who would thus have an opportunity of observing the abilities of the young lawyer, and of conceiving the design of assisting in bringing them forward to public notice. At this club each member had an office, such as that of candle-snuffer, bell-ringer, &c. and he was required to make a speech on being promoted to it. Lord Alvanley greatly distinguished himself by his oration when he was appointed bell-ringer.

In the late Chief Justice Willes, Lord Ellenborough found another patron. He was not a man of great powers, and probably derived from the abilities and industry of his Lordship advantages equal to those which were imparted by the countenance he bestowed upon him. He was accordingly sometimes employed in hunting out cases for judges, if not in more important services. By means of Justice Buller he soon obtained a silk gown. To take a silk gown is thought a bold step in a young lawyer, as he that wears it must lead in every cause; the distinction, therefore, excludes him on all occasions when men of superior reputation are employed who are not king's counsel. He must lead, or do nothing; if, therefore, he is not thought fit to lead, he does nothing, and is accordingly crushed under his honours. His Lordship, however, from his known abilities, had no reason to entertain apprehensions of this kind; as, being conscious of his own powers, he needed only opportunities of displaying them.

A singularly able and learned defence which he made in an insurance cause, when his practice was not very considerable, drew upon him universal attention, and ranked him among the first lawyers at the bar. The subject was one to which he had always paid particular attention, and in which he shone with the most distinguished superiority. The success of this cause brought him immediately a vast accession of business at Guildhall; and it may fairly be considered, in a great degree, the foundation of his present greatness and fortune.

The reputation of Lord Ellenborough was further extended by the active part he took in the defence of Governor Hastings. Into this trial he was introduced by Sir Thomas Rumbold, who married his sister. The cause had been offered to Mr. Erskine, who refused it on account of the many unpleasant circumstances under which it appeared likely to place him.

This refusal, however, was judged unprofessional, and could have been ventured on only by a man of his established celebrity. That it originated from considerations such as have been mentioned, and not from any conviction unfavourable to the character of Mr. Hastings, is evident from his defence of Stockdale, who was prosecuted for a libel on the managers of the impeachment, as, in the course of this defence, he endeavoured to refute all the charges which were brought against the Governor-General of Bengal. The reasons that weighed with Lord Erskine weighed equally strong with Lord Ellenborough; but they did not induce him to decline the cause. The most serious inconvenience arising from it was, that it hurt his business in Westminster Hall. A counsel was not likely to be retained, whose presence at the trial could not be depended upon, and who might be called away at a moment's notice to attend the House. He had likewise a new set of men to contend with—Fox, Burke, Adams, and, above all, Sheridan, whose keen sarcastic wit could not be exercised on a more sensitive temper. But the losses, fatigues, and vexations, he endured from this engagement, were doubtless amply compensated by the addition it made to his reputation. His abilities became more widely known, and he was now ranked by the public amongst the foremost of his profession.

He had, however, many difficulties yet to surmount. By a succession of unfortunate circumstances, he made an enemy in Lord Kenyon, who took every opportunity to thwart and distress him. Partiality, however, in the Court of King's Bench, cannot much depress a lawyer who opposes to it a great force of abilities and reputation. The difficulties which his Lordship had to struggle with were much less than those which Lord Alvanley met with in the Court of Chancery. He, by an ill fortune similar to that which attended Lord Ellenborough, drew upon himself the dislike of a great lawyer with more fatal consequences. The Lord Chancellor, in his court, is both judge and jury; and if it be ever perceived that he regards a counsel with an unfavourable eye, the circumstance operates to his ruin. No briefs are carried to one whose defence acts against the cause. Mr. Pitt's insisting that Lord Alvanley should be made Master of the Rolls was therefore the severest mortification Lord Thurlow

low ever endured. He threatened to resign; but Mr. Pitt still remained inflexible. How little ought to have been regarded the objection that Lord Alvanley was unfit to execute the duties of the Master of the Rolls, is evident from the circumstance that there were fewer appeals from his decisions, than from those of any other Master of the Rolls that had ever been remembered.

On the northern circuit, during the latter part of the time when he attended it, Lord Ellenborough was without a rival. It happened that, of the remaining counsel, those who enjoyed reputation were without great abilities, while those who possessed great abilities were destitute of reputation. The observation is, however, meant to extend only to those who were accustomed to lead; for, in point of legal knowledge, Judge Chambre, Mr. Wood, and some others, who were on the same circuit, acknowledge few superiors. It ought likewise to be added, that Serjeant Cockell, who was uniformly opposed to Mr. Law, practised a manner of pleading adapted to work a powerful effect on that class of men from which country juries are composed. His arguments, suited to the size of their capacities, and the nature of their prejudices, the violence of his tone and gesture, calculated to move their rude and heavy understandings, often effaced the impressions produced by the grave and dignified addresses of Lord Ellenborough, which were listened to with more reverence, but little conviction.

In Westminster Hall his superiority was not so evident. Lord Erskine, as a leading counsel, possessed a more extensive, though perhaps a less solid reputation. In speaking of these great men, the expression may justly be used which Quintilian applies to Livy and Sallust, that they are

“Pares magis quam similes,”

“equal to each other rather than like each other.” If Lord Erskine be a finer speaker, his rival is a more accomplished lawyer. If the former captivates the imagination by the brilliancy of his ideas, and the elegance of his language, Lord Ellenborough subjects the understanding by the strength of his expressions, and by a weight of sentiment and matter, which always produces an effect proportionate to the capacities of his hearers.

That egotism which perplexed the pleadings of the former, by studying to divide the attention between himself and the cause, was never perceived in the latter. He appeared to regard nothing but his cause, and either to be indifferent to admiration, or to seek it only by deserving it.

If they be compared as lawyers, the superiority must, without hesitation, be allowed to Lord Ellenborough. An important part of Lord Erskine's life was lost to his profession; and the splendour of his oratorical powers advanced him into public notice soon after he had devoted himself to it. The great practice which immediately followed the first manifestation of his talents, though it naturally increased his knowledge, took from him the opportunity of making those laborious investigations which are necessary to complete the character of a profound lawyer. Lord Ellenborough, on the contrary, has enjoyed every advantage of opportunity and training, and has, during the whole of his life, displayed an industry no less uncommon than the abilities by which it was directed.

His Lordship's advancement to the great offices of the profession did not take place until long after he had been designed for them by the expectations of the public. These expectations were founded equally on his eminent talents, and on the soundness and extent of his legal knowledge. That they were so long defeated, is attributed to his having been regarded with unfavourable sentiments by the then administration. Immediately after its dissolution he was appointed Attorney-General, and brought into the House of Commons, where he was a frequent speaker in defence of ministerial measures. In this character, it will be allowed, he performed important services, even by those whose opinions of the conduct and abilities of the ministry led them to conclude that they wanted both defence and defenders.

At the bar and in the House of Commons Lord Ellenborough was the same man. He transferred from the questions of law to those of politics the copiousness of matter, as well as the energy of thought and language, by which he had always been distinguished. He likewise not unfrequently displayed, in the course of debate, that irritability and warmth of temper which characterized him

him as a pleader. Unlike Lord Erskine, who, while he reigned at the bar, maintained but a secondary character in the House of Commons, he always stood forward in the first rank, and never appeared inferior to the great reputation he had acquired. This difference cannot be resolved into that species of eloquence which Lord Erskine has cultivated. In his speaking there is nothing of that which is peculiar to the bar. His subtilty, his wit, that rich colouring of sentiment and diction which distinguished his pleadings from all others, might be applied with equal felicity to every subject of discussion.

Concerning the character of Lord Ellenborough's eloquence, it may be observed in general, that he appears to aim more at strength than at elegance. There is nothing, however, in the occasional roughness and negligence of his sentences which does not perfectly consist with delicacy of taste and refinement of knowledge. His faults, indeed, seem to belong to a mind too highly occupied to avoid them; and, perhaps, if he had been more studied and graceful, his hearers would be less at leisure to receive the full force of those masculine ideas which constitute the distinguishing virtues of his speeches. The poignancy of his invectives has seldom been equalled, and it established a salutary dread among his brethren at the bar, which has since been extended to the members of the two houses, with whom he has had occasion to contend. The gravity and solemnity of his manner was best suited to important causes, but he shewed himself able to treat light matters with gaiety and wit; while, at the same time, it appeared more natural to him to be dignified than trifling.

The office of Attorney-General is always understood to be a step to higher situations; and Lord Ellenborough, on the death of Lord Kenyon, was appointed, in April 1802, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, and elevated to a peerage. So rapid a rise, within a year, from the condition of a King's Counsel to the second dignity of the law, cannot be paralleled by any other instance in the annals of the profession. The situation of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, although in respect to rank and salary the second among the dignities of the law, is in some points thought more desirable than the first.

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The Lord Chancellor, as a member of the ministry, is subject to the varieties of its fortune; while the judges cannot be removed from their offices, except in consequence of misbehaviour, or addresses from either of the two houses of parliament. It is likewise understood that the extensiveness of the Lord Chancellor's patronage is scarcely adequate to the value of the few lucrative situations of which the Chief Justice of the King's Bench has the absolute disposal.

Lord Ellenborough has therefore attained what probably was the highest object of his ambition. The elevated station on which he is placed affords him all the enjoyments of dignity, and all the opportunities he can desire for the display and exertion of his powers. His two immediate predecessors were men with whom the greatest minds may be proud to rival. Lord Mansfield will always be considered not only among the first ornaments of his profession, but among those who have done honour to his country and to human nature; and Lord Kenyon's occasional violence and neglect of decorum, his deficiencies as an orator and a scholar, will not deprive him of that reverence which is due to the vigour of understanding, the extent of his professional acquirements, and the uniform ardour with which he supported the cause of religion and morality.

It is impossible to contemplate the life of this nobleman, without reflecting on the splendid prospects which animate the study of the law. By the mere exertion of his talents, without the interference of any extraordinary events, Lord Ellenborough has accumulated a great fortune, attained one of the most exalted stations in the empire, and acquired for himself, and will transmit to his children, the honours of the British peerage.

Memoirs

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD

MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY.

THE family of this nobleman is among the most ancient of the kingdom; and, if we may credit the account of the genealogists, the splendour and glory of its first founders were such, that no small weight of dishonour would attach to the present representative, if he did not in his own person reflect back upon them something of that lustre which they have thrown upon him. The name of the family was originally Colley; it derives its origin from the county of Rutland, whence it removed into Ireland during the reign of Henry VIII. Richard Colley, Esq. of the county of Meath, the grandfather of the Marquis of Wellesley, took the name of Wesley, in compliance with the will of his brother-in-law, Garret Wesley, Esq. of the same county. This latter, having married the sister of the former, and dying without issue, bequeathed his estates upon this condition. Richard Colley, now Wesley, was soon after ennobled by a peerage, being created Baron Mornington, of the kingdom of Ireland. He died in 1760, and was succeeded by his son, the father of the Marquis, who was advanced to an earldom in the year 1760, being created Earl of Mornington.

Richard Wesley, the subject of our present Memoir, the first Marquis, the second Earl, and third Baron of his family, was born in the same year (1760), his father having married Anne, eldest daughter of the celebrated Arthur Hill, afterwards Lord Dungannon. To this excellent woman, who was distinguished for her virtues, the rise of the Marquis must chiefly be attributed. The premature death of his father left him and a numerous family to the sole care of this lady; and she was, fortunately

nately for her children, one of those women equally adapted for and inclined to the faithful execution of so solemn a trust. This indeed was the more difficult, as, by circumstances which it does not belong to us to explain, the original wealth of the family had been so much impaired, that the remnant was but ill sufficient to support the appearance required by their rank. But a wise and liberal economy, added to the energies of an active and well-informed mind, supplied equally the deficiencies of fortune, and even the loss of a father. It should ever be recorded, to the praise of the Marquis of Wellesley, that though thus, by the death of one of his parents, become independent, and this too at an age when the passions are not under the best government, he not only concurred in all things with his mother, but, in the full persuasion of her ability and superior excellence, voluntarily threw up all management of the family estates into her hands, and submitted cheerfully to whatever restraints she was pleased to impose.

It is the advice of the Roman philosopher, that we should choose, upon our first entrance into life, a certain path, and fix our eyes upon a point to which, as to its goal, our whole course and efforts ought invariably to be directed. The father of the Marquis of Wellesley had been of this opinion, and accordingly resolved to devote his son from his earliest youth to public life. The wishes of the one, and propensities of the other, happily concentrated in the same point. History and finance, therefore, early became the favourite studies of Mr. Wesley; and his proficiency in them was such as might be expected from the zeal of his application.

He had no sooner reached his fourteenth year—a period when a reason naturally forward might begin to unfold its bud, and give some promise, at least to the eye of parental prejudice, of the richness of its future blossom—than, as the first means of its future rise, he was sent to Eton. A public school, indeed, by those who have enjoyed, and are therefore alone capable of estimating its advantages, will be with one voice acknowledged as the only adequate preparation for an early introduction into public life. It is upon this stage alone that the mind can be trained to that early firmness and manly confidence, which, though they may constitute no
part





Viscount Castlereagh.

part of talent, are yet necessary to its exercise and effect.

There was at this time at Eton a singular amusement, and which prevailed more generally as it was encouraged by the masters, for the purpose of improving them in elocution. Upon the evenings of their holidays, the boys of the several houses met in a common hall; and one of them taking his seat as speaker, another as minister, and a third as leader of an opposition, the parties of each being ranged by their side, formed a mimic house of commons, and moved, debated, voted, and resolved, according to the usual formalities. Ludicrous as this may appear, it is to this, perhaps, we are indebted for some of the most eminent of our parliamentary speakers. With the exception of Mr. Grey, none was more eminent in this mimic house than Mr. Wesley: he is said, indeed, to have preserved his office of premier longer than any of his rivals; no inconsiderable proof of early talent!

From Eton Mr. Wesley was removed to Cambridge; where he remained but a short time, being called into more active life by the death of his father.

He now distinguished himself in such a manner as to become an object of attention and favour on the part of administration. At the institution of the order of St. Patrick, he was nominated a knight of that illustrious body, and soon afterwards a member of the Irish privy-council. His increasing celebrity induced the ministry to call him to a still more splendid stage, and they procured him to be elected member for Windsor.

It was during his representation of this town that he gained that high and immediate favour with his Sovereign, which continues to him to the present time. Though in no office about the court to which the privilege of access to the presence was attached, he was almost daily of the private parties of the royal family, and is thought to have excited no slight jealousy by the frequency of this envied distinction. His speeches, his ardent hatred, his passionate declamation, against the French revolution, are said to have been of no inconsiderable service to him in his progress to the royal favour; and it must be confessed, that, as they argued a rooted abhorrence to that obnoxious system, and a no

less firm loyalty and steady attachment to our own constitution, they merited, as their due reward, a distinguished attention.

During the greater part of the late war the Earl of Mornington continued to render himself remarkable by the same political ardour against the French revolution; and if we may sometimes lament the indiscriminate fury of the attack, we must more frequently acknowledge his eloquence and thorough acquaintance with his subject.

The royal patron now resolved to complete his work; for, considering his fortune as equally beneath his merit and his rank, he resolved to repair it by the magnificent appointment of Governor-General of India.

He had not been long in this station before he was called upon to act an eminent part. One of the objects of the French in their expedition to Egypt was the future attack of our Indian empire. Having made good their landing, and after some interval established themselves at Cairo, their commander prepared for the attainment of the main end of the expedition: an envoy was accordingly dispatched to the Mysore, and a secret alliance concluded between the French commander and Tippoo. Nothing now was necessary but to commence the execution of their purpose; yet nothing could be effected till the straits of Babelmandel (the only passage by which the French could reach India through Egypt) had been secured.

The Earl of Mornington had not been an inattentive observer of this correspondence between Tippoo Saib and the army of Egypt. Having penetrated into the manner in which they had resolved to effect their designs, with that promptitude of genius which has ever distinguished him, he was not long in discovering the most effectual means of counteraction.

The Red Sea and the narrow straits of Babelmandel communicate with each other through the Gulf of Cambay. In the middle of this entrance is situated the island of Perim: it is a low rocky substance, about nine miles in length, and four in breadth. The channel which divides it from the African coast, though nearly as wide as that between Dover and Calais, is but little frequented on account of the numerous rocks and shoals which obstruct its navigation; but should any vessels
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make the attempt, it is necessary for them to steer close under the western point of the island. The extreme breadth of the opposite channel is less than seven miles; this space is not navigable, nor is the water deep enough at any place at so great a distance from the island as to be out of the reach of any batteries raised there. The soil, moreover, is very convenient for any artificial fortifications; so that whichever of the armed powers should first obtain possession of Perim, it might be enabled to defend the passage against the greatest superiority of force.

The Earl of Mornington readily perceived the great advantages of this situation, in order to oppose the further progress of the army of Egypt. Orders, therefore, were immediately issued to the naval commander-in-chief in the Indian seas, to detach such a force to the straits of Babelmandel as he might judge sufficient for that important service.

The Indian army was at the same time commanded to assemble. This command was obeyed with the same vigour and alacrity with which it was given; and General Harris, with forces fully adequate to the object, advanced against Seringapatam. Such was the confidence with which the promises of Buonaparte had inspired the Sultaun of Mysore, that he rejected all approaches to conciliation made by the Governor-General, not only with menace, but with contempt. The city of Seringapatam was therefore invested, and the siege commenced in April 1799. The enterprise, however, now appeared of greater difficulty than what had been at first apprehended; the nature of the ground immediately adjacent to the city being such as to render the works usual in sieges and which are supposed necessary to their success, not merely arduous, but impracticable. The ardour of the soldiers, if not of the general himself, had thus subsided into despondency; and the effect of the climate, so powerful in depressing the animal spirits, concurring with other causes, affected them with a desire at least to abandon the attempt. The Governor-General, however, by his letters, communicated to them a portion of his own vigour; and, thus encouraged, they continued the enterprise.

It is not to our purpose to exhibit to our readers that
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information which may be as well collected from the gazettes of the day; we have no other design than that of completing our picture of the administration and public character of the Marquis. Suffice it to add, therefore, that Seringapatam was carried by storm, and the Sultaun himself discovered among the slain. The body of Tippoo was found, after much search, in the midst of many of his subjects who had fallen around him: his countenance, like that of Cataline, wore in death the characters of those strong passions which had distinguished him whilst living; the same haughtiness, the same defiance, were still legible on his brow. Thus terminated the life of a man to whom his enemies readily allow an unusual strength of character, but with equal justice contend that it was disgraced by almost every vice which could find place in the bosom of a tyrant. Thus fell the formidable power of Mysore; and thus, we may add, upon its ruin was established more securely the empire of the English in India.

If such was the splendour of what may be called the external policy of the Earl of Mornington, his domestic administration is not less deserving the notice of biography. Our limits will not admit us to enter into a detailed narrative of what so justly merits attention; it would, however, be something of injustice to pass it over without notice.

The free traders of Asia, and the great body of English merchants, had long and justly complained of the monopoly of the Company, and clamorously demanded a participation in the Indian traffic. The ministry had been thus, as it were, compelled to extend the hitherto narrow limits of private trade; and, upon the renewal of the Company's charter, an article was inserted to that purpose.

Upon the arrival of the Earl of Mornington at his government, it was his first care to provide for the full effect of this privilege. Whether by accident, or that the wording of the article having been left to the Directors, they had contrived to insert those vague expressions which might render it wholly nugatory, the Earl found that this privilege existed only in the charter, and that, by the indirect counteraction of the Company and its officers, it had not as yet been realized. The rate of freight,

freight, as fixed by the article, and extended by the Company, became one of the first subjects of complaint. To this was added the inconvenience of the goods being previously stored in the warehouses, and the great expence of loading and landing, which the officers purposely contrived to augment to its most extravagant height. All this the Earl endeavoured to correct, and by this means lost much of his influence with the Court of Directors.

From the time of his arrival from India the Marquis of Wellesley has not been much occupied by public business, if we except his mission to Spain. Some attempts have been made to engage him to take a part in the ministry; but a collision of opinions have constantly operated to prevent his acceptance of office.

In private life, his conduct as a brother and a friend is equally amiable. From a patrimony extremely narrow, he contrived to supply no inconsiderable addition to the fortunes of his brothers; and by this means he has been the instrument of raising one of them to the highest pinnacle of fame.

It is said, the Marquis of Wellesley is one of the most elegant scholars and pleasing poets, both English and Latin; of the present age. His Latin verses while at Eton procured him much celebrity; and he has since written, and published among his friends, some smaller poems, which, with equal fancy, exhibit more maturity of taste and judgment.

During his residence in India he did not neglect the cultivation of the arts, but zealously concurred with the favourite associates of the late Sir William Jones (the members of the Asiatic Society) to call forth into light the hidden treasures of oriental learning. The fine arts, and architecture in particular, are his favourite pursuits; and a magnificent palace in India has been the fruit of his taste and judgment.

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WYNDHAM
LORD GRENVILLE.

THIS eminent statesman is the third son of the celebrated George Grenville, who was the brother of Earl Temple, and prime-minister in the early part of the present reign. His Lordship's father was eminent as a political leader, and was particularly distinguished for his financial projects. After Mr. Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and called up to the House of Peers, and before Mr. Fox became a member of the House of Commons, Mr. Grenville was esteemed equal to any man in that assembly. Dying in 1770, he left a large family, the eldest of whom, George, became afterwards Earl Temple on the death of his uncle, and was since created Marquis of Buckingham. Temple is, indeed, the family name; the late Mr. George Grenville had taken that of his mother on account of an estate which descended to him through her. The Marquis of Buckingham not only inherited both the estates of Temple and Grenville, but greatly increased his fortune by marrying the daughter and only child of the late Lord Nugent; Earl Temple, his Lordship's son and heir, married the heiress of Chandos: so that four capital fortunes are now concentrated in the house of Buckingham.

William Wyndham, the subject of our present biography, was born October 25th, 1759. He very early gave indications of a clear and vigorous understanding, and applied himself sedulously to the acquisition of literary and political knowledge.

Being scarcely of age at the general election in 1780, he did not enter parliament till some years after, when he joined the party headed by his friend Mr. Pitt in opposing Mr. Fox's East-India bill. He greatly distinguished

guished himself by his speeches in favour of the East-India bill, commutation act, and other measures proposed by Mr. Pitt in the first year of his administration. He farther advanced his political fame the following session, on the subject of the Irish propositions, and was looked on by both parties as a gentleman destined, through his abilities and application, to rise to the first offices of the state. On the subject of a commercial treaty with France, he greatly distinguished himself for his knowledge of the general principles of trade, and the respective interests of both countries. On the question concerning the impeachment of Warren Hastings, he voted against the first charges being brought forward; but, on having examined the circumstances, he at length decided for the impeachment.

Before his appearance in parliament, his Lordship had acted as secretary to his brother the Marquis of Buckingham, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and, a few months after his return from that country, he was appointed Paymaster-General of the Army, in the room of Mr. Burke.

Having devoted a great portion of his attention to the usages and forms of the House of Commons, in the month of January 1789 he was elected Speaker, in the room of Mr. Cornwall, who had paid the debt of nature. On the first day that the House met after the death of their Speaker, Lord Euston rose, and said, that the honourable gentleman whom he should take the liberty of proposing to fill the vacant chair was a man of such splendid abilities, experienced assiduity, and perfect knowledge of parliamentary privilege, resulting from the closest attention to business ever since he had enjoyed a seat in that House, as pointed him out to be the proper successor of the late Speaker. Mr. Grenville was the gentleman whom he meant to recommend; and when the House considered his excellent understanding, and unremitted industry, he trusted that their minds would go with his in thinking that these qualifications rendered Mr. Grenville an object worthy of their choice. Much, he said, might be urged on the score of the honourable gentleman's private character; that stamp of merit, added to his parliamentary knowledge, and strength of mind and of constitution, rendered him in every point of view

so unexceptionable, that it was unnecessary for him to say any thing more: he therefore moved, "That the Honourable William Wyndham Grenville do now take the chair." The motion having of course been seconded, was immediately acceded to.

In the month of June following his appointment of Speaker, he was appointed Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Sydney, who was made Chief Justice in Eyre. Lord Sydney was Secretary of State for the Home Department, to which Lord Grenville succeeded, and held it until June 1791; when the Duke of Leeds resigning the Foreign Department, Lord Grenville succeeded his Grace: at the same time Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) succeeded Lord Grenville in the Home Department. About this time he was created a Peer, by the title he now bears.

His accuracy and extent of political knowledge was now matured by considerable experience; and he shewed himself deeply conversant with the general principles which ought to guide Great Britain in her foreign policy. In discussing the propriety of the British ministry's interference between Russia and Turkey, he, in a few words, explained the object which induced England, both then and at other times, to adopt the part it had chosen in the continental politics of Europe. "An idle and vulgar prejudice," he observed, "was disseminated through the nation—that this country had no occasion for foreign connexion, and that it was our best system to stand alone. This was an unfounded doctrine, a delusive and dangerous policy. But though it was certainly untrue that we could prudently and safely stand alone, it was true that we had no ambitious objects to pursue; we had nothing to gain—we wished only to remain as we were; and our alliances could only have the tendency of maintaining the balance of power. Our principles were pacific; it was known to Europe that they were so: and it was a matter of pride, that, standing on the high eminence we did, we exerted our power only for the maintenance of peace. Such was the true object of our late interference. Our ally, Prussia, had substantial reasons for alarm at the encroachments of Russia upon the Porte: they threatened the overthrow of that balance which was necessary to the general tranquillity. It was evidently;
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the object of Russia to become maritime; and he desired to know if that was an object favourable, or even safe, to England. It was an acknowledged fact, that if ever she did become maritime, it was to the friendship of England that she owed her naval power. Oczakow was said to be of no value to Russia. He denied the fact: in the hands of Russia it was important, because it could only be for offence. To the Porte it could only be of consequence for defence. It was precisely on this distinction that alarm had been taken. Such was the opinion of their ally: such had been adopted as the opinion of the cabinet; and upon this opinion they acted."

In the same speech he exhibited a general view of the weight due to public opinion in a free country, illustrated by the conduct of ministers in the dispute with Russia. When they found that not only in the two Houses of Parliament, there were a considerable number of persons who did not agree with his Majesty's ministers in this view of the object, and still more so, when they found that this sentiment was taken up by a great number, if not by a majority, of the people, it became a new question, whether, with a divided people, they should persist in a prosecution of the object. They, with a proper deference to public opinion, determined that it was not right to risk the hazard of a war under such circumstances. Such was his opinion, such ought ever to be the influence on a popular government of public opinion, and he should ever yield to its sway. In the various transactions of Europe, British policy had of late been exerted in restoring things to the *status quo*, to preserve the balance which it was thought necessary to poize. A treaty had been formed, through the mediation of the allied powers, between the Emperor and the Porte, on the basis of the strict *status quo*. Peace had been re-established between Russia and Sweden on the same basis. The Netherlands had been restored to the house of Austria, and the ancient constitution restored to the people, on the mediation of the allied powers. All this had been done in the true spirit of the pacific principles by which we were governed. It was a glorious distinction for England, that, placed on a pinnacle of prosperity, unprecedented not only in our own annals, but in the history of all other nations, she exerted her power,

not for aggrandizement and ambition—not to profit from the distractions of other countries—not to cherish any mean sentiment of revenge, for wounds inflicted in the moments of our weakness, to seize in our turn our moment of advantage, and perpetuate the disorders that ravaged a neighbouring and rival people: that, with the means of unprecedented influence, she exerted it for the peace of Europe, and desired only to be felt and known as the friend, and not as the disturber of other nations.” These sentiments, it is almost needless to say, have been more than confirmed by subsequent events; and if the policy of Great Britain deserved those high encomiums by one of her first statesmen and legislators twenty-five years ago, how much more does she deserve it after the dreadful conflict which has but just terminated.

When the discussion of the principles of the French revolution came before the House of Lords, Lord Grenville’s speech was in the same strain of official caution which had been observed by the English ministry in every thing that related to France. He confined himself to remarking upon the general folly of the new doctrines, and their inadmissibility into this country, without saying a word of the propriety or impropriety of their adoption by another people. His Lordship also expressed himself, with great force, on the writings which occasioned the King’s proclamation in the year 1792. “Seditious publications had been industriously circulated amongst all ranks of people; and, from the style in which they were written, were not so much an appeal to their judgment as to their passions, and had a tendency to irritate and inflame their minds. If it was asked, whether the proclamation was issued upon that contemptible, trivial, and libellous work of Paine’s, he would answer, he said, No; for he thought it the most deficient and foolish publication that could be printed: but there were many others in circulation, and those were followed up by societies and meetings, avowedly inculcating their principles, which were nothing short of a total subversion of every known and wise system of government: they had not even stopped here, but had disseminated their seditious purposes by attempts to excite, by handbills, meetings and disorder amongst the army and navy. When they had come to this pitch, would any man say that

that ministers ought to remain inactive, or that it was unnecessary for the executive government to interfere. Certainly not: the danger might easily be averted in the beginning, but would prove great and serious, if neglected. There was one point more to be noticed concerning those proceedings, and that was their correspondence with foreign countries. In his opinion, no profit could be derived to this country from any interference with France."

In the course of the parliamentary recess which now took place, a variety of events occurred, which called forth the political talents of Lord Grenville. Although England continued to observe a formal neutrality in the war between France and Germany, the French revolutionists shewed themselves inimical to the constitution of England. The British government had not openly interfered with their internal affairs: but they had interfered with the English; they had publicly encouraged private societies and individuals in their principles, declarations, and professed intentions, altogether unfriendly to the established government. This, no doubt, was impolitic. When they had dethroned the King, the French ambassador could no longer be received as an accredited minister; and, in consequence, a long correspondence took place between M. Chauvelin and Lord Grenville, in which the letters of the latter displayed a severity of retort rarely equalled in diplomatic discussions.

We now approach the period when England relinquished its neutral character, and became a party in the war. The zeal with which the French convention propagated its revolutionary doctrines had raised the alarm of the English ministry, who affected to believe that they had formed a connexion with certain political societies established in London. It was alleged, that France avowed an intention of provoking England to war; and, with this view, that it was determined by the French, in open defiance of treaties, to open the navigation of the Scheldt. On the contrary it has been asserted, that M. Chauvelin was authorized to offer to the British ministry their choice of the French possessions in the East or West Indies, as the price of neutrality; and that the answer was, "that we had already colonies enough, and did not wish to be burthened with any more."

On Monday, the 21st of January 1793, Louis XVI. was decollated. Intelligence of this event arrived in London on the 23d; the next day Lord Grenville, by his Majesty's command, ordered M. Chauvelin and his suite to quit the kingdom: which he did the next day. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the French government was still anxious to preserve a good understanding with England; and, immediately upon the arrival of M. Chauvelin at Paris, M. Maret, secretary to Le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs, was dispatched to London to renew the negotiation. Lord Grenville refused to see him, because the British cabinet had not yet acknowledged the new government of France: but Mr. Pitt saw him in the capacity of a private individual; and the National Convention, some time after, published an account of the conversation that took place between them. By this conversation it appears Mr. Pitt was at that time averse to war, although a majority of the cabinet was decidedly for it. In the interview that took place between Mr. Pitt and Maret, the former said to Maret, "One of your friends told Mr. Long, that you were very desirous of seeing me before you returned to France."

"*Maret.*—Mr. Long told my friend that you would willingly converse with me on the interests of the two nations; and I am ready to give you all the information I can. But you know, Sir, I have no acknowledged authorized character.

"*Mr. Pitt.*—I know it: I am myself not authorized to see you; but I hope our conversation will not be the less friendly for not being official."

"He then demanded of me," says Maret, "what were the intentions of the French government relative to Holland. I assured him that the Executive Council and the Minister for Foreign Affairs had no hostile projects against Holland. Then he spoke to me of the alarms of the government and mercantile interests of England; of the absolute resolution of the ministry to support the allies of England, and to execute rigorously the treaties which bind her to other powers. He gave me assurances of his sincere desire to avoid a war; he pressed me to inform him if the French government entertained the same desire. I answered, Yes. He then said, 'It is very unfortunate, Sir, that there has existed, a long time, between

between us a distance which is so injurious in its effects. Silence inflames on both sides suspicion and distrust. Could it not be possible that we should find some means of communication, of understanding each other, of coming nearer together.' I replied, ' You seem to speak, Sir, of a secret agent: I foresee a difficulty; you know we profess a great respect for the public opinion, which constitutes the force of free governments, and which is a wholesome restraint on those who govern. This public opinion is ready to demand of the provisional executive council, why it has had the weakness not to require the recognition of the French republic by England? Will it then be possible to treat with you by the means of a secret agent?' To this Mr. Pitt answered, ' The question of a public character is precisely what we must avoid. Do not reject the sole means of bringing us together, and of making us understand each other. We shall then examine all the questions you propose to us, and all the propositions you make us.'—"

Previous to this interview between Mr. Pitt and M. Maret, the French had extended their conquests much farther than was consistent with the general security of Europe, and had published that famous decree which offered assistance to all people who were desirous of freedom. M. Chauvelin endeavoured to justify the conduct of his government; and the correspondence which passed in consequence between him and Lord Grenville is highly interesting. On one of these occasions, his Lordship, having examined all the circumstances, and viewed the whole conduct of the French republic, observed, he supposed that hostile attempts, dividing themselves into three branches, proceeded from one source—the desire of revolutionizing and dissecting Europe. " France," he said, " could have no right to annul the stipulations relative to the Scheldt, unless she have also the right to set aside equally all the other treaties between all the powers of Europe, and all the other rights of England or of her allies. She can even have no pretence to interfere in the question of the Scheldt, unless she were the sovereign of the Low Countries, or had the right to dictate laws to all Europe. England will never consent that France shall arrogate the power of annulling at her pleasure, and under the pretence of a pretended natural

natural right, of which she makes herself the only judge, the political system of Europe established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by all the powers." The question, indeed, with regard to the Scheldt, Lord Grenville and his coadjutors simplified into the following proposition: "Whether a party making a change in his internal arrangements, thereby acquires a just claim to annihilate the rights of another party independent on him and his arrangements. History, if she speak impartial truth, must thus state the question, and judge the conduct of the British ministry." Lord Grenville with equal force expressed himself concerning French views of general aggrandizement: "This government," says he, "adhering to the maxims which it has followed for more than a century, can never see with indifference that France shall make herself, either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe." Concerning the decree of the 19th of November, he formed and delivered his sentiments upon what the French revolutionists had done: "In the decree of the 19th of November 1792, England saw the former declarations of a design to extend universally the new principles of government adopted in France, and to encourage disorder and revolt in all countries, even in those which are neutral. If this interpretation," he said, "which you represent as injurious to the Convention, could admit of any doubt, it is but too well justified by the conduct of the Convention itself; and the application of these principles to the king's dominion has been shewn, unequivocally, by the public reception given to the promoters of sedition in this country; and by the speeches made to them precisely at the time of this decree, and since, on several different occasions."

In the course of this discussion, M. Chauvelin (in the language of Lord Grenville) having, on the part of France, offered no satisfaction for her aggressions, and war having been resolved upon in the British cabinet, his Lordship displayed his zeal and energies in promoting and supporting measures for the internal and external security of the country. There was at this time a considerable number of foreigners and aliens in England. As many of these had displayed evil intentions towards the government, it was thought a necessary measure by the ministry to
apply

apply to parliament to provide for the public tranquillity by subjecting the resort and residence of aliens to certain regulations. His Lordship, accordingly, on the 19th of December, introduced a bill into the House of Lords for that purpose. The object of the bill was to regulate the admission and residence of foreigners, and to authorize his Majesty's government to prevent the arrival, or to dismiss, if necessary, all those whose continuance in the country should be deemed dangerous to the constitution. His Lordship, upon the same principles and views with which he promoted the alien bill, supported the measure for prohibiting traitorous correspondence between British subjects and the enemy, and for apprehending suspected persons, and other momentous measures, in the sessions of 1793 and 1794.

On the dissolution of Mr. Pitt's administration, Lord Grenville retired, and was succeeded by Lord Hawkesbury in the office of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

On the formation of a new ministry by Mr. Pitt, on the dissolution of the Addington administration, Lord Grenville continued to act in opposition, having now formed a coalition with Mr. Fox and his friends. The reputation of Mr. Pitt was not equal to the support of his administration, opposed as it was by the united parties of Fox and Grenville, and the friends of Mr. Addington (now Lord Sidmouth). With the single exception of Lord Melville, Mr. Pitt's colleagues were still more deficient in reputation than they were in ability. This statesman being removed from office in consequence of his impeachment, Mr. Pitt was left without any associate of acknowledged abilities. Before this event took place, the minister, from a conviction that his cabinet was weak, invited Mr. Addington to join him; but this junction was of short continuance, for, having supported the impeachment of Lord Melville, they soon became disunited.

The political prospects of Mr. Pitt were at this time extremely gloomy; his health had long been on the decline; and, after a severe illness of some continuance, this eminent and unrivalled statesman died, on the 22d of January 1806, leaving behind him a reputation which will last as long as the history of the important events of his time shall

shall continue to be read. In consequence of his death, the ministry was virtually dissolved. A feeble effort was made to bolster up an administration by excluding Mr. Fox; but the attempt proved abortive. Lord Hawkesbury declined the premiership; and, after some discussion with the court, Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville obtained the object of their wishes, coming into office with their respective friends. Lord Grenville was made First Lord of the Treasury, and was considered prime-minister. The Duke of York was Commander-in-chief; and Lord Sidmouth, with many of his friends, shared some of the principal offices of the state.

The attention of Lord Grenville and the new ministry was soon called to the change of that military system of defence which had been organized by their immediate predecessors. Mr. Pitt's defence bill had raised an army of reserve of 40,000 men; but only 2000 of those who were drawn served in person, 38,000 being procured by private individuals. The operation of the ballot was regarded as at once partial and unjust, since it fell on private individuals, and not on the state. By the new plan of defence it was proposed to substitute the regular enlisting in the room of balloting, and to give additional motives to men for embracing the military life, by ameliorating the condition of the soldier, and changing the duration of his services from a life-time to a limited period. In their schemes of finance, the new ministry (who were known by the hackneyed phrase of "*All the Talents*") wisely adhered to the system of their predecessors, by raising a large portion of the public supplies within the year; rather pressing on the present generation, than leaving an insupportable load of debt to be discharged by posterity. The war taxes were raised from fourteen to nineteen millions sterling, and the income-tax was raised from five to ten per cent. This tax diminished the popularity of the new ministry; yet this diminution was perhaps more than compensated by their freeing the public from the monstrous abuse of inaudited public accounts. When they came into office, these amounted to upwards of £500,000,000, and not a single account had been audited in the army office since the year 1782; the store accounts having been allowed to lie over during the same period. The navy accounts were also

also in great arrear. When Mr. Pitt commenced his long administration, he found a similar increase of inaudited accounts, and established a new board of auditors. Obvious imperfections had arisen from his first plan; nor had his bill of 1805, for augmenting the number of auditors, made effectual provision for the proper discharge of their duty. It was intended that the present plan should have for its object the securing that the public accounts of every year should be regularly audited in the course of every ensuing year, by which means all fresh accumulation would be prevented.

The death of Mr. Fox, which it was naturally supposed would have led to the dissolution of the ministry, did not immediately lead to this consequence: for, on the recommendation of Lord Grenville, Lord Howick was appointed to the foreign department; Lord Sidmouth was made president of the council; and Lord Holland, lord privy-seal. A dissolution of parliament followed; and the elections were in general favourable to the administration: it was, however, doomed to be of very short continuance. Its measures were in general calculated to promote the public good. The members of it, and Lord Grenville in particular, were sincere in their assistance given to the abolition of the slave-trade; and they procured a vote of the House of Commons against granting places or payments in reversion.

The dissolution of this ministry was connected with the subject of Catholic emancipation. A design had been announced by Lord Howick, in the House of Commons, of moving a bill for allowing Catholics and Dissenters generally to be competent to hold any situation in the army and navy. It appears, this measure had been previously submitted by ministers to the King, and had received the royal approbation: a few members of the cabinet differed from the others respecting the extent of the measure, and they were afterwards led to oppose it in the most unqualified manner. The King had also changed his sentiments upon the subject; and afterwards signified that the concessions to the Catholics were much greater than he conceived them to be, and he communicated to Lord Grenville his disapprobation of the bill. Attempts were now made by the leading members of the ministry to modify the bill, so as to make it meet the

wishes of his Majesty without destroying its essence. But, having failed in this, they resolved to abandon it altogether; but it was agreed to insert a minute in the proceedings of the cabinet, reserving to Lord Grenville and Lord Howick the liberty of delivering their opinions in favour of the Catholic question, or any subject connected with it, from time to time, according to circumstances, to his Majesty's decision. Not only were these terms not granted, but they were called upon to withdraw the latter reservation, and substitute a written obligation in its place, binding themselves never more to bring forward any thing connected with the Catholic question. These terms being declined, they were informed by the King that he must look out for other ministers; when a new administration was immediately formed, at the head of which was Mr. Perceval.

From this time Lord Grenville has been excluded from any share in the government: attempts have been made to obtain the assistance of his Lordship, but without success; and he now lives in a dignified retirement, occasionally giving his attendance in parliament.

Memoirs

OF

W^M. WILBERFORCE, Esq.

THIS great champion for the rights of the injured African was born in the year 1759, and is grandson to William Wilberforce, Esq. who was twice Mayor of Hull; first in the year 1722, and again in the year 1740. In 1771, this venerable magistrate, feeling the infirmities of old age, resigned his gown, after a long and faithful discharge of his duties as an Alderman. By the death of Mr. Wilberforce's father while he was very young, the important task of educating his son fell to the direction of a prudent and affectionate mother, who was well qualified to undertake the business of his education. She first placed her son under the care of the Rev. Mr. Pockington; and to finish his provincial course of education, he was sent to the grammar-school of the Rev. Mr. Milner. About the year 1774 he was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge; where he first formed an acquaintance with Mr. Pitt, and with Dr. Isaac Milner.

When Mr. Wilberforce came of age, which was but a few weeks prior to the general election in 1780, the inhabitants of the town of Hull were invited to share in scenes of great festivity on the occasion: for the populace an ox was roasted whole, which was accompanied with several hogsheads of ale. By these means he attached to himself the lower orders of the freemen; and, his own respectable character having already made him the friend of those who were not to be seduced by selfish motives, he was, in conjunction with Lord Robert Manners, almost unanimously elected the representative of Hull. During the existence of that parliament, we do not find that he took any active part in the debates of the House of Commons. In the year 1784 he was re-elected with Mr. Thornton; but this honour he soon after declined, having at the same time been chosen a representative for the county of York.

Mr. Wilberforce has chiefly distinguished himself in the senate on the subject of the slave trade, which, by his unremitted and persevering exertions, he finally succeeded in abolishing, in spite of the interested opposition which was constantly directed against the measure. Soon after the meeting of parliament in 1787, he gave notice of his intention to bring forward a measure respecting the slave-trade. This was the first public intimation that was given on the subject. Mr. Fox at the same time observed, that he had intended to introduce the business for the consideration of parliament.

In consequence of this notice, a great number of petitions were presented from the universities of Cambridge, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; from the Society of Quakers; from the counties of Huntingdon, Leicester, Stafford, Northampton, Hertford, Middlesex, and Cambridge; from the cities of Bristol and Norwich; from the town of Birmingham; and from various other cities and towns, demanding the abolition of the slave-trade. These petitions were built upon a very obvious principle: they did not desire violently to interfere with the state of our West India Islands—they did not wish the immediate emancipation of the slaves; but they conceived no wise and salutary measure could be adopted short of the entire and instant abolition of our commerce to Africa for this purpose. The petitioners were in general sufficiently averse to slavery as a condition of human beings; but they contented themselves with the hope, that the putting a stop to the importation of slaves would meliorate the condition of the unhappy persons actually placed in that degraded state; and that the gradual improvement of agriculture in the Atlantic islands would be sufficient universally to diffuse the blessings of liberty, without occasioning violent concussions in any part of the world.

On the 9th of May 1788, Mr. Pitt came forward in the House of Commons, in the name of his friend Mr. Wilberforce, whose ill state of health would not allow him to appear in public, to propose a resolution to the House of Commons, founded on the petitions which had been presented, to declare that they would, early in the next session, proceed to take into consideration the state of the slave-trade, and the measures it might be proper to adopt

adopt with respect to it. He trusted, that the decisions of that House on this important subject would be equally dictated by humanity, justice, and policy. He also hoped his honourable friend, Mr. Wilberforce, would be sufficiently recovered, by the commencement of the ensuing session, to take the conduct of the business in his own hands; and he believed it would be generally agreed, that a measure of philanthropy and national interest could not be more advantageously placed.

Notwithstanding the importance of this subject, a full year elapsed before it was regularly discussed in parliament. During this interval, various petitions had been presented from persons principally interested in gains arising from this abominable traffic, the object of which was to demand, that the abolition of the African trade might not be adopted. Mr. Wilberforce, on this occasion, in a speech not more distinguished by eloquence and energy than for every principle of sound reasoning, moved twelve propositions; the substance of which was, That the number of slaves annually carried from Africa, and imported into the British West Indies, amounted to 38,000. They further entered into the probable demerits of the persons sold to slavery; the consequences produced upon the inhabitants of Africa; and the valuable and important commerce to that country which might be substituted in the room of the slave-trade. They stated the injury sustained by the British seamen, and the fatal circumstances that attended the transportation of the slaves: they detailed the causes of the mortality of the negroes, and enumerated the different items of calculation respecting the increase of population in Jamaica and Barbadoes: and they concluded with declaring, that it appeared no considerable inconvenience would result from discontinuing the further importation.

These propositions were ably supported by Messrs. Pitt, Fox, Burke, and, in short, by all the eloquence of the House of Commons: the opposition to them was violent, though feeble in point of argument; and the question was carried without a division. The friends of humanity cherished great hopes that this was an auspicious commencement of the work to which they had put their hands. Their opponents, however, by examining witnesses,

witnesses, and by other modes of protraction, effectually prevented any further important public discussion of this business till April 1791, when Mr. Wilberforce moved "for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies." On this occasion he concluded a most able speech with declaring, that, whatever might be the fate of his motion, he was satisfied of one thing, which was, that the public had already abolished the slave-trade. Supported by this consideration, he should continue to persevere, and would never abandon the object till it was accomplished. Notwithstanding the eloquence and talents exerted by the great leaders of administration, as well as by Mr. Fox and other members of the opposition, Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a majority of 75.

The fate of this business excited a lively interest in the people at large; petitions were presented in favour of the abolition from all parts of the country: so that, on the 2d of April 1792, which was the day Mr. Wilberforce had appointed to renew the discussion, the number of petitions on the table of the House of Commons amounted to 508. The debate on this occasion was, perhaps, the most eloquent and interesting that was ever witnessed in the British senate. The want of success hitherto seemed to have awakened all the energies, and to have roused every honourable feeling of which the human heart is capable.

Mr. Wilberforce, after having enumerated the evils attaching to the slave-trade, and the interest which the subject had excited in several parts of Europe, observed, "Denmark has consented to abolish the slave-trade in ten years. Dreadful, indeed, is the idea of tolerating for a moment, much more for so long a term, such a system of wickedness; but let it be said in excuse for Denmark, that she knew but little of its enormity in comparison with us, and that she also with somewhat more colour of reasoning (if the argument can in any case be endured) may allege, that the number of slaves she takes off was so small, that her going out of the trade would make no real difference in the number exported from Africa. But can we say this, who carry off almost as many as all the rest of Europe put together? There is, in fact,

no

no nation in the world, by which this argument may not be used with more decency than by ourselves.

“ But, miserable as this pretext is, I am afraid it will be found, on a closer inquiry, that we have no right to avail ourselves of it: let us ask ourselves honestly, if we act like those who are really influenced by this consideration. If we were sincere in our professions, we should surely labour to convince the nations of Europe of the enormities of the slave-trade, and strive to prevail on them to desist from it; whereas we do the very reverse, we sanction it by our example, we push it to an unparalleled extent, and furnish them with this very argument, which if they accept, the slave-trade can never be abolished at all. But there are some persons who adopt a still bolder language, and who declare without reserve, that religion, and justice, and humanity, command the abolition of the slave-trade, but that they must oppose the measure because it is inconsistent with the national interest. I trust and believe no such argument will be used this night: for what is it but to establish a competition between God and Mammon, and to adjudge the preference to the latter? what but to dethrone the moral Governor of the world, and to fall down and worship the idol of Interest? What a manifesto were this to the surrounding nations! what a lesson to our own people! Come then, ye nations of the earth, and learn a new code of morality from the parliament of Great Britain. We have discarded our old prejudices; we have discovered that religion, and justice, and humanity, are mere rant and rhapsody! Why, Sir, these are principles which Epicurus would have rejected for their impiety, and Machiavel and Borgia would have disclaimed as too infamous for avowal, and too injurious to the general happiness of mankind. If God in his anger would punish us for this formal renunciation of his authority, what severer vengeance could he inflict than our successful propagation of these accursed maxims? Consider what effects would follow from their universal prevalence; what scenes should we soon behold around us: in public affairs, breach of faith, and anarchy, and bloodshed; in private life, fraud, and distrust, and perfidy, and whatever can degrade the human character, and poison the comforts of social and domestic intercourse. Men must

must retire to caves and deserts, and withdraw from a world become too bad to be endured."

The speeches of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Fox, and particularly that of Mr. Pitt, are still remembered by the witnesses of this scene with the most lively emotions of intellectual pleasure. So irresistible was the eloquence of that orator, who did not rise to speak till four o'clock in the morning, that it was imagined the question would have been carried by acclamation. Eighty-five persons were only found to vote against the total abolition. However, by a skilful manœuvre of Mr. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), who had given an uniform opposition to the abolition, the word *gradual* was introduced into the motion before it was passed.

The subject was again resumed on the 28th of April, when it was agreed, "That it shall not be lawful to import any African negroes into any British colonies, in ships owned or navigated by British subjects, at any time after the 1st day of January 1796." That period, however, arrived; but with it no relief was brought to afflicted Africa. The slave-trade still existed, to the disgrace of Britain.

Notwithstanding all the exertions of Mr. Wilberforce, which in this business were worthy the greatness of the cause in which he had embarked, we believe that the only advantages accruing to the negroes were some comparatively trifling regulations as to the space allowed them in the ships by which they were transported from their native land, until January 1806, when a bill was brought in, and passed into an act, for the total abolition of this infamous traffic.

As a friend to human kind we have given ample evidence to Mr. Wilberforce's character; and his benevolent exertions in favour of an injured race of men must entitle him to the esteem of every philanthropist. We are now to consider him in another, but no less respectable character, as a friend to religion. In the year 1797 he published a work entitled, "A Practical View of the prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the higher and middle Classes in this country, contrasted with real Christianity." This work had a rapid and most extensive circulation; for several editions of it were sold in the course of the first year. It was soon after published

lished in a form better adapted to answer the purposes of those Christians who conceived it a work proper to be given away among the lower classes of society; and many thousands have in this way been distributed in different parts of the country. The work in general consists of regular essays on almost every branch of religion, according to the Calvinistic system. The style in which it is written is simple, and very well adapted to the subject.

Notwithstanding the great popularity of Mr. Wilberforce's "Practical View," yet by many denominations of Christians it was thought to possess but a small share of that spirit of mildness and charity which is uniformly recommended both in the precepts and example of their common Lord and Master. And justice to the public obliges us to say, that the respectable Member for Yorkshire met with an able opponent in the Rev. Thomas Belsham, who published a masterly review of Mr. Wilberforce's Treatise, in a series of Letters to a Lady.

In private life Mr. Wilberforce is said to exhibit, in a very eminent degree, that humanity, benevolence, and strict piety, for which he has been a public advocate. It is a difficulty, however, not easily to be solved, that a man fortified by such principles should, in almost every instance, have been the zealous defender of the late war, and of all Mr. Pitt's most obnoxious measures.

At the general election in 1806, it was expected that a serious opposition would have been made to Mr. Wilberforce's re-election; but such was the popularity of his name and character, that the inhabitants of all the great towns in Yorkshire associated for the express purpose of securing his return.

At the last general election, Mr. Wilberforce declined standing for the county of York. His conduct, in having favoured one of the other candidates, at the election in 1806, by which he gave offence to many of his friends, is supposed to be the reason why he declined risking his popularity upon the uncertain issue of a county contest.

Mr. Wilberforce is married to Miss Spooner, the amiable daughter of Mr. Isaac Spooner, a wealthy and popular

pular merchant of the town of Birmingham. By this lady he has several children.

In person, Mr. Wilberforce is below the middle size, and slender. His health is extremely delicate; the least exertion in public speaking disorders him. This constitutional weakness must, it is feared, at no great distance of time, deprive his country of the benefit of that eloquence and those parliamentary exertions which have been celebrated in the remotest corners of the world.

Memoirs

OF THE

RIGHT HON. ROBERT BANKS JENKINSON,

EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

THIS distinguished Statesman was born on the 7th of June 1770. At a very early age he was placed at the academy of Parsons' Green, near Fulham, where he remained until he entered his thirteenth year. The noble Earl, his father, who had himself experienced the benefits resulting from the system of education adopted at the Charter-House, then removed him to that excellent institution, in which he continued for two years. His improvement in classical learning, during that period, was considerable; and his progress in literature was frequently exemplified, not only by correct and elegant translations from the Greek and Latin authors, but by several original compositions, which were allowed to evince both taste and judgment. A very short interval took place between his leaving the Charter-House, and his entering the College of Christ Church, Oxford; and that interval was employed in a manner the most likely to prove advantageous to his future prospects and advancement in life.

His father, perfectly satisfied with the result of his scholastic pursuits, thought it necessary to direct his application to objects of a more important nature; and traced out a line of study adapted to qualify him for those high situations in the state he was destined to fill. He was furnished with a catalogue of the most approved writers on the different branches of public economy, and the perusal of them was earnestly recommended to him, in the course of his collegiate exercises. Thus happily directed, and implicitly following the instructions of one who was deeply versed in the accomplishments necessary to form, if not an eminent, at least an useful statesman,

he left the University with a greater knowledge of commerce, manufactures, and finance, than some of the learned professors, whose lectures on ethics, natural philosophy, and mathematics, he had attended.

Having left the University, his Lordship visited several parts of Europe; and was at Paris during the destruction of the Bastile, which he witnessed, as well as several other important transactions which took place at the commencement of the French revolution. While he resided in the French capital, he was indefatigable in acquiring a correct knowledge of the characters and views of the leading men in the interest of the court, as well as of those who, by their eminent talents or political intrigues, had obtained popularity. His communications on a subject so materially interesting to Great Britain proved highly satisfactory to the ministry, and furnished Mr. Pitt with a very favourable instance of his Lordship's industry and discrimination.

On his return to England he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Rye, in Sussex, in the year 1790; but, not having attained his one-and-twentieth year, he passed a short time in a tour to the continent, and took his seat in the House of Commons in the year 1791. Early in this session, the Russian armament supplied the opposition members with an opportunity of censuring administration; and the conduct of the ministry with respect to the war between the Empress of Russia and the Ottoman Porte, became, of course, the subject of parliamentary debate. Mr. Whitbread, supported by the whole strength of opposition, brought forward the following motions:—

“ 1. That no arrangement respecting Oczakow, and its district, appears to have been capable of affecting the political or commercial interests of this country, so as to justify any hostile interference on the part of Great Britain, between Russia and the Porte.

“ 2. That the interference of Great Britain, for the purpose of preventing the cession of the said fortress, and its district, to the Empress of Russia, has been wholly unsuccessful.

“ 3. That his Majesty's ministers, in endeavouring, by means of an armed force, to compel the Empress of Russia to abandon her claim to Oczakow, and its district, and in continuing an armament after the object for which it was proposed had been relinquished, have been guilty of gross misconduct, tending to incur unnecessary expences, and to diminish the influence of the British nation in Europe.”

The Earl of Liverpool (who was then Mr. Jenkinson)
rose

rose early in the debate; and, in a maiden speech, combated the resolutions with a force of argument and a perspicuity of language that evinced a profound knowledge of the question, and offered favourable grounds to believe that he would, at some future period, become a distinguished orator. He particularly called the attention of the House to the dangers which threatened Prussia, from the progress of the Russian Imperial arms; and displayed a correct idea of the balance of power, in conformity to the state of Europe, as it was then generally admitted, but which has now received, by late events, a new form, and a greater degree of strength and firmness.

In the year 1793, his Lordship was appointed one of the Commissioners for the affairs of India; in which he displayed great activity, and fully justified the choice which ministers had made in the appointment. In May 1794 he received his Majesty's commission to command the Cavalry Fencible Corps of the Cinque Ports, with the rank of Colonel in the army. In the year 1796 he was again returned to parliament for Rye.

On the promotion of Sir George Yonge from the mastership of the mint to the government of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, his Lordship was, without any solicitation in his favour, nominated to the vacant employment, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council, and appointed one of the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations.

On the change of ministry in the year 1801, he was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the room of Lord Grenville. When Mr. Pitt returned to office, his Lordship continued to fill a high department in the state, being made Secretary of State for the Home Department; and on the death of Mr. Pitt, and the dissolution of the ministry, his Lordship, in his retreat from office, had conferred upon him the important situation of the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports, the most considerable gift in the power of the crown to bestow: this place had been long held by the immortal Pitt, and was almost the only gift he accepted of in return for his great services to his country.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, his Lordship, having declined accepting the responsible office of Prime-Minister, had
little

little share in public transactions; but when Lord Grenville retired in consequence of the Catholic claims, and Mr. Perceval became the leading member of the cabinet, the Earl of Liverpool was made Secretary of State for the Home Department. From this time he has continued to form a part of the administration; and he may now be considered as Prime-Minister, filling as he does the place of First Lord of the Treasury.

As a parliamentary orator, his Lordship maintains a respectable rank. His elocution is clear and correct, and his arguments are frequently enforced in an animated and impressive style. He, however, fell short of the expectations that were formed on his first essay; but an unguarded expression (we allude to his Lordship's boastful "march to Paris") often depresses the confidence of the person who has used it, and discourages a bold display of talent, that otherwise might have equalled the most sanguine expectations.

In private life, his Lordship's character stands very high. To his friendship Mr. Canning is particularly indebted for his political rise in the world; and although Mr. Canning was on terms of friendship with a leading member of opposition, at once eminent as an author, an orator, and a wit, he introduced him to the patronage of the late Earl of Liverpool, who warmly interested himself in his favour.

His Lordship is married to one of the daughters of the Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, in Ireland.

Memoirs

OF THE

RIGHT HON. HENRY ROBERT STEWART,

LORD VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH.

THIS eminent Statesman is the eldest son of the Earl of Londonderry, by his first Countess, Lady Sarah Frances, daughter of the late Marquis of Hertford; and was born June 18th, 1769. He was educated at Armagh, under the tuition of Archdeacon Hurroch; and in the year 1786 was entered of St. John's College, Cambridge.

In 1789, before his Lordship had reached his twenty-first year, he was returned a representative in the parliament of Ireland, for the county of Down. This election, in which he was supported by the wealth and influence of his father, lasted upwards of three months, and is reported to have cost more than £30,000. He was not long in parliament before he displayed his senatorial talents: the first occasion of importance which occurred for their exertion was a debate on the question, whether Ireland had a right to trade to India, notwithstanding the monopoly of the English East-India Company. On this occasion his Lordship ranged himself with the popular party, and delivered a speech in support of the affirmative of the question; in which, although he displayed the hesitation, confusion, and the forgetfulness of a young speaker, yet he at the same time proved that he was in possession of considerable knowledge and a sound understanding. Opposition exulted in this supposed accession to their strength, and endeavoured to secure it by paying to the genius, eloquence, and wisdom of Mr. Stewart (as he was then called, his father being only a Baron at that time), the most flattering compliments. It was soon known, however, that he had entered upon public life with far other views than that of attaching himself to a party whose numbers and power were

were every day dwindling into insignificance before the increasing and triumphant influence of the Castle, or that of seeking unsubstantial popularity, by voting uniformly against those who had honours and wealth to bestow. For a few sessions, indeed, he did vote generally with the opposition; but, even on those occasions, the reasons on which his votes were founded, so far as those reasons were explicitly declared, proved him to be rather the hesitating and undecided friend of the court, than the warm and sincere supporter of the popular cause. Lord Castlereagh started into public life gifted, though yet a boy, with the most marked talent at keeping himself disencumbered with explicit avowals of political principles. A coy politician, he coquetted between the minister and the popular party: neither could reckon him as a friend, nor would he give either reason to believe but that, if properly wooed, he might in time be won. The growing discontents of the people, and the gradual development of their purposes, at length made it necessary for his Lordship to assume a more decisive character. Accordingly, when a system of strong measures was resolved upon by government, his Lordship immediately embraced its cause, and gave to its measures his powerful support.

Earl Fitzwilliam was at this time the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and he had accepted this high and difficult office on the express condition of admitting and establishing Catholic emancipation in its greatest latitude. In his letters to the Earl of Carlisle, the noble Earl says, "that when the negotiation between the two political parties was pending, if the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered by Mr. Pitt, that coalition could never have taken place: it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation." His Lordship then makes an appeal to the Duke of Portland, "Whether the office was not entire? and whether he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt that it was to be divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character?" Previously to the acceptance of the viceroyalty by Lord Fitzwilliam, he says, "he had not only satisfied himself that the Catholics ought to be relieved from every remaining disqualification, but he knew that the Duke of Portland perfectly concurred with him in that opinion. Had

Had I found it otherwise, I never would have undertaken the government." His Lordship, however, was not enthusiastic in the business; it was his resolution not to press the matter too prematurely on the Irish parliament, but, on the contrary, to prolong it to a more tranquil period: only if the Catholics seemed resolved to bring forward the question, he, for his part, would not refuse them a handsome support on the part of government. When he arrived in Dublin, about the end of the year 1794, he instantly informed the British cabinet, that the question would force itself upon his immediate consideration. The business had been already put into the hands of Mr. Grattan, in whom he could repose entire confidence; and, a rising impatience being apparent among the Catholics, there was reason to apprehend, after their petitions had been presented, had any delay intervened, that the measure might be transferred to some other person, with whom his Lordship had no connexion, and over whom he could entertain no hope of control. To secure the success of the measures that the Irish government had then in contemplation, it was thought absolutely necessary, by the Lord-Lieutenant, to remove from their offices such persons as had always stood forth the determined enemies of Catholic emancipation, or of any species of political improvement and reform. It was said, in a letter from the Lord-Lieutenant to the British Secretary of State, that it was his decided opinion, that no time was to be lost; and that if he received no peremptory instructions to the contrary, he should acquiesce in the pressing instances made to him on the part of the Catholics." This official intimation was passed over in silence for many weeks in the dispatches from England. In the mean time, Mr. Beresford had gone to London; and, by his representations to ministers, and even to the King himself, he created apprehensions as to the innovations which Earl Fitzwilliam had projected. On the 14th of February, Mr. Pitt sent him a letter, complaining of the dismissal of Mr. Beresford, and the intended removal of Mr. Wolfe and Mr. Toler. Another letter, by the same mail, from the Duke of Portland, in which he, for the first time, expressed the difficulties of the British cabinet with respect to emancipation, warmly recommended the delaying its

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discussion in parliament. But this was now not in the power of his Excellency. The session had commenced on the 22d of January, two days before the receipt of these letters; and Mr. Grattan had obtained leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion. The Lord-Lieutenant sent able answers to the letters he had received, on the very evening in which they came, in which he pointed out "the imminent danger of now retracting on the Catholic claims," and in which he nobly refused "to be the man to raise a flame, which nothing but the force of arms could keep down."

A council was held on the 21st of February, in which it was resolved to recall Lord Fitzwilliam, and to appoint in his stead Lord Camden to the viceroyalty of Ireland. The news of this dismissal gave great and general uneasiness to the people of Ireland. A vote of the House of Commons expressed the highest approbation of Earl Fitzwilliam's conduct. Addresses of gratitude and regret were presented to him from all parts of Ireland; and, on the 25th of March 1795, the day on which he departed for England, no business was done. The people appeared in deep mourning. Lord Camden arrived in Dublin on the last day of March, and assumed immediately the reins of government. Lord Castlereagh, having supported the English ministry, was shortly after, upon the resignation of Mr. Pelham, made Chief Secretary to the new Lord-Lieutenant.

Pursuant to adjournment, the parliament assembled on the 13th of April; and Mr. Grattan made a motion on the 21st for an inquiry into the state of the nation, which included the reasons why Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. "When Ireland," says he, "came forward, cordial and confident, with the offering of her blood and treasure, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation, it was surely no proof of wisdom or generosity to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart." The motion was negatived by a great majority.

On the 24th of April, Mr. Grattan presented his celebrated bill for the emancipation of the Catholics, the chief debate on which took place on the 4th of May; but such was the influence of the new government over the
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the legislature, that this bill, which would certainly have passed under Lord Fitzwilliam's viceroyalty, was now finally rejected by a large majority, to the great disappointment of the Irish.

In this debate, Lord Castlereagh took a decided part against the bill; which was likewise opposed by Dr. Duigenan, who said, that the Irish Catholics, considering success as hopeless after the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, had ventured to form dangerous and unjustifiable combinations, that their emancipation might in the issue be secured. A meeting of the General Assembly of Catholics had been held in the capital on the 9th of April, where, as Dr. Duigenan asserted, several most traitorous and seditious speeches were publicly pronounced, openly declaring, that the war we were engaged in against France was, on our part, and on the part of our allies, an impious crusade against liberty; that all victories obtained by his Majesty's arms were public calamities to Ireland, for which her children ought to weep; that they would hereafter never make any application to a British ministry, nor have any connexion with them; that they would support a radical reform in the House of Commons; and that this nation could never be happy till its government was changed into a republic, independent of Great Britain.

On the other side of the question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor delivered a very animated speech. "Is it," said he, "because we were the most wretched and miserable nation in Europe, as long as this system of monopoly and exclusion, for which the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House contended, under the title of constitution in church and state, remained whole and entire—is it because we have heard those gentlemen, year after year, predict the ruin of the country from extending the constitution to our Catholic countrymen, and that we have seen the country flourish in an exact proportion to that extension, that we should now stop short on their authority, and consecrate the remainder of the system of monopoly and exclusion? Let the men who have profited by the old system, to the monstrous aggrandizement of themselves and their connexions, risk what they please in its defence; but let me conjure the House to consider that they are no longer legislating

for the barbarous ignorant ages which have gone by, but for the intelligent age in which we live, and for the yet more enlightened ages yet to come. The church, we are told, is in danger; the interest of the Protestant religion is at stake: but those who make this objection have confounded the interest of the clergy with the interest of religion. I would risk the whole argument on the fact. Has the Protestant religion been promoted in proportion as the Protestant clergy has been enriched? Has the Catholic religion decayed according to the views of those who doomed its professors to poverty? We must indeed be a spiritless nation, if we do not resent the baseness of a British minister, who has excited our hopes in order to blast them. He has sported with the feelings of a whole nation; raising the cup with one hand to the parched lip of expectancy, he has dashed it to the earth with the other, in all the wantonness of insult, and with all the aggravation of contempt. I trust, the people of England are too wise and too just to attempt to force upon us measures they would reject with disdain themselves; but, if they should be so weak or so wicked as to suffer themselves to be seduced by a man to whose soul duplicity and finesse are congenial, if we are to be dragooned into measures against the interest and against the sense of the whole nation, I trust in God, England will find in this country a spirit no way inferior to her own." The bill was thrown out by a majority of 71.

Immediately on the accession of Lord Camden to the viceroyalty, Lord Castlereagh was admitted into the cabinet, and honoured with a large portion of the confidence of the Lord-Lieutenant. On the illness of Mr. Pelham, his Excellency's chief secretary, Lord Castlereagh was appointed to discharge the duties of that high office until Mr. Pelham's recovery: and on that gentleman's retiring, either in consequence of continued ill-health or a disinclination to undergo the fatigues and anxiety of so arduous a situation in a time of so much public discontent, Lord Castlereagh was officially declared Chief Secretary, in Mr. Pelham's room. In this responsible situation his Lordship conducted himself with considerable ability; and, in the rebellion of 1798, he displayed much fortitude, indefatigable assiduity, and great steadiness.

steadiness. The principal act of his Lordship's administration in Ireland was the union of the two kingdoms. This important measure was first introduced into the Irish House of Commons by his Lordship; but it was at first received with a degree of indignant scorn which marked, either that the Irish parliament had more of public virtue than the ministry attributed to them, or that his Lordship was but little skilled in that parliamentary management which then constituted the chief branch of his official business. Several long, animated, and interesting debates took place in the House of Commons on this subject, in which the ministry evidently lost ground, yet they were still determined to persevere, and in the issue they were completely victorious. On the first division in the House of Lords the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the second division 35 to 17 in its favour.

On the meeting of the Irish parliament in the month of January 1800, no allusion to the proposed union was made in the speech of the Lord-Lieutenant; but it was pretty well understood that the subject would be early introduced, and a violent opposition to it was now organized. So early as in the address to the speech of the Lord-Lieutenant, a strong debate arose. Lord Loftus having moved the address, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment, which was supported by Mr. Grattan with the whole powers of his great talents and eloquence. "The constitution," says he, "which the minister is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire, dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty—her temple of fame, as well as of freedom. But the field of imagination was that in which the British minister delighted to rove; and, by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he ultimately hoped to accomplish his designs. When, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us by a financial agreement a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a matter-of-fact man; but when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes altogether poetic and prophetic, fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—

hand—Ceres follows in his train. The English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and will come over to Ireland, with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons may be answered by reasoning; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel: now you cannot confute a prophet—you can only disbelieve him. It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor look up with confidence to the watchful care and guardian protection of the rich: both concurring to the same end, form that grand column of society, where all below is strength, and all above is grace. How does the minister's plan accomplish this? he takes away our gentlemen and nobles, and supplies their place by English factors and commercial adventurers. This minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country—to proclaim an utter incapacity to make laws for your own people; and is this no attack upon the honour and dignity of the kingdom? The thing which he proposes to buy cannot be sold—liberty; and his propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. I have heard of parliaments impeaching ministers; but here is a minister impeaching parliament, nay, the parliamentary constitution itself; and he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place, to destroy the body which restored your liberties, and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony." The eloquence of this celebrated orator, however, was of little avail against superior numbers and an overwhelming influence.

On the 5th of February a message from the Lord-Lieutenant was delivered to both Houses, intimating that it was his Majesty's desire, that the resolutions passed by the British parliament should be submitted to the consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressing a hope, that the grand object to which they had a reference, might be completed by the joint wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this most important and interesting occasion, Lord Castlereagh

Castlereagh arose, and, in a luminous speech, gave a comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments similar to those which Mr. Pitt had used in the English House of Commons; whilst the members of the opposition contested them with equal ability. But the ministry had not been idle since the last agitation of the business. The propositions were carried triumphantly through both Houses; and Lord Castlereagh, on the 27th of March 1800, moved an address to his Majesty, from the Commons, declaring their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, "which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures; that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments."

This address, having been agreed to by both Houses, was transmitted to England by the Lord-Lieutenant; and, on the 2d of April, it was laid before both Houses of the British parliament, accompanied by a message from the King, to the following effect: "That it was with the most sincere satisfaction his Majesty found himself enabled to communicate to parliament the joint address of his Lords and Commons of Ireland, laying before his Majesty certain resolutions which contain the terms proposed by them for an entire union between the two kingdoms; that he therefore earnestly recommended to parliament to take all such further steps as might best tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun, and so interesting to the security of his Majesty's subjects, and to the general strength and prosperity of the British empire."

In the House of Lords, after returning an address of thanks, the papers were fully investigated on the 21st; when Lord Holland delivered a very animated speech against the principle of the union. Adverting to the solemn assurance of ministers, "that, however desirable in their judgments the union of the two kingdoms might appear, it ought not to be accepted unless it were the pure and spontaneous offer of the parliament of Ireland,

Ireland, uninfluenced by corruption and menace," he appealed to the feelings of all, if intimidation and corruption had not been practised for the purpose of securing a majority in both houses of the Irish parliament. The objections of Lord Holland were overruled; and the House went into a committee. The articles of the union, as drawn up by the Irish legislature, were distinctly discussed, and agreed to with very trifling alterations, and without any remarkable opposition.

The same spirit of acquiescence prevailed in the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt brought the business forward, on the 21st of April, in a very able speech. But it was denied by Mr. Grey, that the Irish nation concurred in the measure of a legislative union; as it was rather held in extreme and very general abhorrence by the people, and not fewer than twenty-seven counties had petitioned against it. Lord Carysfort considered the union as wise, politic, and advantageous to both countries, and believed that there was undeniably a great balance of the whole property of the Irish nation in its favour. We believe that it may be assumed as a fact, that the landed interest of the kingdom was generally favourably to the measure; that commercial people were much divided; and that the city of Dublin violently opposed it, from the dread of being degraded to the rank of a provincial capital.

Mr. Grey having moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the Irish union, till the sentiments of the Irish people respecting that measure could be ascertained," it was negatived by a majority of 236 to 30.

The royal assent was given to this important measure on the 2d of July; and the session was closed on the 29th, by a speech from the throne, in which his Majesty congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. "This great measure," says he, "on which my wishes have been ardently bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings

blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish on the most solid foundations the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire.”

The union with Ireland being carried, Lord Castlereagh was returned to the Imperial parliament for the county of Down; and was made President of the Board of Control, and nominated one of the Lords of the Privy-Council. On the dissolution of Lord Grenville's administration, his Lordship was made Minister for the War Department; which office he resigned in 1806, but again resumed it in the following year.

One of the leading measures of his Lordship, during the time he held the office of Minister of War, was the change produced in the military establishment of the country: this was the substitution of a local militia in the room of an unregimented levy of 200,000 men, taken from the aggregate of the population. This local militia was to be balloted for in the different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers in each, between the ages of eighteen and thirty-one; and no exemptions were to be made, but at a very high fine. The officers were to possess the same requisites in regard to property as those of the existing militia, with the exception of a single instance; which was, that whoever held formerly the rank of a field-officer in the army might support the same rank in the militia, independent of any such qualification. Volunteer corps might transfer themselves, if they thought proper, and if sanctioned by his Majesty's approbation, into the local militia. The period of service was to be twenty-eight days annually (exclusive of the days for assembling, marching, &c.); for which they were to have an allowance of pay. The expence of this new plan was computed not to exceed the former volunteer establishment. By this plan, the country might be regarded as secure from every attack; having a regimental force of 400,000 men, in addition to the regular army of 200,000, which might, if necessary, be increased to 250,000.

His Lordship continued to hold the war department until the Walcheren expedition, which terminated so fatally. After this, in consequence of disputes in the cabinet, both he and Mr. Canning retired; but not until

a duel between these two gentlemen had been fought, the ground of which was assigned to be, that Mr. Canning had conceived Lord Castlereagh inadequate to the discharge of the duties of his office, and had received from the Duke of Portland, in a very clandestine manner, a promise that he should be removed.

On the resignation of the Marquis of Wellesley (who had accepted for a short time the foreign department, after Mr. Canning had left it), Lord Castlereagh was made Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; an office which he still continues to hold, and which has afforded him an opportunity of exhibiting those rare and extraordinary talents which he so eminently possesses, and of performing services to his country and the world that rarely falls to the lot of any individual.

In the latter end of the year 1813, in consequence of the revolution and subsequent emancipation of Holland, his Lordship set out for that country, in his way to join the powers in alliance against France, with the character of Plenipotentiary Extraordinary, and with full powers to conclude a general peace. The conferences, as is well known to our readers, ended unsuccessfully on the 18th of March 1814; and on the 31st of March they were rendered unnecessary, as far as regarded Napoleon, by the entry of the allies into Paris, and the subsequent restoration of Louis XVIII.

On the 12th of August his Lordship left London, as Plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain to the Congress of Vienna; and, after having successfully promoted the best interests and feelings of his country, as well as the general interests of Europe, he returned to England on the 4th of March 1815.

The return of Napoleon from Elba, however, did not leave his Lordship much leisure at home; and he was soon called to the performance of more important duties than what he had already accomplished. The recent treaty, conducted mainly under his Lordship's auspices, supported as he was by the power and greatness of his country, is too fresh in the minds of our readers to need repetition; but a more glorious treaty, or one more conducive to the real and substantial benefit of England, never was negotiated: and it is no small part of his Lordship's

Lordship's merit, that he has happily succeeded in obtaining from the court of France a direct and immediate abolition of the slave-trade.

In the year 1794, his Lordship married Amelia, youngest daughter and co-heiress of John, second Earl of Buckinghamshire. His Lordship's person is tall, thin, and distinguished by an air of elegance and fashion, that bespeaks his rank. His voice is full and sonorous, but admitting of little variety. As a public speaker, he cannot be ranked in the first class; and an excellent education seems rather to have created, than improved his powers.

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES
EARL STANHOPE.

LORD STANHOPE is the second son of Philip the late Earl, by Grizel Hamilton, grand-daughter to Thomas Earl of Haddington, of Scotland: he was born the 3d of August 1753. It is almost superfluous to observe, that his Lordship is highly distinguished for his scientific knowledge, and is no less celebrated for his political principles. He had scarcely attained his eighth year before he was sent to Eton School. He had not resided at this spot more than two years, before the health of his elder brother rendered a change of climate necessary. His noble parents sought at Geneva the recovery of their son, of which there was no hopes if he remained in England. Accordingly the whole family repaired thither, and were scarcely settled, when the death of their child clouded their happiness, and defeated the object of their journey. Conceiving, however, the climate of England to have been inauspicious to the rearing of one child, the father of the present noble Earl formed the resolution of rearing his remaining heir in a more southern country.

Upon the venerable and learned M. le Sage devolved, in a great measure, the education of Lord Mahon (which was the title he succeeded to upon the death of his elder brother). During his Lordship's residence at Geneva, it does not appear that he at any time applied himself to classical studies. He did not, however, waste his time in indolence, or consume it in those fashionable follies to which persons of his rank frequently think themselves almost exclusively entitled. He was ever devoted to experimental philosophy; and, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, he was the successful candidate for a prize offered

offered by the Swedish Society of Arts and Sciences to the person who should produce the best treatise on the structure of the pendulum. His Lordship's Essay was written in the French language, and was afterwards published in some Foreign Transactions. His Lordship also distinguished himself in a very high degree, in a variety of athletic and equestrian exercises. He enrolled himself in the Genevois militia; and became so expert a marksman, that, with a rifle-barreled gun, he could at the proper distance hit any given space of the size of a shilling, for several successive times, with almost undeviating certainty. Geneva, at this period, was very much frequented by the English; and though, in general, they were on friendly and even sociable terms with the citizens of that small republic, yet they never were so completely united as at this time, which was ascribed principally to the popularity enjoyed by Earl Stanhope's family. No one among the English ever possessed more, or perhaps even so much, of the confidence of the Genevois, as Lord Mahon: he joined with alacrity in all their amusements; he entered with spirit and zeal into all their military exercises, and excelled most of the natives in the dexterity of the evolutions; he attached himself to what was esteemed the popular political party; to all which may be added the hospitality, generosity, and benevolence, uniformly manifested to all ranks of people by the noble parents of his Lordship. On their departure no family was more regretted; and Dr. Moore, in witnessing the public testimonies of respect and attachment, says, "I saw them leave the place: their carriage could with difficulty move through the multitude who were assembled in the streets. Numbers of the poorer sort, who had been relieved by their secret charity, unable longer to obey the injunctions of their benefactors, proclaimed their gratitude. The young gentleman (Lord Mahon) was obliged to come out again and again to his old friends and companions, who pressed around the coach to bid him farewell, and express their sorrow for his departure, and their wishes for his prosperity. The eyes of the parents overflowed with tears of happiness; and the whole family carried with them the affections of the greater part, and the esteem of all the citizens."

Having

Having returned to his native country, with his noble relatives, his Lordship, in the general election of the year 1774, offered himself, in conjunction with Lord Mountmorris, as candidate for the city of Westminster. After the poll had been continued several days, the two noble Lords declined the contest in favour of their competitors.

In the course of the following year, his Lordship published a small tract, entitled, "Considerations on the Means of preventing Fraudulent Practices on the Gold Coin." The object of this publication was to recommend certain methods of coinage, by which an imitation would be rendered exceedingly difficult; and even impossible to any but the most skilful and ingenious workmen. In respect to these, his Lordship supposed it would not be worth the while of such persons to expose themselves to the severe punishments that are inflicted upon people convicted of coining.

During the year 1777, his Lordship instituted a variety of experiments for the purpose of ascertaining the best and cheapest methods of securing buildings from the effects of fire. The plan adopted by his Lordship may be considered as an improvement upon Mr. Hartley's plan by means of iron plates, both on account of its durability and cheapness. They both depend upon the same principle, which is as simple as it is certain in its effects; *viz.* that where there is no current of air, there can be no fire. This is strikingly illustrated by the following simple experiment:—Take a narrow slip of paper, about an inch wide; hold it very tight round a common poker, so that no air can be admitted between the paper and the poker; and in that position you may apply the flame of a candle to the paper for any length of time, without the smallest danger of setting it on fire. If, during the experiment, the paper becomes loose, so as to admit the air between it and the iron, it will be instantly inflamed. The experiments made by his Lordship at Chevening, in Kent, of which there were more than two thousand witnesses, were conducted on a very extensive scale, and carried with them irresistible conviction to every spectator. A few of his Lordship's experiments we shall here give in his own words, extracted

tracted from his papers printed in the Philosophical Transactions for the year 1778:—

“ On the 26th of September 1777, I had the honour to repeat some of my experiments before the President and some of the Fellows of the Royal Society, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, the Committee of City Lands, several of the foreign ministers, and a great number of other persons. The first experiment was to fill the lower room of a wooden building (which room was about twenty-six feet long by sixteen wide) full of shavings and faggots, mixed with combustibles, and to set them all on fire. The heat was so intense, that the glass of the windows was melted like so much common sealing-wax, and run down in drops; yet the flooring-boards of that very room were not burnt through, nor was one of the side timbers, floor-joists, or ceiling-joists, damaged in the smallest degree; and the persons who went into the room immediately over the room filled with fire, did not perceive any ill effects from it whatever; even the floor of that room being perfectly cool during the enormous conflagration underneath.

“ I then caused a kind of wooden building, of full fifty feet in length, and of three stories high in the middle, to be erected close to one end of the secured wooden house. I filled and covered this building with above eleven hundred large kiln faggots, and several loads of dry shavings; and I set this pile on fire. The height of the flame was no less than eighty-seven feet perpendicular from the ground, and the grass upon the bank at an hundred and fifty feet from the fire was scorched up; yet the secured wooden building, contiguous to this vast heap of fire, was not damaged in the least. This experiment was intended to represent a wooden town on fire, and to shew how effectually even a wooden building, if secured according to my new method, would stop the progress of the flames on that side, without any assistance from fire-engines.

“ The last experiment I made on that day, was the attempting to burn a wooden staircase, secured according to my simple method of under-flooring. Several very large kiln-faggots were laid and kindled under the staircase,

case, round the stairs, and upon the steps: this wooden staircase, notwithstanding, resisted, as if it had been of fire-stone, all the attempts that were made to consume it.

“ I have since made five other still stronger fires upon this same staircase, without having repaired it, having moreover filled the small space in which this staircase is entirely with shavings and large faggots; but the staircase is, however, still standing, and is but little damaged.”

In the year 1779, his Lordship published a thin quarto volume, entitled “ Principles of Electricity.” This publication was occasioned by the dispute which at that time engaged the attention of the principal electricians of this country, respecting the best mode of securing buildings from the effects of lightning. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Nairne were the chief opponents in the discussion: the former giving an uniform preference to short conductors, terminating in a ball; the latter was a disciple of Dr. Franklin, and an advocate for long pointed conductors. The experiments on both sides of the question were made with a grand and expensive apparatus; and the result of the investigation was generally allowed to be in favour of the theory of Dr. Franklin. His Lordship avowed himself on that side of the question which Mr. Nairne had espoused; and undertook to confirm and elucidate the theory by a number of experiments, many of which were new and original. An account of these experiments his Lordship has amply detailed in his work. He has also proved, by an elaborate mathematical demonstration, illustrated by a great variety of experiments, that the density of an electrical atmosphere, superinduced upon any body, must be invariably as the squares of the distances from the charged body. He has likewise taken great pains to prove the existence, and explain the nature, of what he denominates the *returning stroke* in electricity, which is the effect produced by the return of the electric fire into a body from which, under certain circumstances, it has been previously expelled. His Lordship shews, that men and other animals may be destroyed, and buildings damaged, by an electrical returning stroke, occasioned by a thunder-cloud even at the distance of two or three miles or more from the spot

spot where such persons or buildings are situated. This new theory, in the year 1779, he considered as completely established by the death of James Lauder and two horses that were instantaneously killed in Scotland by the effects of a thunder storm, which was evidently at a considerable distance from the spot where the fatal accident happened.

About this period we find his Lordship taking an active part to obtain a reform in parliament. He was chosen one of the deputies for the county of Kent, and Chairman of the Kentish Committee, and was on this subject in the habit of constant correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Wyvil, one of the deputies for Yorkshire, and the great promoter of an object, which, if it had been successful, would have been of the greatest consequence to the kingdom. At a county-meeting held at Maidstone, his Lordship moved, "That it be strongly recommended to all noblemen, gentlemen, yeomen, freeholders, and householders, in the county of Kent, to provide themselves with a good musquet and bayonet for the purpose of strengthening the civil power, and to act according to law in maintaining the peace of the said county; so that good order may, without the aid or interposition of any military force, be effectually preserved within the same." The necessity of such a regulation having been manifested in the alarming riots which had happened in the metropolis but a month preceding this meeting, the motion was carried by a considerable majority.

Soon after this, his Lordship was, by the influence of the Earl of Shelburne, elected Member of Parliament for the borough of Wycombe. He joined the opposition in their efforts to put an end to the American war; and though, at the time when his Lordship took his seat in parliament, the opposition was more respectable for talent than for numbers, yet the war, which had ever been held in abhorrence by the enlightened part of the country, was now becoming daily more and more odious to the great body of the people. His Lordship, though a constant and assiduous attendant upon his duty, did not take a very active part as a speaker. He never failed to be present when the cause of American liberty and independence was to be discussed, and to give the

support which attached to his vote, though perhaps he was too much awed by the powerful eloquence and splendid talents of the minority to think it necessary for him often to claim the attention of the House. From the year 1783 till the period of his father's death in 1786, when he took his seat in the Upper House, under the title of Earl Stanhope, he made a variety of unsuccessful attempts to prevent bribery, corruption, and unnecessary expences, at elections for members of parliament; rightly judging that, by putting it in the power of independent country gentlemen of moderate estates to offer themselves as representatives of the people, a gradual reform would introduce itself into parliament, by means that could not tend to alarm those who were carried away by the dread of innovation. In these attempts his Lordship was countenanced by Mr. Pitt, with whom he generally acted, but not with that zeal which he expected from the avowed promoter of reform.

Early in the year 1786, Mr. Pitt, with whom Lord Stanhope was in the habits of strict intimacy, was projecting his famous sinking fund. To the late Dr. Price the minister applied for assistance on a subject to which the Doctor had devoted many years of his valuable life. Dr. Price communicated to Mr. Pitt three plans, of which he chose the one that has been acted upon. To this plan Lord Stanhope gave a steady and avowed opposition; the motives for which, together with a plan of his own, he explained and enforced in a quarto pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on Mr. Pitt's Plan for the Reduction of the National Debt." In this work he exposed the weakness and inefficiency of the mode adopted by the minister; he then discussed the plan suggested to the House of Commons by Mr. Fox; and afterwards laid before the public a scheme of his own, founded upon certain axioms assumed by his Lordship. The main butt of his scheme was the conversion of the three-per-cent stock into a stock that should bear four per cent. interest; or, in other words, that the holders of the three-per-cents. should, for every £400 of that stock, receive in lieu thereof £300 stock bearing four per cent. To this work are subjoined, by way of Appendices, several tables, founded upon calculations, upon the accuracy of which he was enabled to confide, having them all made under

under his own inspection, and proving the truth of each separate result by means of an arithmetical machine invented by himself.

During the illness of his Majesty, at the latter end of the year 1788, when the subject of the regency was discussed, Lord Stanhope gave a decided support to the measures of the administration. He contended, that the two Houses of Parliament had a right and power, in case of a vacancy to the throne, or the interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, to make provision to supply the deficiency. His Lordship supported his reasoning by a reference to the conditions on which the Prince of Orange and the Princess Mary had accepted the crown, and likewise to the method by which the Hanover family ascended the throne of England. Amidst the discussions which took place on this occasion, and which were carried on with the greatest violence and acrimony, while one party was eager in maintaining the rights of the Prince of Wales, and the other was equally zealous in ascribing unlimited powers to the two Houses, Lord Stanhope zealously maintained the specious doctrine, that all just and legitimate authority could be derived only from the people. After a speech from the Duke of York, which contained truly constitutional doctrines, Lord Stanhope made an effort to have those sentiments recorded; observing, "that the communication was too important to be suffered to remain in fleeting words, which could not be handed down to posterity, to grasp and quote as a proof of the existence of an essential part of the constitution."

On the 17th of February 1789, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, entitled, "An act to provide for the care of his Majesty's royal person, and for the administration of the royal authority, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness." In this bill was a clause restraining the regent from giving his assent to any bill or bills for repealing the act of uniformity. Lord Stanhope, on this occasion, in a speech of considerable length, manifested his attention to and knowledge of all the various statutes which still exist in full force against persons who dissent from the established religion of the country. He commented with great severity, intermixed with some degree of ridicule and pleasantry, upon the cruelty, absurdity,

surdity, and contrariety of those laws; shewing at the same time, that they had been passed in the days of darkness and ignorance, by persons who had as little regard for religion as humanity. Some of them, he undertook to prove, contained rank blasphemy; and, after quoting the authorities of Lords Chatham and Mansfield (who, though known to have acted upon different principles in most questions of a public important nature, cordially agreed upon the subject of a religious toleration), he moved an amendment, to prevent any new difficulty being placed by the regency bill in the way of the repeal of the test act. This amendment was opposed by the bishops, and lost.

His Lordship again attempted, on the 18th of May, to obtain a repeal of certain cruel and severe laws which remained on the statute-book, and which might at any time be raked up as instruments of oppression to the community. He avowed, that the principle by which he was actuated was, that no man had any right to oppress another; that liberty of conscience, freedom of investigation in matters of religion, and the right of private judgment, were the indefeasible and unalienable rights of mankind; and that it was wholly upon that sacred right of private judgment, that the Protestant religion itself was founded. The bill introduced by his Lordship into the Upper House enacted, "That all persons (Papists excepted) shall have free liberty to exercise their religion, and, by speaking, writing, printing, publishing, preaching, and teaching, to instruct persons in the duties of religion in such manner as every such person respectively shall judge the most conducive to promote virtue, the happiness of society, and the eternal felicity of mankind." This bill, after some debate in which the bishops took a part, was thrown out. It was during this discussion that his Lordship, in reply to some observations made by Lord Stormont, declared his resolution of persevering in the cause in which he had engaged; and "that, if the right reverend bench of Bishops would not suffer him to load away this rubbish by cartfuls, he would endeavour to carry it away in wheelbarrows; and if that mode of removal were resisted, he would take it away, if possible, with a spade, a little at a time."

Little discouraged by the fate of his former bill, his
Lordship

Lordship immediately gave notice of another, which he meant to introduce, for the purpose of repealing an act of the 27th of Henry VIII. and thereby to prevent vexatious suits relative to prosecutions for tythes from Quakers. When his Lordship moved for the commitment of this bill, he instanced several cases of very considerable hardship which had but just occurred, and which were likely to ruin the persons so affected. Although the facts adduced by his Lordship in support of his bill remained uncontroverted, yet it was rejected.

On the breaking out of the French revolution, his Lordship's sentiments upon that event were soon developed. In the year 1788 Lord Stanhope had met in conjunction with a number of gentlemen of great respectability to celebrate the centenary of the revolution in England. They formed themselves into a society for the purpose of "causing the principles of the revolution to be well understood, extensively propagated, and firmly maintained; to preserve the glorious fabric of the British constitution, and to transmit the invaluable blessings of public freedom to posterity, unimpaired and improved." This society was denominated the "Revolution Society;" a committee of which was appointed who might keep up a correspondence with other societies meeting in different parts of the kingdom for the same general purposes. At the annual meeting of the Revolution Society on the 4th of November 1789, Lord Stanhope was called to the chair. The destruction of the Bastile, which had happened in the July previous to this meeting, was an event which very naturally excited the attention of persons assembled on such an occasion, for the avowed purpose of celebrating the destruction of tyranny in England. Accordingly Dr. Price, who in the forepart of the day had preached his celebrated discourse "On the Love of one's Country," moved a congratulatory address to the National Assembly of France. This motion was carried unanimously; and the chairman was requested to transmit it to Paris. The Archbishop of Aix, president of the National Assembly, returned a very respectful answer to the address, accompanied with a friendly and patriotic letter to the noble chairman.

After this, many other addresses were received by the
Revolution

Revolution Society of London from a variety of patriotic assemblies held in different parts of France, to which Lord Stanhope, as chairman of the committee, was called upon to reply. His Lordship's answers all breathed a spirit of freedom; and, in reply to M. l'Abbé Volvius, he says, "May Heaven bless the world with an union so desirable, and suffer no partial interests or popular violences to prevent the citizens of France from enjoying all the blessings that can be derived from a wise and equitable and free constitution of government."

Upon the meeting of parliament, in February 1790, Mr. Burke violently attacked the French revolution; and held up the Revolution Society as a combination of wicked persons, who had shewn a strong disposition to imitate the French spirit of reform. The speech of Mr. Burke was published in a separate pamphlet; to which Lord Stanhope replied, in a very spirited letter to the right honourable gentleman. In this letter his Lordship avows his approbation of the French revolution, defends the proceedings of the society in London, and calls on the public to judge for themselves, whether the address sent by them to the National Assembly, and signed by him as chairman, be not an act deserving praise rather than blame.

In the year 1792, Mr. Fox brought into the House of Commons his famous libel bill, which, when it was brought up to the Upper House, was defended in all its stages by Lord Stanhope. The importance of the doctrines contained in this bill, and the opposition it met with from some quarters, induced his Lordship to publish a small octavo volume on the subject, entitled "The Rights of Juries defended, together with authorities of law in support of those rights; and the objections to Mr. Fox's libel bill refuted." This work may be considered as a careful report of the speeches made by his Lordship in parliament. His reasoning is in general clear and convincing; his arguments, drawn from legal authorities, appear indisputable; and his zeal for the liberty of the subject is every where evident. The concluding paragraph of the work will exhibit very properly the temper and spirit of the whole; speaking of the trial by jury, his Lordship says—"One citadel has withstood the siege, one important fort has alone successfully resisted the
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the attacks that have been made upon it. It has resisted for ages; it has neither been destroyed by siege, nor taken by storm. If, therefore, we are still a free nation—if this kingdom is the richest and the most prosperous country that at this moment exists in Europe, we owe it to that strong hold and fortress of the people, to that impregnable Gibraltar of the English constitution—the trial by jury. This is that invaluable bulwark of liberty which parliament has lately protected, and will, I trust, ever continue to protect; at least, I shall consider it one of my most essential duties to defend it steadily to the last hour of my life."

Lord Stanhope constantly opposed the late war in every stage of it. On the 23d of January 1794, at the conclusion of an able speech, he moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to represent to his Majesty, that the French nation has expressly recognized this sacred principle, 'that no country possesses the right to interfere with another independent nation:' to state to his Majesty that in the 118th and 119th articles of the constitution, they have declared, that the French people is the friend and natural ally of every free people, and that it does not interfere in the government of other nations; humbly therefore to beseech his Majesty, in his equity and justice, to acknowledge the French republic, and thereby lay the foundation of a speedy reconciliation, and a permanent peace." His Lordship's motion was rejected; and, from the circumstance of standing alone in the division on this, and some other subsequent occasions, he obtained generally the title of the *majority of one*.

On the 31st of the same month, his Lordship moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that this House has been informed that Thomas Muir, Esq. who was tried before the high court of judiciary at Edinburgh, in August last, upon a charge of sedition, has been condemned, and sentenced to be transported beyond seas for the space of fourteen years: and further to represent to his Majesty, that the House intends to proceed without delay to examine the circumstances of such condemnation, and of such sentence; and therefore humbly to beseech his Majesty, that the said Thomas Muir Esq. may not be transported beyond seas until this House shall have had sufficient time to make such examination."

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Had this motion been carried, it was his Lordship's intention to have moved the same kind of address in behalf of the other persons who had been condemned to similar punishments. But, the address having been negatived, his Lordship immediately entered a spirited protest on the journals, in which he shewed, that the proceedings against Mr. Muir were directly hostile to the decisions of the House of Lords in the case of Warren Hastings, Esq. On the trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. Lord Stanhope was constant in his attendance. He considered an impeachment by the Commons of England as an object of great national importance; and though he highly disapproved, in many instances, the conduct of the managers of that trial, particularly the rancour and malignity manifested by Mr. Burke, and the protraction of the trial for so many years, yet, from the time of its commencement till the month of May 1794, his Lordship never was absent a single quarter of an hour. He was not more regular in his attendance, than anxious to understand the whole merits of the cause, in order that justice might be done to the accused as well as to the public. He was assiduous in taking notes in every part of the evidence, as well as in cross-examining witnesses; and he frequently silenced Mr. Burke, when he conceived him arguing points which were irrelevant to the articles of the impeachment, or when he was examining witnesses as to points unconnected with the subject.

In order to prevent England from plunging herself into the late war, and interfering with the government of France, his Lordship, on the 4th of April, moved a resolution which, if carried, would have effectually accomplished those objects. His Lordship introduced his motion by a speech of considerable length; he fortified his reasoning by references to a sermon lately preached before the House by the Bishop of Norwich, and by quotations from Blackstone's Commentaries, and Lord Liverpool's publication "On the Establishment of a National and Constitutional Force." At the conclusion of his speech, he quoted part of a poem on Death, ascribed to Dr. Porteus, bishop of London, at the same time declaring, that which the reverend prelate had applied to kings in general, he should consider as characteristic of arbitrary monarchs only. When his Lordship had finished his speech, he
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asked the bishop, if he acknowledged the lines just quoted; to which the prelate is said to have answered, "They were not made for the present war."

On the trial of Hardy and others for high treason, his Lordship was called upon as an evidence, particularly on the trial of Mr. Horne Tooke. He underwent a long examination in a clear and distinct manner; and, in February 1795, after their acquittal, one of the largest meetings ever known in London was held to celebrate the event. At this meeting his Lordship was called to the chair, from which he delivered a speech of considerable length. Previous to this meeting, his Lordship had taken a formal leave of the House of Peers. He had, on the 6th of January, made the following motion, which was not only rejected, but in which he found himself entirely unsupported; he therefore concluded, that, in the present temper of the House, any efforts that he could make to avert the war would be quite unavailing. His Lordship's resolution was this:—"Resolved, that this country ought not, and will not, interfere in the internal affairs of France; and that it is expedient explicitly to declare the same." Although his Lordship had frequently stood alone in the division of the House of Peers, yet, considering the simplicity and moderation of this motion, it is scarcely to be accounted for that he was not joined on this occasion by the minority. Whether his Lordship had determined previously to the fate of his motion, to secede from his duty as a senator, or whether he was influenced to take this measure in consequence of the reception he met with from all sides of the House, cannot be ascertained; but he entered a very serious and manly protest, in which he assigned distinctly the motives for his past and future conduct, and which he entered upon the journals of the House on the following Friday.

From this time, until the year 1800, we hear little of his Lordship in parliament; but, having again resumed his place in the month of February of that year, he made another attempt to put an end to the war. After a long and animated speech, he moved the following address, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, representing the horrors of war; that in all countries a state of peace is ever the interest of the people, and the shedding of blood, without absolute necessity,

repugnant to humanity; and further representing that the present war has been expensive beyond example, productive of a great increase of the national debt, of taxes to an enormous amount, and of an alarming increase in the price of all the necessaries of life; and further representing that peace is necessary to avert the impending danger of famine, for although the present scarcity is in the first instance occasioned by a scanty harvest, the extent of the evil arises from the war; and that it is the duty of this House strongly to dissuade his Majesty from the continuance of the war for the restoration of the ancient line of princes of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France; and to entreat that a negotiation may be immediately opened for peace with the French republic." This motion met with a fate similar to those we have already noticed: it was rejected by an immense majority.

During his Lordship's secession from parliament, he engaged but little in politics. He twice attended county-meetings in Kent, and once in Buckinghamshire; and in the beginning of the year 1799 he published an address to the people of Great Britain and Ireland on the subject of an union, which was reprinted and circulated by the Anti-Union party of Dublin.

His inclination to politics did not divert his Lordship from other pursuits more immediately connected with his own interests. In expectation of increasing the value of a large landed property which his Lordship possesses in Devonshire, he projected a canal some years ago, of considerable extent, by means of which manure might be brought from the sea-shore into the inland parts of the country. With this view his Lordship took the level of a vast tract of country, and laid out the whole plan himself. So sanguine was he of the success of his intended scheme, and of the immense advantages which would result to his own estate, as well as to the whole of that part of Devonshire, that he spared no pains in obtaining all the information necessary to the undertaking; and so indefatigable was he, that for many weeks together he walked almost every day between 20 and 30 miles, carrying the greater part of the time his theodolite on his shoulder. In the course of his survey, his Lordship discovered that he had difficulties to surmount, which,

which, although common to almost all works of this kind, had probably never before engaged his attention. In some parts of the country through which the canal was to run, he found the tract perfectly level for several miles together, and consequently in those parts the labour and expence necessary for the performance of the work would in all probability come within the calculated estimates: but in other districts there were hills of no inconsiderable height to ascend. The common method of locks is, besides the expence, attended with a great loss of time in the passing or repassing of the boats or barges. His Lordship's mechanical genius was therefore exerted to contrive some other plan for raising and lowering the vessels. We have reason to believe that he devised several methods, which he considered as superior in every respect to those which are commonly made use of in business of this kind: the difficulty was for him to fix his attention to that plan which should secure the *maximum* of advantage. He at length determined upon a double inclined plane, a model of which he constructed on a large scale at his residence in Kent, and called it the Free-Way. This plane is supposed to be fixed on a hill, to the bottom of which the lower branch of the canal flows, while the upper branch is supposed to commence at a certain distance from the summit of the hill on the other side. Up this plane the boats are raised from the lower part of the canal to the higher by means of the weight of other boats, the direction of which is from the higher to the lower. It will perhaps occur to the reader, that the returning vessels may sometimes be empty, or at least not laden with a tonnage sufficient to balance, much less to raise, those which are to ascend from the lower to the higher level. To obviate this objection, his Lordship did not intend to raise or lower the boats by themselves, but had contrived a kind of vessel which he called a *boat-carrier*, into which the boats, whether laden or empty, are made to float before they are either elevated or depressed. Now as these boat-carriers are in their natural state always full of water, it is evident, upon hydrostatical principles, that whatever be the weight of the vessel floated into them, still the weight of the boat-carrier, boat, and burden, will at all times be the same; because just in pro-

portion to the weight of the boat and burden immersed, will be the quantity of water forced out of the boat-carrier; that is, a vessel of one ton weight will force out a ton weight of water, and another of three tons weight will dispel a quantity of water equal to that weight. Now by this contrivance, the weight of an empty boat and apparatus will be equal to that of one ever so deeply laden; consequently a descending empty vessel will keep in equilibrio an ascending one that is laden, and the addition of a small force will raise the vessel. The boat-carriers run upon rollers, which theoretically remove all friction; and, to save unnecessary expence, his Lordship had adopted the plan of small boats, of about four tons burden, for which a narrow canal would only be necessary. By a neat contrivance he intended also to link several of the boats together; by which means one horse would be able to draw a greater burden, and the canal might take a strait or winding direction, as should best suit the level of the country, since the smallness of the vessels would not prevent their turning; and though twenty of them were linked together, yet, like the different links of a chain, they would not impede the progress of each other, however serpentine the direction of the course of the canal. How far this plan, adopted by his Lordship as the best, corresponds to that used in some parts of Holland, called the *rolling bridge upon dry land*, and which it is said was the method employed by the ancients, and is still in some repute with the Chinese, or whether they bear any analogy to each other, is more than we can attempt to decide.

His Lordship has made several improvements on musical instruments; by one of which any tune played on a keyed instrument is at the same time correctly noted. He has also attempted to prove, that instead of one wolf there are five wolves in common keyed instruments; and he has accordingly proposed a new method of tuning piano-fortes.

In the printing-business, his Lordship's skill and invention has been displayed by the construction of what is termed the Stanhope Press.

His Lordship's attendance in parliament of late years has been pretty constant and regular; and few subjects
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are introduced into the Upper House in which he does not take a considerable share in the discussion.

His Lordship has been twice married. His first lady was the eldest daughter of the great Earl of Chatham, by whom he had three beautiful, highly accomplished, and amiable daughters; the second of whom, Lady Griselda, married John Tekell, Esq. of Hambledon House, Hampshire; and the youngest, Lady Lucy, has been married some years to Thomas Taylor, Esq. Comptroller of the Customs. His Lordship's second wife is the only daughter and heiress of the late Mr. Grenville, who for many years was governor of Barbadoes, and also ambassador at the court of Constantinople for a considerable time. By this lady, his Lordship has had three sons; the eldest, Lord Mahon, is married to Catharine Smith, daughter of Lord Carrington.

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES ABBOTT, Esq.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THIS eminent statesman and lawyer was born about the year 1755. He was sent at an early period to Westminster School, where he was much distinguished. At this period the late Empress of Russia attracted the attention of Europe; and the juvenile student, dazzled by the blaze of glory with which Catharine was surrounded, addressed some Latin verses to her Imperial Majesty, who, in return, presented him with a gold medal by means of her ambassador at the court of St. James's. He was afterwards sent to Oxford, and matriculated a member of Christ Church. He took a degree there; and his picture in his robes, as Speaker of the House of Commons, now decorates the Hall of his *alma mater*, having been placed in 1804 among the worthies of his College.

When he came of age, Mr. Abbott found himself in possession of a considerable fortune. Notwithstanding this, he entered himself of one of the inns of court; and, being designed for the Chancery bar, attended the chambers of an eminent practitioner. After the usual preliminary forms, he was at length called by the society, on the rolls of which he had been admitted, to what is technically termed the degree of an *utter barrister*. Thus qualified, he went the circuits in the usual manner; and, as has been said, he acted as junior counsel to Mr. Erskine, on the celebrated trial of the Dean of St. Asaph; respecting which, although some demur occurred on the part of Mr. Justice Buller about the manner of recording the verdict, they finally triumphed. Notwithstanding he attained considerable practice in the Court of Chancery, he does not seem to have aspired either to the honours or the emoluments of the profession. He however obtained,

tained, about this period, the place of Clerk of the Rules in the Court of King's Bench; and we, soon after, find him a candidate for a seat in parliament, on which occasion he was favoured with the friendly offices of the late Duke of Leeds. His first efforts were not immediately successful, but he was not dismayed.

At the general election in 1790, he stood for Helstone, in Cornwall. No less than four candidates stood on this occasion, and a double return ensued. A new charter had been granted to the borough by his present Majesty, the validity of which was contested on this occasion by the members of the old corporation, who claimed under a charter of Elizabeth, confirmed by Charles the First. That same body had already obtained a decision of a committee of the House of Commons in its favour, and on this occasion thought fit to renew its pretensions on the same grounds as before, but with inferior success. In 1796, Mr. Abbott, who had been seated after some delay and an appeal to a committee, was re-elected for Helstone, in conjunction with Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne, whose family possesses considerable influence in the borough.

In the general election of 1802, he was elected both for Woodstock and Heytesbury; but he chose the former, with which he had been connected for some years as Recorder.

We shall notice a few of his exertions in parliament previous to his filling the important post of Speaker of the House of Commons. On the 2d of November 1796, he moved, "That a committee might be appointed to consider of the most effectual mode of promulgating the statutes of the realm, and to report the same, with their observations, to the House." This motion, being seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, was carried; and, in the course of the proceedings, which were voluminous, Mr. Abbott presented to the House the following resolutions, which, being afterwards agreed to, formed the basis of a very salutary bill:—

" 1. That his Majesty's printer be authorized and directed to print and deliver no less than 3550 copies of every public and general act of parliament, and not less than 200 copies of every local act (including road bills), and 200 copies of every private act, according to the usual mode of distribution.

" 2. That

“ 2. That he print and deliver the public acts, or remit them by the post, as soon as possible after they are ordered.

“ 3. That the private acts be remitted in the same manner.

“ 4. That copies be sent to the chief magistrate or head-officer of every town, stewartry, or burgh, in England, Scotland, and Wales.

“ 5. That the parties interested in private bills pay the expence of printing, instead of the public.

“ 6. That the general statutes state the heads and clauses of each statute, together with the general substance of each head, in a particular clause.

“ 7. That the precise duration of temporary bills be inserted in the head or close of the bill, and no where else.

“ 8. That the revival of various statutes proposed to be revived be included in one bill, and those to be continued in another, expressing the precise duration or continuance thereof.”

Had the ideas of Mr. Abbott in respect of reforming and improving the diction of acts of parliament been fully carried into execution, they would have proved a most excellent accompaniment to their better promulgation: but he was precluded by a variety of circumstances from completing his plan. He, however, recommended it as a practicable thing to the executive government, upon the experience of the laws of the American legislature; which are so simple, perspicuous, and comprehensive, as to be intelligible to persons of the meanest capacity, while they are perfectly fitted for the purposes intended.

In 1797 and 1798, Mr. Abbott acted as Chairman of the Select Committee of Finance. When Mr. Pitt first proposed the income-tax, that measure was warmly opposed by the opposition. Mr. Abbott advocated the measure on the following principles:—1. As being assented to in a public declaration by the merchants of the city of London, or, in other words, the *moneyed interest*. 2. As operating on the same excellent principle as the poor-laws. 3. As sanctioned by a celebrated act in the reign of King William. 4. As being comprehensive in all its details, and affording immediate relief against the possible oppression of any of those who might act under its authority. 5. On account of the economical mode of collection. 6. On account of preventing the increase of permanent taxation. He concluded an able speech by observing, that as a war tax he regarded the measure in the most favourable point of view, while its domestic effects must tend to increase the

the national energy, in bringing the war to a speedy and honourable conclusion.

In 1799 Mr. Abbott was enabled, from his former professional pursuits, to be uncommonly serviceable relative to the expired and expiring laws. On this occasion he observed, that many acts had been renewed which ought to be permitted to fall into oblivion, while others had been suffered to elapse, although there was a manifest necessity for their continuance. Among the latter, he instanced the power of the crown to summon parliament, and call out the militia, upon any sudden occurrence of rebellion or invasion; certain temporary acts, relative to bankruptcy, insolvency, &c. &c. These mischiefs, he added, had at times affected the administration of justice, as some criminal convicts had been made to undergo severities in the execution of their sentences, upon the supposed authorities of laws which, in fact, had long ceased to have any existence. He accordingly moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into, and regulate this abuse. An amendment in the laws respecting forfeiture in cases of treason, the melioration of the King's civil list, the consideration of the public records, together with the very proper regulation of charging public accountants with the payment of interest, were measures which either originated with, or received the countenance and assistance of Mr. Abbott.

Having thus proved himself a man of business, Mr. Abbott was found extremely useful, and at length entrusted with situations of equal delicacy and responsibility. Previous to his obtaining his present high and honourable post, we find Mr. Abbott acting as principal Secretary of State in Ireland, under the administration of the Earl of Hardwicke. He was also one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and a Privy-Counsellor of that kingdom.

After distinguishing himself in these important stations during a very critical period, a still more brilliant prospect opened to him in his native country. Sir John Mitford, the successor of Mr. Addington, having been nominated Chancellor of Ireland, by the title of Lord Redesdale, the chair of the House of Commons became once more vacant. The requisites for this high situation are so numerous, that but few candidates offer; for, in addition

to an unblemished character and a marked reputation for talents, much learning, great dignity, uncommon patience, and conspicuous impartiality, added to an extraordinary degree of research, are all required. Besides those qualifications, that of a good constitution ought not to be forgotten; for, however honourable, the office must at the same time be allowed to be laborious and fatiguing in no common degree. It is not only a constant attendance that is required; but the evening debate is not unfrequently protracted to a late hour in the morning; while, unmindful of the refreshment of sleep, and the calls of nature, the Speaker is to support decorum, enforce obedience to order, decide ultimately in respect to every contest, regulate pre-audience, and not unfrequently declare the law and usage of parliament on any disputed points. Nor is it only during the time that the mace is placed before him, and while attended by a secretary, train-bearer, and serjeant at arms, that his powers are called into action, it is by means of the clerks and officers of the House regulated by, and solely under his control, that the whole business of the Commons of England is organized, adjusted, and completed. In the Speaker's office the money and other bills which originate with the House are first engrossed, and all of what may be termed the mechanical business of parliament commences, and is carried forward; so that the operations, not only of the individual members, but of the whole of this branch of the legislature, are thus, silently indeed, but expeditiously, effected. An employment of another kind remains to be mentioned. The Speaker of the House of Commons is supposed, and indeed enabled, to exercise the rites of hospitality, and that too with all becoming magnificence. For this purpose he is provided with a noble service of plate, and a liberal allowance; to which a spacious mansion in Palace Yard has been recently added. To the high office, part of the duties of which have been briefly enumerated, Mr. Abbott was first nominated on the 10th of February 1802. He was proposed by the Master of the Rolls (Sir William Grant); and the motion was seconded by Mr. Baker, the member for Hertford. Mr. Sheridan, without specifying any objection, briefly remarked, "that, in better times, it was the practice to choose the Speaker from the landed interest,"

interest," and then nominated Mr. Charles Dundas. This gentleman, however, declined in a handsome manner, observing, "that Mr. Abbott was so much better qualified for the office, that he himself was determined to support him." On which Mr. Abbott was immediately elected. On the succeeding day, being attended by a numerous body of the members, he presented himself at the bar of the House of Peers, to which he was introduced with the usual formalities by the gentleman-usher of the black rod. He then briefly informed the Lords Commissioners of his election, to which the Lord Chancellor complimented him on his capability for the discharge of the important functions assigned to him by the choice of the House of Commons, and added, that this choice was accompanied by his Majesty's complete approbation.

A new parliament having been called in the course of the same year, Sir William Scott, after descanting on the qualifications necessary for a Speaker of the House of Commons, and the peculiar claims which the gentleman who lately occupied that office had on the House, observed, "that, during the time the right honourable person just alluded to had filled the chair, he had discovered industry the most severe, joined to attention the most unremitting and the most minute. To knowledge the most extensive," continued Sir William, "he had added principles the most strictly consonant with the genius of our most excellent constitution. Public decorum he has ever made consistent with the mildness of private intercourse. Dignity in his official situation has never been found unmixed with the most bland and engaging manners. Every expectation of him has been amply realized: and, as the House seems to entertain the same sentiment, I shall sit down with moving, That the Right Honourable Charles Abbott be called to the chair." Mr. H. Lascelles having seconded the motion, Mr. Abbott remarked, that "the highest honour to which any member of that House could aspire, was to be recommended to its notice as a person qualified to fill the office in question." He at the same time alluded to his own insufficiency; and observed, "that, although the journals of the House, and the recorded transactions of our history, afforded much in-

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struction to a Speaker, yet neither his knowledge nor his conduct could be serviceable unless he possessed the confidence and good opinion of the House; nor ought he to hold it one hour after that confidence was withdrawn." Having been then led to the chair by Sir William Scott, who had proposed, and Mr. Lascelles, who had seconded the motion, he was seated in due form; after which he again addressed himself to the House as follows:—"Placed in this chair a second time by the indulgent favour of the House, I beg leave to assure it, that I am impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude. But I am persuaded that the House will rather judge of my gratitude hereafter, by my sincere endeavours to discharge the duties of this office than by any language which I could now use, and which must be inadequate to express the extent of my obligation." Lord Castlereagh then congratulated the right honourable gentleman on receiving the greatest honour that it was in the power of the representatives of the nation to bestow; and at the same time complimented the House on the credit that would accrue from so judicious a choice: after which he moved an adjournment, which accordingly took place.

From this time Mr. Abbott has continued to fill the chair to the satisfaction of all parties of the House. His impartiality was strikingly manifested on the impeachment of Lord Viscount Melville. On that occasion, it is well known, the numbers were exactly equal, and the Speaker was called upon to give his casting vote. To the credit of the chair, it seems to have been considered as a point of honour, on the part of whoever has occupied it of late years, to act on such occasions contrary to the declared wish of the minister of the crown. Sir Fletcher Norton (afterwards Lord Grantley), in a case not exactly similar to the present, excited the indignation of a former premier, by his spirited conduct in the presence of Majesty itself; and Mr. Pitt, on a former occasion, when the votes of the House were nicely equi-poised, found that Mr. Cornwall had spirit enough to make the unpopular cause kick the beam, by throwing the mace into the opposite scale. In the present instance Mr. Abbott, after expressing his reasons in a short but comprehensive speech, conducted himself in a similar

similar manner, and decided in the first instance on the guilt and prosecution of Lord Melville.

In his official capacity, the Speaker of the House of Commons is a Trustee of the British Museum, one of the Governors of Greenwich Hospital, &c. &c. Mr. Abbott, in his private capacity, is a Doctor of Laws of the university, and Recorder of the city of Oxford; F.R.S. and A.S.; and Keeper of the Privy Seal in Ireland. He also represents the university of Oxford.

Mr. Abbott has been married some years to Elizabeth, the elder daughter of Sir Philip Gibbs, Bart. of Springhead, in the island of Barbadoes; and it may not be altogether inapposite in this place to state the worthy and very laudable conduct of this gentleman, in the express words of an able and eloquent member of the House of Commons, with which we shall conclude this Memoir:—"I have not the honour," said he, while striving to modify the horrors of the slave-trade, "of knowing the gentleman whose example I am going to appeal to—I mean Sir Philip Gibbs; but I know his character, and what his conduct has been in the management of his estate in Barbadoes: the former is eminently humane, the latter equally judicious. His virtues are to me a proof of his wisdom. He gives his negroes land and stock, with time to cultivate: he feeds and clothes them well: he encourages marriage among them; and allows of no punishment, but by a sentence of a jury of negroes. The consequence is, that his slaves do double the work of others, because they are better able and more willing. The instructions he has given to the managers of his estate are a model for imitation; the success and the profit have corresponded with the benevolent design."

Memoirs
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
GEORGE CANNING, Esq.

THIS highly-gifted statesman is descended from a respectable family in Ireland. His father, the late George Canning, Esq. having left his native country, settled in England, and is said to have displeased one of his parents by an early marriage with a lady, destitute indeed of the gifts of fortune, but neither devoid of beauty nor accomplishments: the old gentleman, however, proved inexorable, and is said to have confined his bounty, both present and future, within the narrow limits of £150 a-year. In this situation, the son became a member of the honourable Society of the Middle Temple, was called to the bar, and published several excellent tracts in favour of public liberty; but he is better known as a poet, having ranked with the Whiteheads, the Keats, and the Cawthorns of his day. It was he who composed the verses supposed to have been written by Lord William Russel, addressed to Lord William Cavendish, on the night preceding his execution. He was also the author of a number of fugitive productions.

Mr. Canning having died April 1st, 1771, soon after the birth of his son, who had been named George after him, the care, and we believe the expence, of his education devolved on an uncle, a respectable merchant of the city of London, by whom he was sent to Eton. We are unable to particularize the precise period when he was entered a member of that celebrated seminary; but certain it is, that the year 1786 may be considered as the æra when he attained a distinguished rank among his contemporaries: he was then one of the senior scholars; and this epoch has been considered by some as the Augustan age of that institution.

It

It was on Monday, the 6th of November 1786, that the first paper of the "Microcosm" appeared, which continued to be published in weekly numbers until Monday, July 30, 1787, when it closed in consequence of the sudden death of Gregory Griffin, Esq. the editor: and from his last will and testament we learn, all the papers with the signature A. were composed by George Canning; those signed C. by Mr. Robert Smith; those marked D. by Mr. John Frere; and those designated by E. by Mr. Joseph Mellish, Mr. B. Way, and Mr. Littlehales. Mr. Capel Lofft, although then a veteran in literature, did not disdain to furnish a letter, which was received with marked distinction by the juvenile band. The portion of this work, which has passed through several editions, that was furnished by Mr. Canning, consisted of ten or twelve papers. The Rev. Mr. Davis, head-master of Eton, who presided over that institution during the whole time young Canning studied there, was of course proud of such a scholar. Mr. Canning dedicated the "Microcosm" to him, and, we have reason to believe, spoke of him with great respect.

The time now approached, however, when it became necessary to repair to the university; and he accordingly went to Oxford, and fixed at Christ-Church, not with a reputation to seek, but with a certain degree of celebrity already acquired: this was rather augmented than diminished during his residence in that renowned college, by some admirable orations.

But as Mr. Canning was not possessed of an hereditary fortune, which would have enabled him, had he been so inclined, to indulge in academic repose, it now became necessary that he should mix with the world, and fix upon a profession. That of the bar, as leading to the first honours of the state, has generally been the choice of ambitious young men, conscious of their own powers, and resolute in their intentions of displaying them to the best advantage. It was also that of Mr. Canning, who, we believe, was entered a member either of the Society of Lincoln's Inn, the hall of which has of late years become crowded, or that of the Middle Temple, where his father had been before him, and which possesses the noblest refectory in the metropolis. He repaired there sufficiently stored with the ground-work of learning; and all that ap-
peared

peared now to be wanting was a habit of speaking with facility in public, and a steady application to study. The latter depended entirely upon himself, but the former was not to be obtained without the concurrence of others. It was in the spacious hall of the Middle Temple, that the late Lord Ashburton, whose arms emblazoned on glass are placed on one of the end windows, first acquired a facility in debate among his fellow-students; but the ancient practice that led to a periodical display of oratory had long since been abandoned. Mr. Burke, early in life, distinguished himself at the Robin-Hood, long before he received the applauses of a British senate; and, in later times, Messrs. Dallas and Garrow had been crowned with laurel at Coachmakers' Hall and the Westminster Forum before they presumed to open their mouths in the Court of King's Bench. But all these public institutions having disappeared by degrees, it became necessary to create a new one; and a few young men, about this period, accordingly met together in an apartment in the neighbourhood of Bond Street. In the old schools of eloquence, the orators were few, and the audience numerous; but all this was reversed upon the present occasion, the whole being composed of speakers, who, when not in the act of declamation, were accustomed to listen, although not perhaps without impatience, to the dissertation of their friends.

Nor did Mr. Canning, while thus cultivating the graces of oratory, neglect to mingle with the world. He now frequented the company of many of the young men with whom he had studied at Eton and Oxford; some of whom, being the heirs of the most opulent, or at least, the most powerful families in England, were already aspiring to the first employments and distinctions of the state. At the table of his uncle he had frequently seen the modern Congreve; and by him, we understand, he was introduced to the then modern Demosthenes.

The politics of his father, of the relation to whom we have just alluded, who was one of the most strenuous friends of Mr. Wilkes, and his own early principles, or rather sentiments, so far as we can gather from his productions, were all friendly to liberty, and that species of it usually denominated *popular* liberty; but it has generally been understood, that it was under far different auspices

pices that Mr. Canning made his *debut* in the House of Commons. This occurred in 1793 ; when such were the hopes entertained of his talents, that the late Sir Richard Worsley had been prevailed upon to retire for the express purpose of making room for him. He accordingly succeeded that Baronet as one of the members for the borough of Newton, in the Isle of Wight.

It was now expected, as a matter of course, that he should take a part in the debates of that House ; and as Mr. Sheridan, on the first speech of the Hon. R. B. Jenkinson (now Earl of Liverpool) had announced his precocious talents to the House, great things were expected. Mr. Canning did not, however, open his mouth until the 31st of January 1794, when the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Sardinia became the subject of discussion. Mr. Fox commenced the debate by condemning a measure, by which the sovereign in question was bound only to maintain 50,000 men for the defence of his own territories, while we engaged, not only to pay a subsidy of £200,000 a year, but to restore to his Sardinian Majesty all those dominions that the French had wrested from him. After Mr. Powis, Mr. Ryder, and Mr. Grey, had expressed their sentiments in succession, Mr. Canning rose and delivered his maiden speech. He began by observing, “ that if the question were to be argued on the mere narrow ground of taking the treaty into consideration abstractedly, and discussing it upon its particular merits, he should certainly have left it in other and abler hands ; but the treaty having a much more extensive reference, and being to be considered not as a mere mercantile transaction, in which the exact proportion of profit and loss, of what was to be given and what gained, were to be minutely balanced, he trusted he should be excused for presuming to offer himself to the attention of the House. Looking at the treaty itself, there were but two possible objections that could be made to it : one was, that under existing circumstances it ought not to be made at all, and therefore could not possibly be right ; the other, that, on comparing it with similar treaties that preceded it, it must be deemed bad, inasmuch as it proposed a greater price for similar advantages, or accepted of a less return for a similar reward. Upon the first of these grounds he had not heard any

gentleman attempt to rely, and therefore it was wholly unnecessary for him to offer any argument in its support. With respect to the second objection, he had been at some pains in comparing the present with preceding treaties, and he was free to confess he was unable to discover those defects so strongly insisted on. He was ready to admit, that the treaty of Worms was not exactly similar in principle. But there was one treaty, as yet untouched upon, which he conceived would, in the most complete manner, meet every principle upon which the present was founded: he alluded to the treaty of 1758, concluded between this country and the then King of Prussia, who, in the midst of a war in which he was involved, was actually subsidized by us to the amount of £670,000 per annum; and the grounds upon which this subsidy was expressly stated to be granted were these three: that he was oppressed by enemies who had attacked him on all sides; that he was in appearance unable to resist them; and that his overthrow would be destructive of the balance of power in Europe. Here then was a precedent, establishing both the principle and fact upon which the present treaty was founded—a precedent which, it must be remembered, was carried not only without opposition, but with triumph, through that House, and received the united suffrage of the whole nation. The question then was concerning the balance of power, and how far it was connected with the necessity of granting that subsidy. He would ask, whether this question was more likely to avail in taking the money out of the pockets of our ignorant peasantry, than that which concerned their dearest interests, and on which depended their very existence? Could it have been stated to them, that the balance of power depended on their putting their hands in their pockets to assist a man comparatively as poor as themselves; or was it likely that they should understand the subject better than when told that in subsidizing the King of Sardinia they were contributing to their own immediate preservation? It having been admitted on all hands that the King of Sardinia was too poor, and too impotent, to carry on the war alone, the question was, whether we should support him? or whether, inasmuch as it was supposed the Earl of Yarmouth had negotiated best because he had cost us nothing, so we
were

were to suppose the King of Sardinia would fight the better because he was left unpaid? He did not mean any personal disrespect to the right honourable gentleman to whom he had alluded; but, according to his argument, the King of Sardinia ought to subsidize us; that is, finding that power weaker, and less able to defend herself than the rest of our allies, we should have said to her—‘ You shall fight, and pay us for just doing nothing at all but looking on.’ This precedent tending then evidently to justify the present treaty, both in principle and fact, the only possible objections that could be stated against it, Mr. Canning said, must arise from the war itself. Upon this head, not having the honour of a seat in that House at the commencement of the war, he begged their indulgence while he stated the grounds upon which he wished to give a decided voice in favour of the principles and necessity upon which the war was grounded. Mr. Canning then proceeded to justify the vote he meant to give, by a recapitulation of arguments in support of the necessity of the war, as well as the evils it was expected to avert, and which, if not resisted effectually, would make Great Britain a scene of the same anarchy and irreligion that at present rendered France a field of horror and bloodshed. Among other striking points in this part of his speech was his remark, that, had it not been for the war, some Corresponding Revolutionary Society might possibly have been sitting on the benches of that House; or, instead of debating on a treaty of alliance, they might have been debating on the means of raising a forced loan, demanded by some proconsular deputy from the French Convention. He had lately come, he added, from among people where he had seen the utmost unanimity for prosecuting the war; and when he came among their representatives, he was happy to find that their sentiments were, as they ought to be, in unison with those of their constituents. He concluded with declaring, that, considering the treaty as an essential part of an extensive system for bringing the war to a fortunate conclusion, it should have his support.”

Mr. Canning, after this, was accustomed to speak in most of the important debates; and as public affairs at this period had assumed a gloomy aspect, and ministers were supposed by their adversaries to have sometimes displayed

more energy than argument, it cannot be doubted that his assistance proved in no common degree serviceable.

On the third reading of the bill for vesting new powers in government (May 17th, 1794), Mr. Canning rose in reply to one of the leading members of opposition, and observed, "that the honourable gentleman (Mr. Grey) who had just sat down, appeared to him to have argued the question upon grounds, not only too narrow in themselves, but also inconsistent with those principles which he himself appeared to have adopted at an earlier stage of the business. He had formerly contended, that in cases of extraordinary emergency little attention ought to be paid to precedents; but on the present evening he had argued the question on precedents merely, without any general reasoning whatever."

It may be here necessary to observe, that Mr. Canning had by this time obtained a respectable and confidential situation in the foreign department, over which Lord Grenville then presided. In this capacity he was of course made acquainted with the interior of the cabinet, and early initiated into all the mysteries of public business. He continued in office until the dissolution of Mr. Pitt's administration, when he retired with that gentleman. During the short time he had been in parliament, he had acquired considerable weight in that assembly; and, being much in the confidence of the ministry, every opportunity was taken to attack his conduct and opinions. It would swell this article to an unusual length for us even to attempt to give all the speeches which the attacks of his opponents, or the defence of ministerial measures, drew from him; but a few examples may not prove unentertaining to the reader. Both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning had much indulged in personal abuse of the First Consul; and, in reply to a leading member of opposition, who had strongly insisted upon the impolicy of this conduct, he expressed himself, in the debate of July 18th, 1800, as follows:—

"For my own part, having taken some share on former occasions in that which is called *abuse* of Buonaparte, I am not sorry to have an opportunity of saying a very few words upon this subject, especially as I understand that much has been lately said in this place of the unmanliness of the attacks which were made on the character

racter of the First Consul, and the anxiety which it is apprehended some persons must feel to retract and disavow all that they then so rashly and illiberally uttered. Now, Sir, as I feel no sort of shame, and entertain not the smallest disposition to retract any thing which was then said, I wish to explain the principles upon which I spoke, and upon which I now maintain whatever I did then say. My principle, Sir, is simply this: there is but one thing which I never wish to forbear speaking when called upon, and which, having spoken, I can at no time feel ashamed of, nor consent to disavow, retract, or qualify—and that is, the truth. If what was said of Buonaparte was untrue, that is an accusation of which I know the meaning, and which, if need be, I am prepared to argue. But if it was true, I confess I am at a loss to conceive where the shame lies, or where the necessity for contradicting it. If, indeed, the nature and essence of truth were capable of being altered by subsequent events, there might be some call for caution in uttering it, and there might be some room for qualification afterwards. But if this be not the case, I really do not comprehend what is meant by desiring us who said what we thought of Buonaparte's past actions at the time when we were called upon to examine them, and who still think precisely what we said of them, to take any shame to ourselves for our language. I, at least, think as I then thought; and I do not see what ground the events of the last campaign can furnish for changing my opinion. If, for instance, in Buonaparte's invasion of Egypt (for that was one of the points more particularly brought forward in these discussions) there was treachery and fraud—if in his conduct toward its inhabitants there was unprovoked cruelty—if in his assumption of the turban there was impious hypocrisy; I called these qualities by their names—I call them so still: and I say, that this hypocrisy, this cruelty, and this fraud, have left indelible stains upon his character, which all the laurels of Marengo cannot cover, nor all its blood wash away. I know, Sir, there is a cautious, cowardly, bastard morality, which assumes the garb and tone of wisdom, and which prescribes to you to live with an enemy as if he were one day to become your friend. I distrust this doctrine for one reason, because I fear the same mind
which

which could pride itself upon adopting it would be capable of entertaining the doctrine which is the converse of it, and would prescribe living with a friend as if he were one day to become an enemy. If this be wisdom, I do not boast it; I can only say, Heaven grant me a host of such enemies, rather than one such friend.

“ So much, Sir, as to the moral question upon this point. But then, as to the practical result, what is it that gentlemen are afraid of? Do they seriously apprehend that, with such declared opinions of Buonaparte's personal character, ministers can never treat with him? Nothing, surely, can be more visionary than such an apprehension. If the nation with whom we are at war (thinking, I suppose, for reasons of its own, more favourably of his character, or for what other reason) choose to make this man the depository of the power of the state, and the organ of its intercourse with foreign powers, ministers may lament, they may be surprised at such a choice; but where did gentlemen learn, that between these ministers and a government whose principles and characters they disapproved there could be no treaty? Not from the experience of the present war; for in the time of the good old Directory what floods of abuse were poured upon our ministers from the reading-desks of the assembly; and yet I never heard this urged as an impediment to treaty, either on the part of France or of this country. Not from the history of former wars; for in the wars of Louis XIV. the addresses carried up from this and the other House of Parliament, nay, the sacred lips which spoke from the throne of this kingdom, breathed stronger invectives against that monarch than are to be found in any of the state papers so much complained of for the harshness of their language against Buonaparte; and yet I never heard that those just invectives were considered as throwing any obstacles in the way of negotiation; or that, when the time of negotiation came, the conclusion of peace was in fact retarded by them. But perhaps there may be some distinction to be taken; perhaps the dignity of a lawful sovereign will bear, without wincing, rougher language than that with which it is decent or delicate to tickle the ears of an usurper. But neither, Sir, was the attack upon the character of Buonaparte a wanton and unprovoked attack,

tack, as the honourable gentlemen would represent it. When Buonaparte challenged us to acknowledge and act upon the stability of his government before it was three days old, we doubted, as well we might, the stability of such a government, and thought all probabilities against it. To clear up our doubts, he referred us to his personal character as the pledge both of the permanency of his power, and for the use which he would make of it. What were we to do? to acquiesce, without examination, in what we heartily and in our consciences disbelieved? or to examine the value of the pledge which was offered us, and to give our reasons for not being willing to accept it? We preferred the latter alternative, as in fairness and in common sense we were compelled to do. What ground then had we to estimate Buonaparte's personal character, but his past actions? These, therefore, we were obliged to scrutinize; in scrutinizing them we were struck with their deformity, and that deformity we were obliged to expose to the world as a justification of our conduct. If the event has contradicted the expectations which it was natural to form under the circumstances of the times; if the extraordinary and certainly unlooked-for success of the campaign have given stability to Buonaparte's power (for the present, at least, whatever may, and must, in all human probability, be the ultimate fate of a power so acquired, and resting on such foundations); if the battle of Marengo, though it did not overthrow Austria, has subjugated France; undoubtedly this change of circumstances may authorize and warrant a change of policy; and supposing the time to arrive when negotiation may in other respects be proper, undoubtedly (speaking my own individual opinion) I should say, that the question of Buonaparte's power would not now stand, as it before did most necessarily stand, in the way of negotiation."

Notwithstanding these avowed sentiments of Mr. Canning and the party with whom he acted, little progress during this administration was made towards peace; and it was reserved for the subsequent one to heal the wounds of the country by this much-wished-for event, which they accomplished by the treaty of Amiens. Although Mr. Canning did not approve of this treaty, yet we find that he declined either voting or speaking on
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that subject. "Circumstances, which I do not think necessary to trouble the House with explaining," said he, soon after that event, "have prevented me from taking any part in the discussions which have lately occupied parliament. But although by these circumstances, and by the feelings arising out of them, I have found myself precluded from expressing, even by my vote, the opinion which I certainly have formed upon the general subject of the peace which his Majesty has been advised to conclude; yet that treaty being once concluded, and having received the sanction of parliament, whatever may be my private opinion of the peace, there is but one duty for every member of this House, and for every good subject of this kingdom—to endeavour, as far as possible, to make the best of the new situation in which the country is placed by it, and to turn to the best account the advantages which are left to us."

The island of Trinidad having been ceded to Great Britain, Mr. Canning delivered, on the 27th of May 1802, a speech of considerable length on the impolicy and cruelty of cultivating that island by the importation of slaves. "I will not deny or disguise," says he, "that my attention was first and most forcibly drawn to the cultivation of this colony by its connexion with the African slave-trade; the enormous increase of which, if the whole island should be brought into cultivation by imported negroes, must be such as to appal any man who looks at it, and such as must shock this House when it considers its own recorded opinions upon this subject. But although this was the first point of view in which I considered Trinidad, I should do great injustice to the cause which I have undertaken, if I were not to aver that, in examining into the subject with this view, I have found reason to be convinced full as strongly that the cultivation of this settlement in the manner to which I have referred is not more directly forbidden by the fear of that danger and that shame which would attend the enormous extension of the slave-trade, or rather the creation of a new slave-trade for this express purpose, than it is by every consideration of the security of the colonies, and of the true policy of this country under the present circumstances of the world." He then proceeded to state, that the whole amount of the land in cultivation

cultivation was about 34,000 acres; that the estates granted by the Spanish government were in number 400; and there remained to be granted 2720 allotments of land, of 320 acres each, amounting in all to 876,400 acres, of which nearly one-half, or 420,000 acres, were stated to be fit for the cultivation of sugar. From the papers on the table there appeared to be 10,000 negroes on the island, and 250,000 more would be required to cultivate the unappropriated lands; add to this computation the immensely increased mortality from pushing the cultivation of Trinidad with the rapidity with which it would be pushed by purchasers anxious to turn their capital as quickly as possible, and the waste of lives in clearing new lands (the most unwholesome and destructive part of the agriculture of the West Indies), and from employing newly imported and unseasoned negroes (another infallible cause of aggravated mortality); and if, with these additions, he were to assume 1,000,000 of negroes as the lowest amount that would be imported from Africa before Trinidad was as effectually cleared and cultivated as Jamaica, he was persuaded he could not be accused of exaggerating the calculation. One million of human beings to be swept from the face of the earth! and for what purpose? to gratify what interest? to comply with what necessity? There was no pretence of necessity; and the interest which had on all former occasions been associated with the continuance and extension of the slave-trade (that of the established West-India planters) in this instance was entirely the other way." He then supported his arguments by the resolutions of the House of Commons of the 2d of April 1792, declaring, "that the slave-trade ought to be gradually abolished;" and also by the address of the House of the 6th of April 1797, praying "that his Majesty do direct such measures to be taken as should gradually diminish the necessity, and ultimately lead to the termination, of the slave-trade." He then concluded a speech fraught with humanity, by moving an address to the crown against any grants or sales of new lands in the island of Trinidad, until regulations relative to the slave-trade should be adopted by parliament.

Although Mr. Canning had hitherto abstained from any direct hostility against Mr. Addington's administration,

tion, yet, on the prospect of a new war, he appears to have delivered his sentiments with less reserve. On the motion for an address to the throne, on the 23d of November 1802, he observed, that "it seemed to be taken for granted that all had been done that could be done on that occasion; but some explanation was necessary before this could be fully admitted. All had not been done to preserve peace, if nothing had been done with firmness, while every thing was marked by the spirit of conciliation. All had not been done, if remonstrance was not accompanied by dignified threats of following it up with corresponding conduct. All had not been done, if demands were made only to be rejected—if concessions were required, which were haughtily refused—if a shew of mauliness was assumed, from which there was no dignified retreat after the mortification of disappointment. He was afraid that conduct of this kind had not been altogether wanting on the part of ministers. It was a matter of public notoriety, on the subject of the execrable treatment of the French government to Switzerland, that a remonstrance had been presented in a manner totally inconsistent with policy or expediency, for it arrived at a time when it was fruitless—when the people were subjugated, and their hopes blasted for ever. But, supposing that it had not been presented too late, had ministers made any arrangements on the continent to give it effect? Were any allies ready to second our efforts? Was the co-operation of the court of Vienna secured? or, was an Austrian army ready to march to the frontiers of Switzerland? It was unnecessary for him to point out to the House that it was a work of considerable labour to recruit a disbanded army, and refit a dismantled fleet; but, whatever the difficulty was, it was wholly to be ascribed to want of promptness, decision; and energy, in watching over the ambitious designs of the enemy. The great energy, and hostile views of the French government to this country were not, however, to be denied. The destruction of our independence and our glory was the object never lost sight of for a moment. There existed an invincible spirit of rancour, which only waited a favourable opportunity to display itself in action; the sentiment of hatred was cherished, the day of vengeance was only postponed. If the person who is at the head

head of the French government," adds he, "persists in measures calculated to excite apprehension, we are called upon to meet every exigency by looking at objects as he looks at them himself. He certainly possesses a great grasp of mind; and it becomes, of course, the duty of his Majesty's ministers to be proportionably watchful and vigilant. We must be ready, and prepared to oppose vicissitudes, which cannot altogether be unexpected from such a quarter. It is not, Sir, because I wish to meet any particular exigency, that I vote for the address; it is not because I perceive dangerous results from Switzerland and Malta, but because I cannot help seeing them throughout Europe—because I am convinced there exists in the ruler of France a rooted and inveterate hatred to the English government, and because there are undoubted proofs of a constant activity employed and directed against us and our interests."

On a subsequent occasion his opinion of the Addington ministry was more unequivocally expressed: "If I am pushed to the wall," says he, "and forced to speak my opinion, I have no disguise, no reservation. I do think, this is the time when the administration of the government ought to be in the ablest and fittest hands; I do not think that the hands in which it is now placed answer to that description. I do not pretend to conceal in what quarter I think that fitness most eminently resides. I do not subscribe to the doctrines which have been advanced, that, in times like the present, the fitness of individuals for their political situation is no part of the consideration to which a member of parliament may fairly turn his attention. Away with the cant of '*Measures, not men!*'—the idle supposition that it is the harness, not the horses, that draw the chariot along. No, Sir; if the comparison must be made, if the distinction must be taken—men are every thing, measures comparatively nothing: I speak of times of difficulty and danger—of times when systems are shaken, when precedents and rules of general conduct fail. Then it is, that not to this or that measure, however prudently devised, however blameless in execution, but to the energy and character of individuals, a state must be indebted for its salvation. Then it is, that kingdoms rise or fall, in proportion as they are upheld, not by well-meant endeavours,

vours, but by commanding, overawing talents—by able men.”

On the dissolution of the ministry, and the accession to office of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning was appointed, on the retreat of Mr. Tierney, to the office of Treasurer of the Navy; which situation he continued to hold until Mr. Fox came into power.

On the formation of a new ministry, by the resignation of Lord Grenville and his colleagues, and the accession of Mr. Perceval, Mr. Canning was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he evinced great talent; and he had scarcely entered upon the important duties of this new station, before all his energies were required to uphold the dearest interests of his country. On the joint application of the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon, at Erfurth, to England to put an end to the horrors of war, Mr. Canning was *ex officio* entrusted with the negotiation; and his answer to the letter of the two Emperors was written in a very able style. He repeated the readiness of his Majesty, and his ardent desire, to negotiate a peace, but only on such terms as could be pronounced compatible with his own honour, and the lasting repose and security of Europe. “If many states,” says Mr. Canning, “had been subverted, and still more threatened with subversion, it was one comfort to his Majesty, to reflect that no part of such convulsions could be imputed to him. He was ready to admit all such changes were at variance with the policy of Great Britain; and if the cause of such misery could be traced to the stagnation of commerce, it was not in his disposition—it was not in the character of the people over whom he swayed the sceptre—to rejoice in the misery of even those who had combined against him; though it was scarcely a matter of regret, that endeavours to annihilate the commerce of his subjects had recoiled on their enemies. National safety was the only motive which led him into the war; but, during its progress, new motives had presented themselves, since different powers had solicited his assistance in vindication of their independence. He had not bound himself to Spain by any formal instrument, but he had openly contracted engagements with that country by no means less binding on his mind than the most solemn treaties whatever; he therefore

therefore thought that, in an overture for negotiating a general peace, his relations with the Spanish monarchy would have been distinctly considered, and that the government which acted in the name of Ferdinand VII. was to be regarded as a party in every negotiation in which his Britannic Majesty was invited to engage." To this able note, a short reply was made by the Russian minister, intimating his close alliance with Napoleon, and his acknowledgment of Joseph Buonaparte King of Spain; but M. de Champagny's reply was purposely insulting:—"How is it possible for the French government to entertain the proposal which has been made to it, of admitting the Spanish insurgents to the negotiation? What would the English government have said, had it been proposed to them to admit the Catholic insurgents of Ireland? France, without having any treaties with them has been in communication with them, has made them promises, and has frequently sent them succours." Mr. Canning, in returning an answer to Count Romanzoff, said, "the King was astonished how it could be imagined that he would agree to commence a negotiation by first renouncing the cause of the Spanish nation, and of its lawful monarchy, merely to gratify the views of the author of an usurpation which had no proper parallel in the annals of history. It was his hope, that Alexander's partaking in these overtures would have granted a security to him against the proposal of a condition, the effects of which were so unjust, and its example so fatal. He could not conceive, by what motives of duty or interest, or by what principles of policy influencing Russia, his Imperial Majesty could believe himself forced to acknowledge the right which France had assumed of deposing and incarcerating friendly sovereigns, and transferring to himself in a forcible manner the allegiance of independent nations. If these were, in fact, the principles to which the Emperor was inviolably attached, and which he had conspired with France to establish by war and maintain by peace, sincerely did his Britannic Majesty lament a resolution by which the sufferings of Europe might be aggravated and protracted; but the continuance of the calamities of war was not to be attributed to him." In reply to the note of the French minister, Mr. Canning observed, that he was "particularly com-

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manded not to take any notice of those expressions which were insulting to his Majesty, his allies, and the Spanish nation, of which there were many in the note of M. de Champagny. The King of Great Britain was anxious to treat for a peace which might have arranged the several interests of all the belligerent powers on principles of equal justice; but he was fully resolved not to relinquish the cause of the Spanish nation and of the lawful Spanish monarchy, and the pretension of France not to admit the central government acting in the name of Ferdinand VII. was one which he could by no means admit without countenancing an usurpation which had no parallel in the history of the world."

Mr. Canning continued at the head of the foreign department until the disastrous expedition to Walcheren. After this, in consequence of a misunderstanding in the cabinet, both he and Lord Castlereagh resigned; but not until a duel had been fought between those gentlemen, the grounds of which we have noticed in our Memoirs of the noble Lord. Since this period, Mr. Canning has been out of office; all attempts to unite him in the administration having proved unsuccessful. He has, however, been entrusted with a diplomatic mission to Portugal; but his functions as ambassador to the court of Lisbon, it is understood, have ceased, in consequence of the determination of that court to reside at the Brazils.

In the last general election, Mr. Canning was returned, unsolicited, for Liverpool, in a manner which fully proves how high he stands in the public estimation, and the general homage that is paid to his unrivalled talents.

Mr. Canning has been married for some years to a daughter of the late General Scott, by whom he obtained a considerable fortune.

Memoirs

OF

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, BART.

THIS darling idol of the people, and intrepid enemy of corruption, is descended from an ancient family, whose origin may be traced in an uninterrupted succession to the time of William the Conqueror. Hugh Burdett came into England with the Norman prince in the year 1066; and his son, Sir William Burdett, distinguished himself in the Holy Wars. In the year 1618, Sir Francis Burdett, Knight, was created a Baronet. This gentleman was celebrated for his hospitality and benevolence: he built and endowed, at his own private cost, the church of Foremark, in Derbyshire, which was consecrated in the year 1662, and called St. Saviour's. Sir Robert Burdett, grandfather to the present Baronet, succeeded to the title and estate in the year 1739; and was many years member of parliament for Tamworth. He married the daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, of Nut-hall, in the county of Nottingham, by whom he had several children. Among these was Francis, who in the year 1767 married Eleanor Jones, daughter and co-heiress of William Jones, Esq. of Ramsbury, in Wiltshire, but died before his father, Sir Robert. His surviving sons were Robert, Francis, and Jones: the former was unfortunately drowned in descending one of the cataracts on the Rhine; and Francis, the subject of this Memoir, succeeded to the title and estate at the death of his grandfather, Sir Robert.

Sir Francis was educated at Westminster school; and after having spent some time at the university, he made a tour of the continent about the year 1790. He was at Paris at an early period of the Revolution, and remained there a considerable time; but regarded the important
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and rapidly changing events of that momentous epoch as they would strike the eye of an uninterested spectator, rather than with the attention of a politician. It is true, he sometimes attended the National Assembly, and the clubs that were distinguished at Paris; but it is equally certain, that he felt little or no interest in the topics of discussion that agitated the breasts of the contending parties.

We are not able to ascertain the exact period of his return from the continent; but in the year 1796 he was, through the interest of the Duke of Newcastle, returned a member of the House of Commons for Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire.

One of the first acts of Sir Francis's political life was an open, avowed, and unreserved declaration of his sentiments, as a friend to parliamentary reform. At one of the most numerous and respectable meetings ever held in London, Sir Francis very readily embraced the opportunity of taking the chair; and in an animated speech declared his opinion on this subject, and his resolution to pursue it by every legal means.

It would swell our work to too great an extent, to give the whole of Sir Francis's parliamentary career; we shall content ourselves therefore with merely giving an outline of it.

Sir Francis Burdett had not been long in parliament before he avowed himself the champion of the rights of the people; and he took all occasions of branding every act which he thought entrenched upon them. Upon almost every question relative to the late war he opposed the ministry, and attempted to expose the weakness of their measures. The speech which he delivered on the 3d of January 1798, in the House of Commons, on the assessed taxes, was replete with argument and sound reasoning. In answer to the minister, who called upon the House and the country to make every sacrifice for the purpose of continuing the war, and anticipating certain success if the Commons would be liberal in their supplies, Sir Francis arose and said, "We seem to imagine that we have only to assemble within these walls to devise ways and means for extracting large sums of money from the country; then, we are told, our embarrassments will be relieved, and our enemies will be
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be dismayed. But, Sir, we must first cleanse away those foul corruptions, which the present minister has carried beyond any former example, which unnerve every heart and every arm, and deprive us of that vigour and courage once characteristic of this now degraded nation. Sir, money is not the sinew of war. If money were as all-powerful as most persons, in spite of experience, continue to believe—I say, in spite of experience, for the whole tenor of history serves to prove the contrary—the extravagance of our own minister must have entitled him to every advantage, and the people of France would have long since been exterminated.” Sir Francis then enumerated the methods by which the money raised from the people was squandered away, and concluded with saying, “It is not on account of the heavy pressure which this mode of raising supplies must occasion—it is not on account of the unjust and tyrannical principle of the bill now before you—it is not on account of the waste and extravagance of government, enormous as it is, that I now raise my voice against granting the supplies demanded by the minister; it is because I never will, at any time, or under any circumstances, become an accomplice in the guilt of supporting a system, which, if it can be supported and is to be persisted in, must eventually destroy the freedom of the country.”

In the month of June following, Sir Francis had an opportunity of displaying his talents in supporting the liberty of the press. A bill was brought into the House of Commons for regulating the publication of newspapers, which was opposed by the leading members of opposition as a dangerous innovation. Sir Francis regarded it as only part of a plan which had been going on for many years, and which would effectually undermine all that was valuable in our excellent constitution, as it was settled at the glorious revolution of 1688. “A good and free government,” he said, “had nothing to apprehend, and every thing to hope, from the liberty of the press. But despotism courted shade and obscurity—it dreaded the scrutinizing eye of liberty; and if an arbitrarily disposed prince, supported by an unprincipled minister, and backed by a corrupt parliament, were to cast about for means to secure such a triple tyranny, no better method could be devised than the bill upon the table.

The present ministers endeavoured to frighten us into measures, holding out the dread of a revolution, whilst themselves were the greatest and the only revolutionists from whom we had any thing to fear—from whom we had suffered much, and had still more to expect. They had already completed a great revolution, not in favour of, but against liberty.” He then reminded the House of the unconstitutional measures daily introduced, one of which he could not forbear mentioning—the infamous practice, by which the whole law of imprisonment was changed, of sending men to those Bastiles which disgraced the country—those private prisons, where, under pretence of regulations, punishments were inflicted upon men as illegal as they were cruel. And what were those regulations, so called? to keep men in dismal heart-sickening solitude; to feed them upon bread and water, and that scanty too; to sentence them to hard labour, exacted by stripes, at the will, perhaps, of a merciless jailor. If this were not tyranny, it was impossible to define the term. It was natural for such a government to complain of the press. It was part of that revolution which had been brought about, and which the present bill would secure; the seeds of which had long been sown, and the effects had been foreseen by the wise Lord Chatham, who had warned the country of the danger and magnitude of the evil. But ministerial corruption blinded the nation then as it did now; and there was reason to fear it would end, as that great statesman foretold, in the subversion of our old free constitution, and the establishment of a German government.”

Sir Francis was not contented with reports, that might be exaggerated; he was not satisfied with assertions made by interested parties. He himself visited, and made himself acquainted with all the internal economy of those prisons; and, unwilling to trust to the evidence of his own senses alone, he invited several respectable gentlemen both in and out of parliament to visit, with him, the prison in Cold-Bath Fields; and having so done, and collected what he considered to be the most irrefragable evidence that the treatment of prisoners in that place was accompanied with a severity which neither humanity nor policy could justify, he repeatedly called the attention of parliament to those abuses.

In the debate on the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, after having animadverted upon it as unnecessary in the existing state of affairs—as a measure to which no wise administration would resort, but upon the most urgent occasions—as a measure which, more than any other, tended to render insecure all that was valuable to a nation who had been accustomed to boast of their liberties and the speedy administration of justice—he called the attention of the House to a case of great hardship, which was too well authenticated to admit even of a doubt. He assured the House, that a number of persons were brought up to town from Manchester, loaded with irons, and thrown into the House of Correction, in rooms unprepared for their reception; and on the next day, when exhausted with fatigue, with hands and legs swollen, and severely galled with the weight and friction of the fetters, they were sent before the privy-council to be examined on charges of which they were ignorant, and, as it afterwards appeared, completely innocent. He asked, if this was a fit and proper treatment for persons apprehended on suspicion only, whose accusers were probably men of doubtful or infamous characters? and whether, in that situation, they were likely to be possessed of that calm and steady recollection of mind necessary to stand before so august a body as the privy-council? Yet, while the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended, there was no redress for men, innocent men, however ill they were treated.

In corroboration of these facts, which were stated to the House by Sir Francis, we have the account of Mr. Aris, the governor of the prison, as given in evidence before a committee of the House of Commons on the 18th of March 1799. He says, that when these men arrived at the prison, they were all heavily double-ironed, and hand-cuffed together; that they were all thrown into one room during the first night, and without a bed to lie on, or fire to warm them, though the weather was severe, having nothing on which they might repose their weary limbs but about two ton of oakum. Mr. Aris declared, that from March till June he treated those persons who were only arrested on suspicion in the same manner as those who were actually convicted of felony. His answer to the question, “Whether for three days

in the week they did not live entirely upon one pound of bread per day, and water only for drink?" was given in the following words:—"Yes; the Manchester people lived the same as people under conviction; namely, meat and broth four days in the week, and bread and water the other three."

In December, Sir Francis Burdett moved for a list of the names of the persons who had been taken up under the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act. This motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and negatived.

Shortly afterwards, while Sir Francis was in the country, the business of the Cold-Bath-Fields prison was taken up in a slight manner by some of the friends of the administration, and a committee appointed to inquire into the state of the prison. This committee was composed of persons known to be friendly in a high degree to the existing administration, yet from their report it is evident that the prison stood in need of reformation. Of the governor they said, "We believe Mr. Aris to be very deficient in point of obedience to those rules which enjoin him to execute the duties of his office in person, to see every prisoner, to examine every cell once at least in each day." In speaking of a certain class of prisoners, they say, "We apprehend that prisoners in this situation have but too well known how to suit their proposals to the wants of the governor, and that in fact he has been sometimes tempted beyond what he has had fortitude to resist." In connection with this part of the report, Mr. Aris acknowledges having borrowed money of several prisoners at different times. The committee go on to observe, that "the space contained in each of the cells of this prison is certainly not greater than is necessary for the healthful respiration of the one person intended to be lodged in it; to lodge two persons in this space, is to counteract the principle, and subvert the intentions of the law." Nevertheless, "it must have happened in the present year that 140 persons have been so confined as to sleep and live two in a space provided and adapted to one person; and that, on an average, 30 persons have always so slept and lived, as there are no more than 248 bedsteads in the prison, the half of these numbers have certainly slept without separate bedsteads, and most of them, probably, without separate bedding." The Committee

mittee say, "Of six apprentices, we found five who had no other sustenance than bread and water, whilst one, having been further convicted before the court on an aggravated charge of assaulting and wounding a fellow-servant, received the full meat-allowance." The general complaints which followed the Committee through the whole prison were, insufficiency of food, and the want of warmth in the day-time during winter; and they observe, "And we think these complaints were, in some cases, made on very reasonable grounds." By the 35th rule of the prison regulations, it appears that prisoners not sentenced to hard labour are to be allowed to work, and to receive, at the expiration of their imprisonment, one half of the profits of their labour. Mr. Aris, in his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, avows that it had not been usual to let prisoners of this description know the intention of the legislature on this point, and that he always used his own discretion with respect to employing prisoners. The Committee in their report declare it as their opinion, "that the prison allowance is insufficient for the support of life; that, in the course of our examination into the management of this prison, it was impossible not to observe, and highly to blame, the irregular facility with which the punishment of refractory behaviour has been inflicted. On occasions of important outrages, indeed, we remark some instances of reference to the authority of magistrates; but we find no traces of register of punishments; nor does it appear, that any regard has at any time been paid to those limits, in point of time and circumstances, which the law has specifically directed." Upon the whole, the Committee declare, that, "in the present state of this prison, we do not hesitate to pronounce it an improper place of confinement for these several descriptions of unconvicted persons; nor, indeed, until its discipline, regulations, and arrangement, shall have undergone considerable alterations, can we consider it as much less improper for prisoners convicted for misdemeanors on indictments at common law. So necessarily does this conclusion appear to us to follow a view and inquiry into the state and management of this prison, that we are led to apprehend, that those magistrates who have acted contrary to it may have neglected to inspect,

or

or otherwise inform themselves of the real situation in which prisoners are placed by their commitments."

Such was the state of the prison according to the most favourable conclusions, yet was Sir Francis blamed, by persons both in and out of parliament, for having drawn the public attention to the subject. By a letter from the Duke of Portland to all the jailors in the kingdom, it was given in charge, that, on no pretence whatever, should Sir Francis Burdett be admitted within the limits of their jurisdiction. Of this conduct Sir Francis, in his place in the House of Commons, spoke with proper and becoming indignation. "Members of this House," says he, "I believe, Sir, have not often been used to treat each other as I have been treated; but if I am mistaken, and if the conduct held towards me is a handsome one, the minister, and those who have assisted him in it, are welcome to the whole merit of it. But, Sir, why all this anxiety to take out of my hands, and to stifle any real inquiry into the practices of this prison, of so novel establishment in the land? How happens it that, as soon as I gave notice of a motion upon the subject, I am instantly held up to the world as an object of odium, stigmatized by one Secretary of State, my conduct condemned, unheard, and without any examination, even of those members of this House who accompanied me in my visit to the prison, and (by what legal authority, I am still to learn) excluded from visiting any prison in England? How comes it to pass, that three honourable members, who never appear before to have thought of an inquiry, become all at once so very solicitous and hasty to move for a Committee of Inquiry?—themselves, perhaps, can explain it. But I can explain the motive of the Minister and Secretary of State for wishing to prevent any real inquiry. Because a fouler premeditated system of iniquity never existed in any nation upon earth; and such I trust, with the assistance of this House, I shall make it appear to the confusion even of those faces which are not accustomed to blush. The base and impotent attempt to criminate me I shall for the present pass over, contenting myself with barely stating that I visited the prison three times, and should have visited it a fourth time, in the usual and customary way in which any other man might have visited it, by a written order
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of one of the magistrates; that I never visited it alone; and that several gentlemen, some of them members of this House, can inform the House what my conduct was upon this occasion. Sir, I declare, upon my honour, as I have declared before, that I never saw the face of any man in that prison, except Colonel Despard, until the day I first visited the prison. At the same time, I only say this to caution gentlemen not to give too rash a credit to ministerial representations, and not from any anxiety upon the score of being supposed to be acquainted with these men; for I believe there are some among these men as honest and as virtuous as any of those I am now addressing. Sir, I have witnessed their courage and their constancy under sufferings almost beyond human endurance; I have seen them expose themselves to additional sufferings and additional insults, by performing those duties, which in their situation they might well have stood excused from, but which justice and humanity in their opinion required."

The spirited exertions of Sir Francis in this business, contributed very much to improve the situation of the prisoners; and the remissness of the magistrates was so effectually exposed, that Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons, declared, that no man would think of justifying the conduct of the magistrates, who had shewn such a want of feeling and circumspection, so essential to form the genuine character of a wise, upright, and humane magistracy. He added, that though he saw no necessity for the motion for an address, yet, it being acknowledged on all hands that there existed grounds of investigation on the part of government, it being quite clear from the documents on the table that the magistrates were to blame, if the motion for an address should be pressed, he would not oppose it.

In Sir Francis Burdett's endeavours to expose the malpractices of the Cold-Bath-Fields prison, he was constantly opposed, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Mainwaring, the Member for the county of Middlesex, and Chairman of the Quarter Sessions; and this opposition led, in the ensuing general election, to one of the most expensive contests ever recorded. The honourable Baronet had been frequently mentioned as a proper person to oppose the pretensions of Mr. Mainwaring for the county.

county. His own intentions, however, were to decline sitting in parliament, until the 26th of June, three days before the dissolution, when the following letter was addressed to him:—

To Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

“SIR—Having heard from various quarters of an intention of many freeholders to offer you their votes at the general election, as a fit person to represent the county of Middlesex in the next parliament, we are anxious to know whether, in such event, you will stand forward in compliance with their wishes. Our own votes, as well as our exertions among our friends, depend on your answer; for, assure yourself, we feel as you feel with respect to the late ministers and their measures. As Englishmen, we concur in your abhorrence of the use and management of such a prison as that in Cold-Bath Fields. As freeholders, we desire an occasion to express the sentiments we entertain of your manly opposition to the establishment in Middlesex. In any case, we trust a majority of our fellow-freeholders will agree with us that Sir Francis Burdett is more worthy than Mr. Mainwaring to represent the interests, deliver the sense, and support the rights, of the first county of England. We remain, Sir, your obedient servants,

“W. TOOKE.

“MICHAEL PEARSON, &c. &c.”

Answer.

“GENTLEMEN—I will freely acknowledge to you, that I have for some time past relinquished all thoughts of a seat in parliament, and have consequently declined very many overtures for that purpose. If the people of England are pleased and contented with what is passed, with their present situation, and with the terrible changes which have been made in the laws, constitution, and manner of governing this country, let statues be erected in each county throughout the land to Lord Liverpool, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Dundas, to whom, principally, they are indebted for these blessings; I shall not desire to overturn them, but will remove from such odious and disgraceful objects, confessing myself not fit for the society of such a nation. Yet, though disgusted, I do not despair; I think our country may still be saved, but by one
means



Earl of Liverpool.

means only—by a fair representation of the people in parliament. By that alone can we possibly obtain the restoration of those invaluable rights which have been ravished from us, or the security of what little good remains. If the county of Middlesex, which from circumstances is likely to be more free, informed, and independent, than any other county in England, shall be pleased, upon this principle—and I wish for no support upon any other principle, holding all palliations nugatory and destructive—if, upon this principle, the county of Middlesex shall be pleased to intrust in my hands a portion of their present small and inadequate share of representation, I will cheerfully and zealously devote myself, my life, and my fortune, to their service. I am, Gentlemen, your obedient, humble servant,

“ June 26th, 1802.

“ FRANCIS BURDETT.”

At the outset of this business, and even after Sir Francis had declared himself a candidate, there did not appear in his Committee that concert and zeal which should characterize the exertions of those entering upon so arduous a contest. Indeed, by some of his best friends and well-wishers, it was supposed that a serious contest on the part of the Baronet was not intended. The canvas, though in some respects active, was almost entirely neglected in many parts of the county. In others, for want of a preconcerted plan, two, three, or even four parties met in the same place, on the same business. In short, Sir Francis Burdett by no means started upon equal terms with the candidate whom he opposed; he had a thousand obstacles to contend with, which did not exist in any shape with regard to Mr. Mainwaring. The long connexion which the Chairman of the County Sessions had with his constituents, and his influence with his brother magistrates, afforded him not only great strength, but every means of knowing the electors and their residences. His influence as a magistrate, and his assiduity in performing the general business connected with the county, created in his behalf an almost irresistible interest.

The 13th of July was appointed for the election. The popular cry was “*Burdett, and no Bastiles!*” The shew of hands was greatly in favour of Sir Francis. His colours waved in almost every hat, and his banners were considered by the populace as consecrated to freedom.

In his speech at the Hustings, he took the opportunity to declare, he was not actuated by any private pique in the contest; that he did not even know Mr. Mainwaring: "I am," said he, "impelled only by the feelings of humanity—the same feelings which impelled me when I first offered to make good my charges respecting that horrible dungeon, the Cold-Bath-Fields prison, at the bar of the House of Commons. On that ground I principally offer myself to you; trusting, as I hold it impossible that you can suffer a man who countenanced things so contrary to the constitution and law of the land to be again sent to parliament as your representative, that you will join with me in bringing these things and the authors of them to light and to punishment. I promise you here, that I will never quit the pursuit of these detestable criminals; I will persevere to the last; and I have no doubt that, aided as I am convinced I shall be by your support, I shall be ultimately and completely successful. I have only now to intreat, that you will understand that it is not now the question merely whether you shall choose Burdett or Mainwaring; but whether you will support that jail, and all the cruelties and tortures connected with it, and resulting necessarily from the system by which it has been regulated."

On the shew of hands, the Sheriff declared the sense of the electors to be in favour of Mr. Byng and Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Mainwaring demanded a poll, and had on the first day a majority of nearly 400 votes. At the end of the eleventh day Mr. Mainwaring's majority was 503; but in the three next days Sir Francis advanced rapidly upon his adversary, and on the evening of the fourteenth day the majority against him was but fourteen. This success roused the languid spirits of the unpolled freeholders, who till then, thinking his cause desperate, would not take the trouble of voting. The enthusiasm in favour of Sir Francis was general. The poll had not been opened many minutes on the last day before Sir Francis obtained a majority over Mr. Mainwaring, and at the final close of the poll he had a majority of 271 votes; and it is confidently asserted, that when the books were shut, the unpolled voters in the interest of Sir Francis Burdett, either in the town or approaching it, amounted to nearly 200. The knowledge that this was the last day of the poll, and the

the probability, amounting to almost a certainty, that the popular candidate would be successful, had collected an immense concourse of spectators, and every inch of ground between Piccadilly and Brentford was crowded beyond example. The enthusiasm was general, and the manifestations of joy exceeded any thing that had ever before been witnessed.

In his address to the freeholders of Middlesex, Sir Francis says, "Gentlemen, for having done my duty in my place in parliament against the barbarous cruel system of secret close imprisonment, I was stigmatized by the Lord-Lieutenant of this county, and, in violation of the privileges of parliament, and of all law and decency, I was proclaimed by him throughout the land as a person not fit to be trusted to visit, or perform any office of humanity to any wretched victim within the accursed walls. Permit me to say, it belonged to the same county to wipe away this undeserved stigma, and you have done it nobly."

Such was the termination of this memorable election-contest, upon which we shall offer a few observations. This contest between Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Mainwaring was not so much decided upon party-principles as upon the abuse of the civil authority, at the head of which stood Mr. Mainwaring. The active exertions of Sir Francis Burdett in exposing the abuses which existed in Cold-Bath-Fields prison, had not only created him many enemies, but also numerous friends, and many whose political opinions were adverse to his, not only voted for him, but manfully and vigorously espoused his cause. Among the electors that voted for him may be found Whigs and Tories, joining hands and hearts in the same cause, and in favour of the rights of humanity; while among his opponents are chiefly to be found the magistracy and their connexions and dependents.

Sir Francis Burdett at present represents the city of Westminster in parliament, having declined in the subsequent election the representation of the county. Indeed, so disgusted was he, or pretended to be, with parliamentary measures, that he had formed the determination of wholly retiring from parliament; but having been elected in a most honourable manner by the citizens of Westminster, without his knowledge, or without any

communication with the electors, at a time when he was confined by a wound he had received in a duel with Mr. Paull, he thought it his duty to accept the representation when so handsomely and honourably tendered to him.

Sir Francis by no means neglects his parliamentary duties: there are few subjects of debate in which he does not take a part, and but few members are more listened to with eager attention.

His committal to the Tower for a libellous letter on the House of Commons, on the subject of the imprisonment of Mr. Gale Jones, is fresh in the recollection of our readers. On that occasion, two resolutions were moved by Mr. Lethbridge: that the letter in question was a libel on the House; and, that Sir Francis had been guilty of a breach of privilege. These being agreed to, it was moved, that Sir Francis should be committed to the Tower, which was likewise carried; and the Speaker immediately issued his warrant for his committal. But Sir Francis was determined not to submit without force, conceiving the warrant to be illegal. This resolution occasioned the most tumultuous proceedings: and the immense multitudes assembled on the occasion, all zealous in favour of Sir Francis, rendered it necessary to call in the military, in aid of the civil power; the consequence of which was the loss of some lives.

Sir Francis, although to blame for the open resistance he made to the authority of parliament, did not stand alone in his opinion of its illegality. Sir Samuel Romilly was extremely doubtful whether the House had any right to commit for a breach of privilege in the case of a libel on the conduct of one of their own members. He was of opinion that the House had a right where their proceedings were interrupted, where people insulted members coming to the House, by hissing or otherwise, or where members were threatened if they voted on a particular side: there was a difference, however, between libels published on the past conduct of members, and such proceedings as were still going on in the House.

Sir Francis Burdett subsequently brought an action against the Speaker, who informed the House of Commons of it; and it was moved, that the Speaker and Serjeant at Arms should be allowed to appear in the Court of King's Bench, and plead to the action, and that the Attorney-

Attorney-General should be instructed to defend them. The issue of the whole was, that Sir Francis lost his action; the Court having declined entertaining it, as infringing upon the privileges of Parliament.

Since this period, nothing particular in the life of Sir Francis Burdett has occurred; but he continues to exert himself in parliament, in opposition to all measures that have a tendency to encroach upon the rights and liberties of the people, and to resist and expose every species of abuse.

In private life, we must do Sir Francis the justice to say, that he is one of the most amiable and unassuming men in the world. He possesses many of the accomplishments of a finished orator: an elegant and manly figure; his countenance is handsome and prepossessing; his voice strong and musical; and he rarely delivers his sentiments, but with the energy of a man who speaks as he feels.

Sir Francis married, some years ago, Miss Coutts, the daughter of the eminent banker; by whom he has a son and two daughters.

Memoirs
OF
JOHN MARIA JOSEPH LEWIS,
PRINCE OF BRAZIL,
PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL, the inheritance of the subject of this Memoir, and the ancient and staunch ally of Great Britain, was in the time of the Romans called *Lusitania*. The etymology of the modern name is uncertain; it most probably is derived from some noted harbour or port, to which the Gauls (for so strangers are called in the Celtic) resorted. D'Anville says, that in the Roman period there was a town called *Calle* (now Oporto), near the mouth of the river Douro; and this haven being eminently distinguished, the barbarism of the middle ages conferred on the circumjacent region the name of *Porto Calle*, which, as the country was gradually recovered from the Moors, was extended to the whole kingdom.

The subject of this Memoir is the offspring of what would in a Protestant state be deemed an incestuous intercourse; his mother having married her own uncle, to prevent the crown from falling into a foreign family. This policy was adopted by the desire of her father, the Portuguese monarch, who obtained a dispensation from the Pope for that purpose. This monarch having died on the 24th of February 1777, was succeeded by his daughter, the present queen. One of the first acts of her reign was the removal from power of the Marquis de Pombal, who was extremely obnoxious to the people; though it has been alleged in his favour, that he adopted sundry public measures which were well calculated to promote the real interests of Portugal.

On the 10th of March 1792, her son (who is styled the Prince of Brazil, as presumptive heir to the crown) published an edict, declaring, that as his mother, from
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her unhappy situation, was incapable of managing the affairs of government, he would place his signature to all public papers till the return of her health; but that no other change should be made in the forms of government. The malady that afflicted her Majesty was occasioned by religious melancholy. Dr. Willis, at the request of her son, the Prince Regent, some years ago made a voyage to Lisbon to attempt her cure; but her recovery remaining hopeless, the government of the country has ever since rested with the Prince of Brazil, the subject of this Memoir.

Under his government, Portugal, as the ally of England, took but a feeble part in the late war against France; her exertions being confined to furnishing Spain with a few auxiliary troops, and sending a small squadron to join the English fleet. After Spain had made peace with France, a war took place between the former country and Portugal; but it was not productive of any very important events. In August 1797, a negotiation for a treaty of peace between France and Portugal was entered into, and the treaty actually concluded; but the French Directory refused to ratify it, alleging that the Queen of Portugal, so far from shewing a disposition to abide by its articles, had put her forts and principal ports into the possession of the English. After the failure of this attempt at negotiation, Portugal continued a member of the alliance against France; though her aid was very unimportant, consisting only of a small squadron which cruised in the Mediterranean, and assisted in the blockade of Malta. At length, a short time previous to the signing of the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens, Portugal concluded a peace with Spain; the latter power restoring some places that had been taken from Portugal, which, in return, ceded in perpetuity to Spain the fortress of Olivenza, with its territory and inhabitants, from the Guadiana, which river, by the same treaty, was made the boundary of the two kingdoms in that part. This treaty was signed at Badajos, June 6, 1801; and on the 20th of September of the same year, Portugal likewise concluded a treaty of peace with France, the principal article of which made some alterations in the limits of Portuguese and French Guiana, considerably to the advantage of the latter power.

On

On the renewal of the war between Spain and Great Britain in 1804, the Prince Regent was required by Napoleon to join the coalition against England. For a considerable time, however, he contrived to evade this measure, which in all probability would not only have ruined the commerce of Portugal, but have been the means of depriving her of her valuable foreign possessions; and he was allowed to purchase her neutrality by the annual payment of a very considerable sum.

But the Portuguese government soon began to find that the French Emperor had no sooner obtained one point than he aimed at the accomplishment of another, till at length he demanded so large a sum for guaranteeing this country's neutrality, that it was impossible for them to pay it. Their non-compliance with his exactions was immediately imputed to a partiality to Great Britain, and laid hold of as a pretext for the invasion of the country. Added to this, Napoleon, in one of his decrees against the commerce of England, declared that he would no longer suffer any neutral powers to exist on the continent; and every power was called upon to evince either a friendly or hostile disposition towards France. The non-compliance of the Prince Regent with the before-mentioned unreasonable demands was immediately considered as a declaration of hostility; and Napoleon boastingly asserted, that the house of Braganza should soon cease to reign." In pursuance of this declaration, he obtained leave from the feeble and unsuspecting king of Spain, that a body of French troops should pass through his dominions, in order to put his threats against Portugal in execution. Accordingly, about the latter end of the summer of 1807, General Junot with 25,000 men marched from Bayonne in several divisions, and arrived early in November on the frontiers of Portugal, where he was but feebly opposed by the Portuguese. Having waited the junction of his whole force, he rapidly advanced towards the capital, which he entered on the 29th of November. A few hours previous to this, however; the Prince Regent, with the Queen, and the whole of the royal family, had taken refuge on board a British squadron, which conveyed them safely to the Brazils. On the possession of Lisbon by the French, the inhabitants found themselves subjected to all kinds of privation and
insult;

insult; and, after enduring for nearly six weeks almost unprecedented mortifications from an unprincipled enemy, the public indignation at length burst forth, and many of the French troops fell victims to its fury. But this success was but of short continuance; for Junot at the head of his troops, coming suddenly upon them, immediately put them to the rout, after committing the most horrid massacres, on the 12th of January.

The introduction of a very numerous body of French troops into Spain, and the subsequent captivity of the royal family of that kingdom, having aroused the patriotic feelings of that people, the communication between the army in Portugal and France was cut off; and, had the modern Portuguese possessed any remains of their ancient national spirit, a favourable opportunity was now presented for avenging themselves of their oppressors. In this situation, they turned their eyes towards England, the ministry of which eagerly embraced the opportunity of humbling their most inveterate foe. A body of troops was sent under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which effected a landing on the coast between Lisbon and Oporto. Of the result of this expedition, and its termination by the convention of Cintra, we have already given full details in the course of these Memoirs.

After the expulsion of the French from this kingdom, nothing particular occurred till the retreat of the British troops from Spain, after the battle of Talavera, July 23, 1809; when Lord Wellington took up a strong position among the mountains which separate Spain from Portugal, where he continued unmolested till the summer of 1810, when General Massena, at the head of a powerful army, advanced against the combined English and Portuguese forces. The immortal British commander, however, most ably eluded every device of his wily antagonist to bring on a general engagement, and effected a masterly retreat, greatly to the discomfiture of his opponents. The first efforts of the French were directed to the taking of the strong chain of cities, towns, and forts, which separate Spain from this country. Ciudad Rodrigo, a walled city, in the province of Leon, made a noble defence for nearly six weeks. Almeida was furnished with a strong garrison, and no doubt would have

held out a considerable time, but the unfortunate explosion of the magazines obliged it to surrender. Coimbra, with several other cities, were also invested and taken; till at length, about the middle of September, the allied army retreated to the banks of the Mondego river, closely pursued by the French. On the 21st the allies crossed that river, in order to prevent their being outflanked by the enemy, who used every effort to gain possession of Lisbon; but in this he was prevented by the bravery and skill of the British commander. On the 29th the allies were vigorously attacked at the hill of Busaco, on which they had taken up a strong position, by nearly the whole of the French army. A more animated attack was never witnessed, and for some time the assailants seemed to carry every thing before them with irresistible fury. They at length got possession of part of the heights; but soon gave way to the bayonets of the 45th and 88th British regiments, which nobly distinguished themselves on this occasion, while the rest of the troops exhibited an equal degree of bravery. The Portuguese fought most gallantly, and very flattering encomiums were paid them by the British commander-in-chief. The French were compelled to retreat in great disorder and precipitation, having sustained a loss in killed and wounded of nearly 10,000 men; that of the allies was also very great.

Notwithstanding this brilliant achievement, Lord Wellington still thought it prudent to retreat, as the enemy (greatly superior in numbers) evinced a disposition to outflank him. He accordingly fell back till the 18th of October, when he took up a strong position from the Torres Vedras, along a chain of mountains, to the Tagus, about 20 miles N.N.E. of Lisbon, where he continued during the following winter unmolested by the French commander, the Prince of Essling (Massena); who, in order to prevent his being assailed by the allies, entrenched himself in a similar manner. Early in the following spring, however, the French commander, finding himself straitened for provisions, found it expedient to retire into the interior. During this retreat, his movements were most vigilantly watched by the indefatigable Wellington; who, aware of the importance of his position at Torres Vedras, left a proportionate force in that quarter,

quarter, while with the remainder of the army he sallied forth to annoy the enemy wherever assailable. This desultory mode of warfare continued during the spring and fall of the year: in which Marshal Soult, who commanded the northern army, was gallantly driven from his position on the Douro near Oporto; and General Beresford, with an inconsiderable force, chiefly consisting of Portuguese troops, gained a most complete victory over the same general at Albuera, on the 16th of May. This event, together with the famous repulse of Massena before Almeida, by the allied commander, compelled the invaders to seek for shelter among the fortresses, &c. of the mountainous region between the Portuguese and Spanish frontier. Thus the war continued to languish, in an incomprehensible way, for several months. The French ruler, conscious of his tyranny and oppression, it soon appeared, was fearful of sparing too many of his already enormous armies to the reduction of the Peninsula, on account of his jealousy of Russia, whom fear alone, he well knew, rendered subservient to his views.

The subsequent events are well known to our readers; and it is sufficient to observe, that Portugal is now fully secured to the illustrious house of Braganza. But it seems uncertain whether the Prince Regent will return to his native country; at present, it is obvious, he has declined doing so.

This Prince was born on the 13th of May 1767, and was married to Maria Louisa, of Spain, on the 26th of March 1785.

Memoirs
OF
WILLIAM,
PRINCE OF ORANGE AND NASSAU,
SOVEREIGN PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS.

IN writing the Memoirs of this branch of the illustrious House of Orange, it is impossible to forget the intimate connexion which has subsisted between this family and Great Britain, and the benefits which England has derived from that connexion. Holland, the ancient patrimony of this house, has long held a distinguished rank in Europe. The first mention made of it in history is by Julius Cæsar, who fought many battles with the *Batavi*, as the inhabitants were called. In the year 923, Theodoric, brother of Herman Duke of Saxony, and of Weckman Earl of Ghent, was appointed Count of Holland, by Charles the Simple, King of France, and the title became hereditary; Zealand and Friesland were included in the donation. The county of Guelderland, on the east, was erected by the Emperor Henry IV. in 1079, and became a duchy in 1339. Florence III. who succeeded in 1187, carried on numerous wars against the Flemings and Frisians; he died at Antioch, in 1189, on an expedition to the Holy Land. In 1213, William I. Earl of Holland, formed a league with John King of England, Ferrand Earl of Flanders, and the Emperor Otho, against France; but William was taken prisoner at the famous battle of Bouvines. William II. Earl of Holland, was elected Emperor of Germany in 1247. In 1296, John Earl of Holland married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I. King of England. Edward III. espoused Philippina, daughter of William III. Earl of Holland; and, in consequence of this marriage, Edward contested the earldom of Holland with Margaret his sister-in-law. In process of time, Holland, together with large possessions of the house of Burgundy, fell by marriage to the house of Austria; and it was not until the year 1566 that

that the present family of Orange became so renowned by their opposition to the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain. After a long and bloody contest, Holland and some other provinces finally shook off the Spanish yoke; and in the year 1579 they formed the famous union of Utrecht, in strict alliance. From this time, the house of Orange has held the reins of government, and under their auspices the Dutch continued to flourish; for at the end of the sixteenth century they had established colonies at the Cape of Good Hope and in the East Indies, as well as formed settlements in South America. During the seventeenth century, they contested with the English the empire of the sea, and even exceeded them in commercial advantages; but their power was somewhat abated after the obstinate naval conflicts in the time of Charles II. During the reign of this monarch, an alliance with the house of Orange took place, which afterwards led to very important consequences; this was the marriage between the Princess Mary and the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III. of England. This connexion, and his near alliance to the throne, led all parties in England, during the reign of the infatuated James, to look up to William for protection; and by an universal invitation from the nobility and gentry, as well as many of the corporate bodies, William landed at Torbay on the 5th of November 1688, and finally ascended the throne. For a long time from this period, a very strict union prevailed between England and Holland; but the war in 1756 opening great connexions between Holland and France, a French party began to form in that country, which opposed the Stadtholder, who was supported by the English. During the American contest, this party succeeded in plunging the two countries into war; which event greatly exposed the decline and weakness of the United Provinces, which was still further manifested by the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick in 1788, who may be said to have subdued them without a blow.

But the peculiar misfortunes of the house of Orange, and the final degradation of Holland, was reserved for the period of the French revolution. This country, like many others, had strongly imbibed revolutionary principles, and its inhabitants only waited for a favourable moment of declaring them. The Stadtholder, on the contrary,

contrary, had closely united himself to England ; in consequence of which the National Convention declared war against him in a decree dated the 1st of February 1793. In consequence of which General Dumorier proceeded with a large body of troops to invade Holland ; exhorting the Batavians, in a violent manifesto, to reject the tyrannic aristocracy of the Stadtholder and his party, and to become a free republic. The Dutch made preparations for defending themselves ; and the English cabinet seconded their efforts, by an immediate embarkation of troops, to the command of which the Duke of York was appointed.

The subjugation of Holland was the first project of General Dumourier : and when the ease with which he had effected the conquest of the Netherlands, and the courage and ability displayed by him and his army at the famous battle of Jemappe, were considered, there seemed reason to apprehend that he would soon make an impression on these provinces ; and the easy surrender of Breda and Gertruydenberg, encouraged him to boast that he would terminate the contest by a speedy approach to Amsterdam. Certain events, however, ensued, which effectually prevented the performance of this promise.

In the campaign of 1794, the republicans were successful on every side against the allied powers. In Flanders, General Jourdan gained the battle of Fleurus ; and Charleroi, Ypres, Bruges, and Courtray, surrendered to the French : Ostend was evacuated ; General Clairfait defeated near Mons, which immediately surrendered ; and the Prince of Cobourg compelled to abandon the whole of the Netherlands, while the victors, without opposition, entered Brussels and Antwerp. Landrecy, Quesnoi, Valenciennes, and Condé, were successively retaken ; and the French armies, pursuing their success, took Aix-la-Chapelle, defeated Clairfait near Juliers, and made themselves masters of Cologne and Bonn. Maestricht and Nimeguen were likewise taken.

The United Provinces began now to be seriously alarmed. The states of Friesland were the first to feel their danger ; and, in the month of October, these states determined to acknowledge the French republic, to break their alliance with England, and to enter into a treaty of peace and alliance with France. In some of
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the other provinces, resolutions hostile to the Stadtholder and his government were likewise passed; and such appeared to be the temper of the people, even at Amsterdam, that on the 17th of October the government of Holland published a proclamation, prohibiting the presenting of any petition or memorial upon public or political subjects, and all popular meetings or assemblies of the people upon any occasion.

On the 7th of December, the French made a feeble attempt to cross the Waal, but were repulsed with loss; but on the 15th the frost set in with unusual rigour, and opened a new road to the French armies. In the course of a week the Maese and the Waal were both frozen over; and on the 27th a strong column of French crossed the Maese, near the village of Driel. They attacked the allied army for an extent of above twelve leagues; and, according to the report of General Pichegru, "were, as usual, victorious in every quarter." The army of the allies retreated before them; and, in its retreat, endured incredible hardships from the severity of the weather and the want of necessaries. On the 10th of January 1795, General Pichegru, having completed his arrangements, made his grand movement. The French crossed the Waal at different points, with a force, according to some accounts, of 70,000 men. A general attack was made upon Walmoden's position between Nimeguen and Arnhem. The allies were defeated in every quarter; and, utterly unprepared either for resistance or for flight, suffered equally from the elements and the enemy.

It was in vain that the Stadtholder issued manifestoes, proclamations, and exhortations, to the Dutch peasantry, conjuring them to rise in a mass for the defence of the country. The French continued to advance, and the allies to fly before them, till Utrecht surrendered to them on the 16th of January, Rotterdam on the 18th, and Dort on the succeeding day. The utmost consternation now prevailed among the partisans of the Stadtholder. The Princess of Orange, with the younger and female part of the family, and with all the plate, jewels, and moveables, that could be packed up, escaped on the 15th. The Stadtholder and the Hereditary Prince did not leave Holland till the 19th. His Serene Highness embarked at Scheveling, in an open boat, with only three men to navigate

gate her, and arrived safe at Harwich, in England. The palace of Hampton-Court was assigned him for his residence.

On the 20th of January, General Pichegru entered Amsterdam in triumph, at the head of 5000 men, and was received by the inhabitants with the loudest acclamations. The whole of the United Provinces either submitted to, or was reduced by, the French, in a few weeks. An assembly of the provisional representatives of the people met on the 27th of January; and the whole government was changed and modelled nearly after the French plan.

The Stadtholder continued to reside in England until a revolution, as unexpected as it was sudden, once more restored him to the government of his native country, and established his family in greater splendour than it had ever before enjoyed. The events which led to this surprising turn of fortune are too fresh in the recollection of our readers to render it necessary to recite them here; it is sufficient to observe, that the Dutch patriots, perceiving the opportunity favourable for shaking off the detested yoke of Buonaparte, concerted a rising against the French, which was fixed for the 14th of November 1813.

On that day, one of the principal leaders proceeded to the residence of Le Brun, the Duke of Placentia, the Governor of Holland. He had the Orange cockade in his hat and on his breast; and he addressed Le Brun as follows:—"You may easily guess, by these colours, for what purpose I am come, and what events are about to take place. You, who are now the weakest, know that we are the strongest. We, who are now the strongest, know that you are the weakest. You will do wisely and prudently to take your departure with all possible speed; and the sooner you do it, the less you will expose yourself to insult, and possibly to danger." To this address Le Brun replied, "I have, Sir, for some time, expected such a message; and I very willingly accede to your proposition, to take my departure immediately." "In that case," said the patriot, "I will see you into your coach without loss of time." This was accordingly done. But by this time the people had assembled and surrounded the coach,
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with loud cries of "*Orange Boven!*" "*Up Orange; down Buonaparte.*" The patriot accompanied him in the coach out of the town; and no violence was offered him, except that he was obliged by the people to cry out, "*Long live the Prince of Orange!*" and to wear the Orange cockade—too happy, no doubt, to get off so well. Having thus sent him off, the people laid hold of all the French *douaniers*, and threw them into the river. All the watch-houses of the *douaniers*, and three of their vessels, were burnt.

On the following day, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, proclaiming the house of Orange, and universally putting up the Orange colours. This example was immediately followed by the other towns of the provinces of Holland and Utrecht, as Haarlem, Leyden, Utrecht, the Hague, Rotterdam, &c. At Utrecht, the garrison made some resistance: but the patriots fired upon them; and ten or twelve being killed on both sides, the garrison laid down their arms, and were permitted to depart. The French authorities were dismissed, and a temporary government established and proclaimed, in the name of the Prince of Orange; and, until his Serene Highness's arrival, composed of the most respectable members of the old government, and chiefly of those not employed under the French.

These events were soon known in England; and the Prince of Orange lost no time in proceeding to join his party. He was, immediately on his arrival in Holland, restored to the government, and soon after proclaimed, under a new title, SOVEREIGN PRINCE OF THE NETHERLANDS; and the whole of the latter country was, by an act of the Congress of Vienna, united to Holland. This accession of territory cannot fail of rendering this family great and powerful, and will enable it to form a strong barrier against the ambition of France.

Memoirs
OF
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERIC
PRINCE OF WALES,

PRINCE REGENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND
IRELAND, &c. &c.

HIS Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was born on the 12th of August 1762; and a few days after his birth he was created Prince of Wales by letters patent. This title was first conferred by Edward I. in 1284, upon his son Prince Edward, when the British prince, Llewelyn, was reduced, and his principality incorporated with England. His Royal Highness, as Prince of Wales, is born Duke of Cornwall, and immediately entitled to all the revenues belonging to that duchy; and, as presumptive heir to the throne, is likewise Hereditary Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, and Baron of Renfrew. These were titles conferred by Robert III. King of Scotland, on the prince his eldest son, in 1399, and perpetually appropriated to the future princes of Scotland, as soon as born: since the accession of James I. they have been continued to the Prince of Wales in Great Britain. It is a matter of curious remark, that his Royal Highness enjoys no Irish honours, while all the junior branches of the royal family are by birth Earls of Ireland. His Royal Highness was elected a Knight-Companion of the Garter in 1765, and installed at Windsor July 25, 1771.

With regard to the education of his Royal Highness, it has been said by an able writer, that it was conducted on a plan perfectly well calculated to render him a respectable scholar and an accomplished gentleman, but ill calculated to make him either a prudent prince or a great monarch. It was so austere (perhaps we should not use too harsh a word, if we were to say, so repulsive), that the moment of his Royal Highness's emancipation was that of a prisoner from confinement. Debarred from
those

those pleasures so natural to youth, he plunged into the joys of society with all the avidity of one who had never tasted of joy. Dr. Markham, archbishop of York, was appointed his preceptor, and Dr. Jackson his sub-preceptor. These gentlemen continued to fill those offices until the year 1776, when a new establishment was formed; and Dr. Markham was succeeded by Dr. Hurd, bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Jackson by Mr. Arnold, tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge: but the reason for these changes is not generally known.

His Royal Highness had hardly attained his nineteenth year before he became attached to Mrs. Robinson, who has, in her *Life*, given the history of this intercourse.

On the 12th of August 1783, his Royal Highness having attained his majority, a message to the House of Commons was delivered by Lord John Cavendish, the chancellor of the exchequer, to the following effect:—

“GEORGE R.—His Majesty, reflecting upon the propriety of a separate establishment to his dearly beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, recommends the consideration thereof to this House; relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, for such aid towards making that establishment as shall appear consistent with a due attention to the circumstances of his people, every addition to whose burdens his Majesty feels with the most sensible concern.”

On this message being taken into consideration, it was determined that his Royal Highness should be allowed the sum of £50,000 a-year; and that the sum of £60,000 should be granted to him for the purpose of forming an establishment. The inadequacy of this sum to support the dignity of the heir-apparent to the British throne could not fail of striking every person, and particularly when it was so very inferior to the revenues enjoyed by former Princes of Wales. George II. when Prince of Wales, had an income of £100,000 per annum; and the same sum had been allowed to Frederick Prince of Wales, his Majesty's father, and also to his present Majesty, for the short time he was Prince of Wales. Those who wished to see the allowance increased, argued, that as his Royal Highness's predecessors had enjoyed larger revenues at periods when the necessaries of life were much cheaper, it was treating the Prince with ill-judged and unmerited parsimony to place him in a worse situation than former Princes of Wales had been placed in.

Many who argued in this manner foretold the consequence, and the embarrassments which afterwards arose in the circumstances of his Royal Highness. Among these was Mr. Fox, who then filled the post of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department. As a statesman and man of the world, he foresaw that habits of strict economy could not well be expected from so young a man as the Prince; and that the narrowness of his income, instead of ultimately being of any advantage to the country, might throw him into a situation of embarrassment. Had it remained with him, Mr. Fox said, to have advised an establishment, he would most assuredly have proposed a sum more adequate to the object in view: the person, however, the most proper to decide in the business had been of an opinion very different; and it was his duty to submit. The contracted scale of income which it was proposed to settle on the Prince was entirely a measure of the King's: his Majesty was unwilling, at the close of a disastrous and expensive war, when economy in every branch of the public expenditure was loudly called for by all ranks of his people, to increase the expences of the state by a larger establishment of the Prince of Wales.

The first appearance of his Royal Highness in parliament was on the 11th of November 1783; a session which was one of the most important that had occurred since his Majesty's accession, but which, in magnitude, has been eclipsed by subsequent events. The coalition-ministry, with the Duke of Portland at its head, though Mr. Fox was the efficient minister, was then at the zenith of its power, and menaced the royal authority with some restrictions of prerogative, which are supposed to have given high offence at court: we allude to the celebrated India bill of Mr. Fox, which was introduced in this session, and caused the dismissal of the coalition-administration. In the discussions which took place in the Upper House of Parliament relative to the India bill, the Prince of Wales remained neuter; but it was generally understood, that the Whig party, with Mr. Fox at their head, possessed his good wishes.

Being now launched into public life, some judgment may be formed of the Prince's political principles from the party he associated with. Among these we find
Fox

Fox, Burke, and Sheridan. Besides these three great men, his Royal Highness assiduously attached to him every other character, whose intercourse could strengthen, enrich, or polish his mind. Among the more intimate of his friends, we find Lord Moira, Lord Hugh Seymour, and Rear-Admiral Payne, besides a long list of the nobility and distinguished commoners, who were honoured with his countenance.

Shortly after the connexion between the Prince and Mrs. Robinson had been broken off, his Royal Highness formed another more serious connexion; which, at the time it happened, gave rise to much obloquy, and was the occasion, it has been supposed, of causing a considerable coolness between the Prince and his Royal Father. The circumstance to which we allude, is the intimacy which at this time took place between his Royal Highness and Mrs. Fitzherbert. In the beginning of the year 1786, this new intercourse formed a subject of general discourse. Mrs. Fitzherbert was a widow lady of great accomplishments and beauty, but some years older than his Royal Highness. Her family was respectable: she was niece, on her father's side, to Sir Edward Smythe, of Acton Burnel, in the county of Salop; and distantly related to the noble family of Sefton, in the kingdom of Ireland. Her sister was married to Sir Carnaby Haggerstone, a baronet of considerable respectability and fortune in the county of York. When this connexion was publicly made known, a rumour was circulated that the Prince of Wales was privately married to Mrs. Fitzherbert. That the heir-apparent of the crown, or any other prince of the blood-royal, should be privately married, was an event particularly guarded against by the Royal-Marriage Act. By this act of parliament it was declared, that the descendants of George the Second, except the offspring of such of the princesses as were married to, or might marry foreign princes, were incapable of marrying till the age of five-and-twenty years, without his Majesty's consent previously obtained, or after the age of five-and-twenty, in the case of his Majesty refusal, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. The marriage of the Prince of Wales, therefore, with Mrs. Fitzherbert, if it had even taken place in point of form, was null and void in point of law. The children,

children, if any had been born of this marriage, were illegitimate and incapable of inheritance.

But this was by no means the circumstance in this delicate affair, which made the most considerable impression upon the public mind. What excited the greatest sensation was, that Mrs. Fitzherbert was educated in the principles of the Roman-Catholic religion. She might have retracted those principles, it was said; but was that retraction, it was rejoined, even supposing it had been made, worthy to be believed? There were not wanting those who believed, or were willing to have it thought so, that the marriage ceremony had been actually solemnized; and a pamphlet was written to shew that the Royal-Marriage Act itself was a nullity, and consequently that Mrs. Fitzherbert was absolutely married to the Prince of Wales, and became *ipso facto* Princess of Wales. The Act of Settlement, by which the house of Brunswick was called to the British throne, expressly declared a prince that married a Catholic incapable of inheriting the crown. It is scarcely, however, to be believed, how deep an impression was made upon the public mind by this supposed marriage. Many saw, in their prospects into futurity, every reason to expect the horrors of a civil war; and, in their zeal for the civil and religious liberties of their country, some of them were ready, in case of the demise of the sovereign, to have taken up arms against his natural successor, by way of antidote and precaution.

In the year 1786, when his Royal Highness had hardly possessed his establishment three years, it was found he had contracted a debt of between 2 and £300,000; and, as it was impossible to liquidate this enormous sum, with the income which his Royal Highness possessed, he determined to apply to the King for assistance, observing, that if any part of his conduct were thought improper, he would alter it, and conform to the wishes of his Majesty in every thing that became him as a gentleman. His Majesty, on receiving this communication, desired that a statement of the Prince's affairs might be laid before him. This was accordingly done; and, on the 4th of July, the King's answer, which was a direct refusal to interfere, was delivered to Lord Southampton, groom of the stole to his Royal Highness. The latter immediately

immediately resolved to suppress the establishment of his household, to abridge himself of every superfluous expence, and to set apart a large annual sum, which was reported to be £40,000, for the liquidation of his debts; and, what did his Royal Highness more honour, he resolved to sell the whole of his stud, and apply the produce to the same purpose. Accordingly, his racing stud, which had been formed with great judgment and expence, and was looked upon as one of the most complete in the kingdom, his hunters, and even his coach-horses, were sold by public auction; the whole of which produced about seven thousand guineas. At the same time the buildings and interior decorations of Carlton House were stopped, and some of the most considerable rooms shut up from use: the number of his attendants was also diminished; but, with great humanity, care was taken to settle pensions on those who would otherwise have been reduced to distress on quitting the Prince's service.

His Royal Highness persevered in his plan of retrenchment for a period of nine months; and, denying himself those accommodations and indulgences to which he was entitled from his rank, he adhered rigidly to the plan he had entered upon of devoting the greater part of his income to the liquidation of his debts. It was hoped by the Prince's friends, that his magnanimity and disinterestedness on this occasion would have operated somewhere in his favour, either on the feelings of his Royal father or on the generosity of the House of Commons, so as to occasion his embarrassments to be taken up as a national concern. But, disappointed in this expectation, the Prince felt himself indisposed any longer to submit to the indignity of his situation, or to live upon the contracted scale on which, with the most laudable intentions, he had limited his expences. The public opinion was divided as to the line of conduct proper to be adopted towards the Prince in this emergency. On the one hand it was said, that the Prince of Wales was the fittest person to do the honours of the nation to foreigners of distinction who visited it; and that the magnificence of his living, the liberality of his temper, and the affability of his disposition, were well calculated to exalt, and to do credit to the English character. His present situation

ation was therefore to be considered as a disgrace to the nation. It exhibited us, they said, in the eyes of Europe, either as impoverished and impotent, or as governed by an injudicious and ill-timed penuriousness, that curbed and chained down the first subject in the realm, and froze up the natural current of his spirit and generosity. On the other hand it was maintained, that the irregular and faulty character of the Prince of Wales required a severe and rigorous discipline. They admitted that he had shewn some rectitude of judgment, that he knew how to chuse the path of virtue; but that it was necessary he should be taught how to persist in it, in spite of the thorns and ruggedness that surrounded it. Adversity, they said, was never yet injurious to improvement, but that a person of the highest rank was in danger of being spoiled by uninterrupted prosperity; and therefore it was right that poverty, hardships, and inconvenience, should teach the Prince to feel for the sufferings of other men. Such were the principal arguments that were used by those who were the advocates of the Prince, and by those who condemned his conduct.

While such was the state of the controversy, his Royal Highness having, as he conceived, tried every other expedient for his extrication, at length thought proper, as the last resort, to authorize an application to parliament: and the person to whom this delicate business was entrusted was Alderman Newnham, one of the representatives for the city. The business was first agitated on the 20th of April 1787, when Mr. Newnham put the question to Mr. Pitt, whether it were his intention to bring forward any proposition to rescue the Prince of Wales from his embarrassed and distressed situation? Being answered by the minister, that he had received no commands for that purpose from the King, the Alderman gave notice, that, on Friday the 4th of May, he would bring forward a motion on the subject, for the consideration of the House. Mr. Pitt, a few days after, requested to be informed more particularly respecting the precise nature of the proposed motion. To this Mr. Newnham did not think proper to accede; and Mr. Pitt then observed, that the subject was of the highest importance in itself, of the greatest novelty, likely to effect the most essential interests of the country, and of all others required the
greatest

greatest delicacy in its discussion. The knowledge, he said, which he possessed on the subject made him particularly desirous of avoiding it; but if it were absolutely determined to bring it forward, he would, however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject.

On the 27th of April, Mr. Newnham stated the precise nature of his motion, which was for an address to his Majesty, praying him to take into his royal consideration the situation of the Prince of Wales, and to grant his Royal Highness such relief as in his wisdom he should think fit, pledging the House to make good the same. Mr. Rolle, member for Devonshire, observed, that he felt much concern to find that Mr. Newnham persisted in his intention; and particularly called the attention of the country-gentlemen to the subject, as one of those questions, he affirmed, that tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state. A rather spirited debate, or rather conversation, ensued, in which many of the members of the House partook. Two days afterwards a meeting was held, at the house of Mr. Thomas Pelham, of the friends of the intended motion of Mr. Alderman Newnham, at which the Prince of Wales was present, in order to consider of the state of the business, and to concert such measures as might be thought proper under existing circumstances. In consequence of this meeting, the subject was again introduced into the House of Commons in a different form. Mr. Newnham introduced it by alluding to the remark which had been made by Mr. Pitt, that the mode of application by address to the throne was of all others the most exceptionable, and declared, that he should therefore think it right to decline that form of proceeding; and if Mr. Pitt would point out a mode of application the most mild and the least likely to provoke resistance, he would readily adopt that mode in preference to any other that might occur to him. Mr. Pitt answered, that Mr. Newnham had mistaken the nature of his objection to the intended motion. His opposition, he said, was pointed at every proposal which should originate such a subject in that House; so that, in fact, the form in which it was done could have very little weight in his consideration.

In this stage of the transaction, an intimation was con-

veyed to the Prince of Wales, that Mr. Dundas (then one of the secretaries of state) would be glad if his Royal Highness had no objection to have an interview with him. This overture was reported to have sprung from some things that had been dropped by the Duchess of Gordon upon the subject, in a conversation between her Grace and Mr. Pitt. In consequence of this overture, Mr. Dundas had an interview with the Prince at Carlton House; and the following day Mr. Pitt was admitted to his Royal Highness.

In consequence of these interviews, Mr. Newnham acquainted the House of Commons, on the day originally selected for his long-expected motion, that that motion was now no longer necessary, and therefore, with the most sincere and heartfelt satisfaction, he declined the bringing it forward.

Fourteen days after this, a message from the King was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, informing them that it was with great concern his Majesty had to acquaint them that, from the accounts of the Prince of Wales, it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, which, if left to be discharged out of his annual income, would render it impossible for him to support an establishment suited to his rank and station. Painful as it was at all times to the King to propose any addition to the heavy expences of his people, he was induced to the present application from his paternal affection to the Prince of Wales. He could not, however, expect or desire the assistance of parliament, but on a well-grounded expectation that the Prince would avoid contracting any debts in future. With a view to this object, the King had directed a sum of £10,000 per annum to be paid out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance; and he had the satisfaction to observe, that the Prince had given the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expences within the limits of his income, and had settled a plan, and fixed an order in those expences, which it was trusted would effectually secure the due execution of his intentions. The King further recommended to parliament the completing, in a proper manner, the works that had been undertaken at Carlton House.

The accounts being presented to the House of Commons on the following Wednesday, the day after an address

dress was voted to the King to request his Majesty to direct the sum of £161,000 to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the further sum of £20,000 on account of the works at Carlton House.

The King's illness was the next occasion which called forth his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales into notice: this took place towards the close of the year 1788. Parliament having met on the 20th of November of that year, the ministers explained to both Houses his Majesty's melancholy situation; after which they adjourned a fortnight. At their next meeting, a committee of twenty-one members in each House was appointed to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians; and a farther adjournment to the 10th of December took place. On that day the report of the committee was laid upon the table of the House of Commons; and, after commenting upon it for some time, Mr. Pitt moved, "That a committee be appointed to examine and report precedents of such proceedings as may have been had in cases of the personal exercise of the royal authority being prevented or interrupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or otherwise, with a view to provide for the same." This motion, which was evidently designed to gain time, was strongly opposed by Mr. Fox, who had been sent for express from the continent by his Royal Highness, in order to assist him with his advice. Mr. Fox, in the course of his speech, declared, "that he had not in his mind a doubt, and he should think himself culpable if he did not take the first opportunity in declaring it, *that in the present condition of his Majesty, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had as clear and express a right to exercise the power of sovereignty during the continuance of the incapacity with which it had pleased God to afflict the King, as in the event of his Majesty having undergone a natural demise.*" This unconstitutional doctrine was immediately combated by Mr. Pitt; who said, that the doctrine advanced by Mr. Fox was itself, if any additional reason was necessary, the strongest and most unanswerable for the appointment of the committee he had moved for, that could possibly be given. If a claim of right was intimated on the part of the Prince of Wales to assume the government, it became of the utmost consequence

sequence to ascertain from precedent and history whether this claim were well-founded; which, if it was, precluded the House from the possibility of all deliberation on the subject. In the mean time he maintained that it would appear, from every precedent, and from every page of our history, that to assert such a right in the Prince of Wales, or any one else, independent of the decision of the two Houses of Parliament, was little less than treason to the constitution of the country. He pledged himself to this assertion, that in the case of the interruption of the personal exercise of the royal authority, without any previous lawful provision having been made for carrying on the government, it belonged to the other branches of the legislature, on the part of the nation at large, to provide according to their discretion for the temporary exercise of the royal authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, in such manner as they should deem requisite; and that, unless by their decision, the Prince of Wales had no right to assume the government any more than any other individual in the country. Whatever might be the discretion of parliament with respect to the disposition of those powers, their right to dispose of them was undoubted; and that, until the sanction of parliament was obtained, the Prince of Wales had no more right to exercise the powers of government than any other person in the realm.

In the House of Lords a similar motion for a committee was made by Lord Camden; and, as Mr. Fox's doctrine had excited a great deal of public attention, it was particularly combated by his Lordship. Lord Loughborough, who headed the Prince of Wales's party in the Upper House, and who had views of advancement, vindicated the opinions of Mr. Fox; but his arguments do not appear to be very conclusive.

With regard to the conduct of his Royal Highness on this occasion, we have no reason to suppose that this doctrine of right was countenanced by him. On the contrary, he anxiously endeavoured to avert the farther discussion of it. For this purpose, Mr. Fox was required to declare in the House of Commons, that the opinion he had delivered was in his private capacity, and without the authority of the Prince of Wales. And the Duke of York, in the Upper House, declared, that no claim of
right

right had been made on the part of the Prince; and he was confident, he said, that his Royal Highness understood too well the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick on the throne of Great Britain, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives and their Lordships in parliament assembled. It was upon this ground that he must hope, that the wisdom and moderation of all considerate men, at a moment when temper and unanimity were so peculiarly necessary, on account of the dreadful calamity which every description of persons must in common lament, but which he more particularly felt, would make them wish to avoid pressing a decision, which certainly was not necessary to the great object expected from parliament, and which, in the discussion, must be most painful to a family already sufficiently agitated and afflicted.

This declaration, although confirmed by the Duke of Gloucester, failed in preventing the farther discussion of this question. Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons, still maintained his former opinion, although he strenuously disclaimed any assertion of right on the part of the Prince of Wales. He said, "that from the moment that the two Houses of Parliament declared the King unable to exercise the royal sovereignty, from that moment a right to exercise the royal authority with all its functions attached to the Prince of Wales, for the time such incapacity might exist."

A sensible and judicious writer, speaking of the situation of public affairs at this period, observes, that a variety of circumstances concurred to render the agitation of the Prince's right extremely ill-timed for the party with whom Mr. Fox acted. All public bodies are fond of power; and the parliament of Great Britain being told by grave authority that they had a sceptre to bestow, with feelings very natural for a public body in such a predicament, were unwilling to wave so important a privilege. Another consideration was, the unpopularity of the Prince of Wales. His debts had been paid in the preceding year to a very large amount; and the minister had dextrously contrived that all the odium of that measure should rest with the confidential friends of the Prince.

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But what, perhaps, operated most to the disadvantage of the heir apparent was a ridiculous report which prevailed at that time, and was credulously believed by many, that his Royal Highness had contracted a marriage, according to the rites of the Romish church, with a Catholic lady. It was in vain that the friends of the Prince declared, that the fact not only never could have happened legally in consequence of the restrictions of the Royal-Marriage Act, but never did happen in any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood. Notwithstanding an explicit declaration to this effect was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Fox, at the time when the Prince's debts were under consideration, it was far from removing suspicion; and many honest and well-meaning members of parliament, who otherwise probably would have voted for the Prince of Wales's absolute right to the regency, under a strong jealousy of this connexion, supported the proposition of the minister. Above all, the peculiar circumstances of popular delusion under which the House of Commons was convened, and which gave the minister so powerful an influence in that House, still existed in considerable force, and therefore any proposition proceeding from the distinguished leader of the opposition was certain to be received with the utmost circumspection and reserve.

After the committee of the House of Commons had made their report, Mr. Pitt moved two resolutions of a declaratory nature: the first affirming, that the personal exercise of the royal authority was interrupted; and the second, that it was the duty of the two Houses of Parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. These were agreed to, after a close division of 268 against 204, and were soon followed by a third resolution, declaring it to be necessary, for the purpose of supplying that defect, and maintaining entire the constitutional authority of the King, that the two Houses should determine on the means by which the royal assent might be given to the bill which they might adopt for constituting a regency. What the minister proposed was, that the Lord Chancellor should be empowered to put the great seal to any act which the two Houses of Parliament might think proper to pass. These resolutions were carried

carried by large majorities through both Houses of Parliament; and, on the 30th of December, Mr. Pitt addressed the following letter to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, containing the outlines of his plan of the proposed regency:—

“SIR—The proceedings in parliament being now brought to a point which will render it necessary to propose to the House of Commons the particular measures to be taken for supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the royal authority during the present interval, and your Royal Highness having some time since signified your pleasure that any communication on this subject should be in writing; I take the liberty of respectfully entreating your Royal Highness’s permission to submit to your consideration the outlines of the plan which his Majesty’s confidential servants humbly conceive, according to the best judgment they are able to form, to be proper to be proposed in the present circumstances. It is their humble opinion, that your Royal Highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, during his Majesty’s illness, and to do all acts which might legally be done by his Majesty; with provisions, nevertheless, that the care of his Majesty’s royal person, and the management of the royal household, and the direction and appointment of the officers and servants therein, should be in the Queen, under such regulations as may be thought necessary. That the power to be exercised by your Royal Highness should not extend to the granting the real and personal property of the King, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases—to the granting of any office in reversion—or to the granting, for any other term than during his Majesty’s pleasure, any pension, or any other office whatever, except such as must by law be granted for life, or during good behaviour—nor to the granting any rank or dignity of the peerage of this realm to any person except his Majesty’s issue who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years. These are the chief points which have occurred to his Majesty’s servants. I beg leave to add, that their ideas are formed on the supposition that his Majesty’s illness is only temporary, and may be of no long duration. It may be difficult to fix beforehand the precise period for which
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these provisions ought to last; but if, unfortunately, his Majesty's recovery should be protracted to a more distant period than there is reason at present to imagine, it will be open hereafter to the wisdom of parliament to re-consider these provisions whenever the circumstances appear to call for it. If your Royal Highness should be pleased to require any further explanation on the subject, and should condescend to signify your orders that I should have the honour of attending your Royal Highness for that purpose, or to intimate any other mode in which your Royal Highness may wish to receive such explanation, I shall respectfully wait your Royal Highness's commands. I have the honour to be your Royal Highness's most dutiful and devoted servant,

“ W. PITT.”

To this communication the Prince of Wales caused the following answer to be delivered to the Lord Chancellor:—

“ The Prince of Wales learns from Mr. Pitt's letter, that the proceedings in parliament are now in a train which enables Mr. Pitt, according to the intimation in his former letter, to communicate to the Prince the outlines of the plan which his Majesty's confidential servants conceive proper to be proposed in the present circumstances. Concerning the steps already taken by Mr. Pitt, the Prince is silent. Nothing done by the two Houses of Parliament can be a proper subject of his animadversion; but when, previous to any discussion in parliament, the outlines of a scheme of government are sent for his consideration, in which it is proposed that he shall be personally and principally concerned, and by which the royal authority and public welfare may be deeply affected, the Prince would be unjustifiable, were he to withhold an explicit declaration of his sentiments. His silence might be construed into a previous approbation of a plan, the accomplishment of which every motive of duty to his father and sovereign, as well as regard for the public interest, obliges him to consider as injurious to both. In the state of deep distress in which the Prince and the whole of the royal family are involved by the heavy calamity which has befallen the King, and at a moment when government, deprived of its chief energy and support, seem peculiarly to need the cordial and united

united aid of all descriptions of good subjects, it was not expected by the Prince, that a plan should be offered to his consideration, by which government was to be rendered difficult, if not impracticable, in the hands of any person intended to represent the King's authority, much less in the hands of his eldest son, the heir apparent of his kingdoms, and the person most bound to the maintenance of his Majesty's just prerogatives and authority, as well as most interested in the happiness, the prosperity, and the glory of the people. The Prince forbears to remark on the several parts of the sketch of the plan laid before him: he apprehends it must have been formed with sufficient deliberation to preclude the possibility of any arguments of his producing any alteration of sentiment in the projectors of it. But he trusts with confidence to the wisdom and justice of parliament, when the whole of this subject, and the circumstances connected with it, shall come under their deliberation. He observes, therefore, only generally on the heads communicated by Mr. Pitt: and it is with deep regret the Prince makes the observation, that he sees in the contents of that paper a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, in every branch of the administration of affairs; a project for dividing the royal family from each other—for separating the court from the state—and therefore, by disjoining government from its natural and accustomed support, a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward—and for allotting to the Prince all the invidious duties of government, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. The Prince's feelings on contemplating this plan are also rendered still more painful to him by observing, that it is not founded on any general principles, but is calculated to infuse jealousies and suspicions (wholly groundless, he trusts) in that quarter whose confidence it will ever be the first pride of his life to merit and obtain. With regard to the motive and object of the limitations and restrictions proposed, the Prince can have but little to observe. No light or information is offered him by his Majesty's ministers on these points: they have informed him what the powers are which they mean to refuse him, not why they are withheld. The

Prince, however, holding as he does that it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of this constitution, that the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there as a trust for the benefit of the people, and that they are sacred only as they are necessary to the preservation of that poise and balance of the constitution which experience has proved to be the true security of the liberty of the subject, must be allowed to observe, that the plea of public utility ought to be strong, manifest, and urgent, which calls for the extinction or suspension of any of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which can justify the Prince in consenting that in his person an experiment shall be made to ascertain with how small a portion of the kingly power the executive government of this country may be carried on. The Prince has only to add, that if security for his Majesty's re-possessioning his rightful government whenever it shall please Providence, in bounty to the country, to remove the calamity with which he is afflicted, be any part of the object of this plan, the Prince has only to be convinced that any measure is necessary, or even conducive to that end, to be the first to urge it, as the preliminary and paramount consideration of any settlement in which he would consent to share. If attention to what is presumed might be his Majesty's feelings and wishes on the happy day of his Majesty's recovery be the object, it is with the truest sincerity the Prince expresses his firm conviction that no event would be more repugnant to the feelings of his royal father, than the knowledge that the government of his son and representative had exhibited the sovereign power of the realm in a state of degradation, of curtailed authority, and diminished energy—a state hurtful in practice to the prosperity and good government of his people, and injurious in its precedent to the security of the monarch, and the rights of his family. Upon that part of the plan which regards the King's real and personal property, the Prince feels himself compelled to remark, that it was not necessary for Mr. Pitt, nor proper, to suggest to the Prince the restraints he proposes against the Prince's granting away the King's real and personal property. The Prince does not conceive that, during the King's life, he is by law entitled to make any such grant, and he is sure that he has

has never shewn the smallest inclination to possess any such power. But it remains with Mr. Pitt to consider the eventual interests of the royal family, and to provide a proper and natural security against the mismanagement of them by others. The Prince has discharged an indispensable duty in thus giving his free opinion on the plan submitted for his consideration. His conviction of the evils which may arise to the King's interests, to the peace and happiness of the royal family, and to the safety and welfare of the nation, from the government of the country remaining longer in its present maimed and debilitated state, outweighs in the Prince's mind every other consideration, and will determine him to undertake the painful task imposed upon him by the present melancholy necessity (which of all the King's subjects he deprecates the most), in full confidence that the affection and loyalty to the King, the experienced attachment to the house of Brunswick, and the generosity which has always distinguished this nation, will carry him through the many difficulties inseparable from this most critical situation, with comfort to himself, with honour to the King, and with advantage to the public."

On the 16th of January Mr. Pitt opened his propositions to the House of Commons, which he prefaced with a long speech; and, after an ineffectual opposition, they passed both Houses.

A deputation of Peers and Commoners was appointed to wait on the Prince with the resolutions, which were exactly similar to what Mr. Pitt had laid down in his letter to his Royal Highness. To this deputation the Prince made the following speech:—

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN—I thank you for communicating to me the resolutions agreed upon by the two Houses; and I request you to assure them, in my name, that my duty to the King my father, and my anxious concern for the safety and interests of the people, which must be endangered by a longer suspension of the exercise of the royal authority, together with my respect for the united desires of the two Houses, outweigh, in my mind, every other consideration, and will determine me to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to me in conformity to the resolutions now communicated to me. I am sensible of the difficulties that must attend

the execution of this trust, in the particular circumstances in which it is committed to my charge, of which as I am acquainted with no former example, my hope of a successful administration cannot be founded on any past experience. But, confiding that the limitations on the exercise of the royal authority deemed necessary for the present have been approved by the two Houses only as a temporary measure, founded on the loyal hope, in which I ardently participate, that his Majesty's disorder may not be of long duration—and trusting in the mean while that I shall receive a zealous and united support in the two Houses, and in the nation, proportioned to the difficulty attending the discharge of my trust in this interval—I will entertain the pleasing hope that my faithful endeavours to preserve the interests of the King, his crown, and people, may be successful.”

The proceedings of the Irish parliament formed a remarkable contrast to those of the British: the latter, we have seen, deemed it absolutely necessary to restrict the powers of his Royal Highness; the former, on the contrary, immediately on the event of his Majesty's mental indisposition being signified to them, invited his Royal Highness to assume the government, without any limitations or restrictions whatever. This measure, however, did not pass without considerable opposition; and the address to his Royal Highness, conveying the resolutions of the two Houses, was refused to be transmitted by the Lord Lieutenant (the Marquis of Buckingham); for which the Irish parliament passed votes of censure, and immediately deputed delegates to wait upon the Prince, with a formal invitation to accept the government.

The King's recovery, however, rendered all subsequent proceedings unnecessary; his Majesty was daily advancing towards a state of convalescence, and his perfect recovery was soon announced to the nation.

The next public event in the life of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales which we have to notice, is his marriage with his cousin, her Serene Highness the Princess Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, second daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, by his Duchess, Augusta, elder sister to his Majesty, and formerly Princess-Royal of England. This match does not appear to have been from the first very agreeable to his Royal Highness; and
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for some time he resisted all proposals that were made to him on the subject. But the Duke of York having no issue by his Duchess, and the length of time that had elapsed since his marriage rendering it improbable that he should have issue, the Prince of Wales was prevailed upon, by motives of state-policy, and by a desire to relieve himself from the embarrassment of a heavy load of debt under which he laboured, at length to consent to marry. This marriage took place in the evening of the 8th of April 1795, at the Chapel-Royal, St. James's, and was solemnized by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The event was marked by splendid illuminations; and in a few days both Houses of Parliament voted unanimous addresses of congratulation to their Majesties, and to the Prince and Princess of Wales: and their example was followed by the city of London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and by most of the other great bodies of the kingdom. This match, although thus auspiciously commenced, has failed in promoting the domestic happiness of his Royal Highness; and a separation very soon after took place between the illustrious parties, the causes of which it would be foreign to our purpose to investigate.

As one of the conditions of the marriage was, that his Royal Highness should be relieved from his pecuniary embarrassments, a message from the King to parliament was delivered on the 27th of April on this subject. The message stated the reliance of his Majesty upon the generosity of parliament, for enabling him to settle an establishment upon the Prince and his august bride, suited to their rank and dignity: that the benefit of any settlement now to be made could not be effectually secured to the Prince till he was relieved from his present incumbrance, a very large amount; but that his Majesty did not propose to his parliament any other means of providing for this object, than the application of a part of the income which might be settled on the Prince, and the appropriation for a certain time of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; declaring his readiness to concur in any plan of establishing a regular arrangement in the Prince's future expenditure, and of guarding against the possibility of his being again involved.

This message excited considerable sensation in the
House

House of Commons. After the reading of the message, Mr. Pitt moved for a committee to consider it that day se'nnight; upon which Colonel Stanley moved for reading the address to the House on the 24th of May 1787. This being read, Mr. Stanley observed that the House had already liberally paid the debts of the Prince; and he wished for a call of the House, that the attendance upon an affair of so much importance might be as full as possible. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt; who stated, that it was not his Majesty's intention to require a specific sum for the discharge of the principal debts, but to set apart a certain portion of that income which might be granted by the liberality of parliament to their gradual discharge. An establishment for the Prince of Wales, he said, had long been a matter of general expectation. In a provision to be made for supporting the dignity and splendour of the heir-apparent, it was certainly necessary to free his affairs of all clogs and embarrassments. Comparing the grants made to the grandfather of his Royal Highness, at a time when the scale of expence was infinitely less, the sum to be now proposed was comparatively small. He then enlarged upon the necessity of supporting the dignity and splendour of every branch of the royal family; and argued, that on a subject of such general obviousness there was no necessity for a call of the House.

The further consideration of the business was resumed on the 14th of May; when Mr. Hussey proposed that the reports of the commissioners on the state of the crown lands should be referred to the committee. He stated that, by 1 Anne, c. 7, this subject, and that of provision for the royal family, were closely connected. These lands, he said, had never yet produced £6000 a-year, though they might be improved to the annual value of £400,000. The motion was, however, objected to; and immediately Mr. Pitt rose, and after an animated exordium, in which the immediate interest of the country in supporting the dignity and splendour of the royal family was strongly insisted upon, he proceeded to state the necessity of an additional establishment on account of the marriage of the Prince, and a jointure for her Royal Highness. The present income of the Prince of Wales was £60,000, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall, which

which was about £15,000 per annum. Fifty years ago, his grandfather, then Prince of Wales, possessed a net income of £100,000 per annum, in addition to the duchy of Cornwall. Eighty years ago, his great-grandfather, then Prince of Wales, had £100,000 without that duchy. From a review of those establishments, Mr. Pitt said, the House would see that his present Royal Highness ought to have a considerable addition, even if he were not incumbered with debt. The difference of expence between the former period and the present time amounted, he thought, to at least one-fourth of the whole income; he therefore proposed that the income of his Royal Highness should be £125,000 per annum, exclusive of the duchy of Cornwall. This was no more, he thought, than the committee would be disposed to allow to the Prince on the event of a marriage which they approved and rejoiced in. Here, he said, he rested the present question. With regard to regulations to be made hereafter, he should state the preparations for the marriage at £27,000 or £28,000 for jewels and plate, and £26,000 for furnishing Carlton House: the jointure of the Princess to be £50,000 per annum. The debts of his Royal Highness, which were for future consideration, he stated at nearly £630,000, up to the last quarter: besides which, there were some debts in which he was security for the Dukes of York and Clarence; but, from their meritorious exertions, these debts were in such a train of liquidation, and a course of punctual discharge, that there was no fear of their becoming burdensome to the public. Mr. Pitt said, he wished to take the sense of the House on the best mode of freeing his Royal Highness from his incumbrances, and was convinced that, before the House should take any step for their liquidation, they ought to be clearly stated for accurate investigation; and for this purpose he wished to know, whether the House would prefer a secret committee, which was the most expeditious mode, or whether they would leave the whole to be settled under legislative provisions? Whatever mode was adopted, it was necessary that regard should be had to a provision for contracting fresh debts; and it was, he thought, necessary that parliament should mark the sense they entertained of the manner in which his Royal Highness had incurred his present embarrassments; and, in

in that view, the liquidation of the debt might properly be a tax on the affluence of the Prince. He should therefore, in a future stage, propose certain provisions for liquidating the debts out of the duchy of Cornwall and the other income of his Royal Highness, certain parts of which should be vested in commissioners to discharge the debt and interest at four per cent. except such as bore legal interest at five. For this purpose he proposed £25,000 a-year should be set apart, which would discharge the debt in about twenty-seven years. In the case of the demise of the Prince of Wales within that time, £25,000 would be charged annually on that succession; but in the event of the demise of the crown and of his Royal Highness within that time, the burden must fall on the consolidated fund. There were, he said, two heads to be attended to in the business under consideration—the punctual payment of the debt already contracted, and that no farther debts should be incurred. For this purpose no arrear should, on any pretence, go beyond the quarter; that debts thus claimed, and no other, should be punctually paid. He further proposed to invest Carlton House in the crown for ever; that the furniture should be considered as an heir-loom; and that all suits for the recovery of debts from his Royal Highness should lie against his officers. A long debate followed, in which the propositions of the minister were opposed by the opposition on the grounds that the money granted to the Prince should be taken out of the civil list, and not be added to the heavy burdens of the country. But the measures which Mr. Pitt had stated to be in contemplation of government to adopt were, as usual, carried; and a bill was brought in by Sir W. Pulteney, for preventing any future Prince of Wales from incurring debts, and passed. The jointure of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales was fixed at £50,000 per annum. And on the 26th of June 1795, the bill, embracing all these objects, received the royal assent by commission.

We now come to the period of the birth of the Princess Charlotte. This happened on the 7th of January 1796, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning; and the royal infant was christened on the 16th of February. Addresses of congratulation in the usual form were

were voted by both Houses of Parliament, and presented to their Majesties, and to the Prince and Princess of Wales, who received the two Houses in a private manner. The city of London, at the same time, voted an address; but, it being intimated to the Lord Mayor by the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was at the head of the Prince's household, "that the Prince of Wales, being under the necessity of reducing his establishment, was precluded from receiving the addresses suitable to his situation," and desiring that copies of the addresses might be sent to him, it was moved by Mr. Deputy Birch, "That his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having stated that the inadequacy of his establishment precluded him from receiving the compliments of congratulation, voted to be presented to their Royal Highnesses, in a way suitable to his situation, this Court are of opinion, that they cannot, consistently with their own dignity, suffer the said compliments to be presented in any other way than the customary form." After some debate, the motion was agreed to; and the Remembrancer was ordered to convey a copy thereof to his Royal Highness. The Lord Mayor had subsequently a private interview with his Royal Highness on this subject, the particulars of which he communicated to the next Court of Common Council: it was substantially as follows: "In consequence of a letter from Lord Cholmondeley, dated January the 31st, 1796, stating that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales wished to speak to me at Carlton House, and to give me a private audience on Tuesday (but which appointment was afterwards, by a second letter, fixed for Monday last at one o'clock), I had the honour of waiting on his Royal Highness, who addressed me, by saying, that he had seen with concern in the public papers a statement of what had passed in the Court of Common Council on Thursday last, respecting a letter written by Lord Cholmondeley at the command of his Royal Highness, and sent to the City Remembrancer, conveying his sentiments on the intended address of congratulation to their Royal Highnesses, which sentiments he conceived had been mistaken or misunderstood, or at least a very different construction had been given to them than he meant, or was intended to be conveyed by that letter. His Royal

Highness said, that he thought it incumbent on him to preserve a consistent character; that as his establishment, for certain reasons, had been reduced, and that the necessary state-appendages attached to the character and rank of the Prince of Wales did not, in consequence, exist; his Royal Highness conceived he could not receive an address in state, and particularly from the corporation of the city of London, for which he entertained the highest veneration and respect. His Royal Highness, therefore, thought it would appear disrespectful to the first body corporate in the kingdom to receive the members of it inconsistently with their character and his own dignity."

It was at this period that that unhappy separation took place between his Royal Highness and his august consort, which has ever since continued, and which has caused more libels and misunderstandings than any other event whatever.

Soon after the peace of Amiens, and during the administration of Mr. Addington, the affairs of his Royal Highness again came under the notice of parliament. The business was introduced into the House of Commons by a motion from Mr. Manners Sutton (then Solicitor-General to his Royal Highness) for a committee to inquire into the Prince's claim to the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority. The business, however, was soon taken out of his hands; and the following message from his Majesty, relative to a new arrangement, was delivered to the House of Commons by Mr. Addington:—

"His Majesty having taken into consideration the period which has elapsed since the adoption of the arrangements which the wisdom of parliament thought necessary for removing the incumbrances upon the affairs of the Prince of Wales, and having adverted to the progress of carrying them into effect, recommends the situation of the Prince to the attention of the House of Commons; and, notwithstanding the reluctance and regret which his Majesty must always feel in suggesting any additional burdens upon his people, he cannot but resort with confidence to the experienced liberality of his faithful Commons, trusting that they will adopt such measures as are best calculated to promote the comfort, and support the dignity, of so distinguished a branch of his royal house."

This message was taken into consideration on the 23d of February 1803; and Mr. Addington proposed, that, from the 5th of January 1803, the establishment of his
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Royal Highness should stand upon the same footing that it stood in 1795, or, in other words, that it should be £125,000 a-year, exclusive of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. He did not wish for any change in the arrangements for the liquidation of the debts which were then formed, nor to have any of the checks on any impropriation of the sums received removed; he only wished the Prince might be enabled to resume the splendour suitable to his rank in the state. "While I speak," said Mr. Adlington, "of supporting the splendour of his Royal Highness, I wish the idea I attach to this to be understood in a manner considerably different from those that are vulgarly entertained. The splendour of which I speak is not so much the exhibition of external shew, as the means of commanding influence and insuring respect. I wish him to have the means of acting as a munificent patron of improvements, a protector of literary merit, an encourager of those plans of national amelioration, in which the present above all former ages is productive. I wish him to be in a situation to receive those attentions which all are eager to pay him, in a style agreeable to the loftiness of his sentiments and the refinement of his feelings. I am anxious to see him forming, with the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, that connexion which ought to exist between the heir-apparent and the most distinguished of those who will hereafter form the most illustrious branch of his subjects."

Mr. Manners Sutton expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the proposition of the minister; and said, that though at that time he had not the honour to be in his Royal Highness's service, he was authorized by the Prince to declare his earnest desire to testify in the strongest terms the warmth of his gratitude to the Sovereign, for the interest which his Majesty had at all times taken in his welfare—an interest most powerfully marked in the measure which was now under the consideration of the House. As to the motion, he had been instructed by his Royal Highness to say, that he entertained a sanguine hope, not unmixed however with a considerable portion of anxiety, that it would meet with the approbation of the House. He himself had, on more than one occasion, been empowered to declare to the House the respect, the duty, and the gratitude, of his Royal

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Highness, for the kindness of his royal parent; and his readiness to renounce every claim, however well-founded he might reckon it, rather than engage in any contest which might be construed into a breach of filial duty and affection. The House would therefore be able to form some idea how grateful their approbation of the motion would be to his feelings, as it would enable him to forward the course of fair justice and legal right, of which not the smallest reasonable doubt could be entertained. Though he had no doubt of the legal claims of the Prince of Wales to the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall, still he thought the agitation of the question might have led to the most unpleasant consequences, and involved in it effects earnestly to be deprecated. These consequences the message, and the motion founded on it, happily counteracted. The harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the Sovereign and his eldest son had been preserved uninterrupted; and he sincerely prayed that the same harmony might prevail to the latest period of life. As to the grounds on which the proposition now before the committee was brought forward, he thought it but fair, in justice to his right honourable friend (Mr. Addington), to declare that they were wholly of a public nature. Betwixt his Royal Highness and the right honourable gentleman there was no compromise of any description. When this proposition, as unexpected as it was unsolicited, was communicated to his Royal Highness, no terms were proposed to prepare the way for its reception; and when he stated that the adoption of it by the House would not be succeeded by any further prosecution of his Royal Highness's claims, he mentioned it as a spontaneous act on the part of his Royal Highness. Mr. Sutton concluded with a few pointed observations on the decided opinion he had formed of the justice of the Prince's claims, the almost unavoidable circumstances which produced his embarrassments, and the strong claims which he had now to be delivered from that obscurity he had retired to, and to which he for so many years had so honourably conformed.

Before we leave this subject, we may be allowed to observe, that the same sentiments were reiterated by Lord Moira (the confidential friend of his Royal Highness) in the Upper House. He said, that, as he had the
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honour of being one of his Royal Highness's council for the duchy of Cornwall, he had authority to declare, that his Royal Highness felt the most dutiful and affectionate regard, first to his Majesty, for his most gracious interposition, and to parliament for its liberality on the occasion, as manifested by the proceeding adopted in consequence of that message. However, he thought it necessary to state, on the part of his Royal Highness, that there still remained some claims upon him, which in honour and justice he felt it incumbent upon him to discharge. For this purpose he should think it necessary to create a pretty large sinking-fund out of the aggregate of his income, as it was the wish of his Royal Highness that those claims should be cleared off previously to his assuming that degree of state and dignity with which the public at large and the parliament had expressed their wishes to see the heir-apparent of the crown invested. These claims were not of a secret nature; the public were aware of them: it was therefore unnecessary to go into a discussion of them at present; but his Royal Highness thought it proper to have thus much stated, in order to avoid any imputation of unfairness on his part, of having in the least contributed to baulk the public expectation in seeing him immediately resume his full state and dignity. With respect to his Royal Highness's claim to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall from 1762 to 1783, he had, from the best legal advice, been satisfied with the validity of those claims, and accordingly instituted a suit for their recovery; but in consideration of his Majesty's royal interposition, and the liberal conduct of parliament with respect to the present bill, added to other considerations, which to the infinite honour of his Royal Highness had made a due impression upon his mind, he had given directions to his law-officers to drop the suit.

The next occasion on which we have to notice his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is his offers and demand for military service, at the time when England was so seriously threatened with invasion by Buonaparte. It must be well recollected by our readers, how strong the military enthusiasm prevailed among all ranks, and with what eagerness every class of people pressed forward to offer their services. The Prince was not backward

ward on this occasion; but justly thinking, from his elevated rank in the state, he was entitled to a higher command than that of a regiment, he applied to his Majesty, through the minister, for a more elevated post. Having repeated his application more than once without success, he begged Mr. Addington to lay his note of the 26th of July 1803 before the King; which was accordingly done; and his Royal Highness received from the minister the following reply:—

“SIR—In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before his Majesty the letter dated the 26th of July with which your Royal Highness honoured me; and I have it in command from his Majesty to acquaint your Royal Highness, ‘that the King had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him, with the addition, that the King’s opinion being fixed, he desired no further mention should be made to him on the subject.’—”

On receiving this communication, his Royal Highness addressed the following letter to the King:—

“SIR—A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character. The answers which I have received from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope but in appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the applications of a dutiful son.

“I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty’s person, crown, and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty’s subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot
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of France. At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your Majesty's minister. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family; and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your Majesty's crown and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your Majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

“ Allow me to say, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of the victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat? The highest places in your Majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family: to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be the junior major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should indeed deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions which my birth and the circumstances of these times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded; I cannot sink in the public opinion, without the participation of your Majesty in my degradation. Therefore every motive of private feeling and of public duty induce me to implore your Majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation, which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

“ Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and to the affection of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination; but Europe, the world, and posterity, must judge between us.

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I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

“ No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it is the will of your Majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice I have suffered, till I cease to exist.

“ I have the honour to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion, your Majesty’s most dutiful and affectionate Son and Subject,

(Signed)

“ G. P.

“ Brighthelmstone, Aug. 6th, 1803.”

Letter from the King.

“ MY DEAR SON—Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject.

“ Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people.

“ I ever remain, my dear Son, your most affectionate Father,

(Signed)

“ GEORGE R.

“ Windsor, August 7th, 1803.”

The Prince of Wales replied to this communication in the following words:—

“ Brighthelmstone, August 23d, 1803.

“ SIR—I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your Majesty did me the honour to write, from the wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those letters were

were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them. They have since been found. Allow me then, Sir, to recal to your recollection the expressions you were then graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first entering into the army. They were, Sir, that your Majesty did not then see the opportunity for it, but if any thing was to arise at home, "I ought to be first and foremost." There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your Majesty—"I ought to be first and foremost." It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe, which the English nation, expects me to fill—and which the former assurances of your Majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration, I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

"I understand from your Majesty, that it is your intention, Sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have shewn during the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my family are either Generals or Lieutenant-Generals; and I, who am Prince of Wales, am to remain Colonel of Dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault which is only my misfortune.

"Who could imagine that I, who am the oldest colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a general officer in the army of the king my father, and that it had been refused me?

"I am sorry, much more than sorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus, a second time, on the attention of your Majesty; but I have, Sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the throne, and dearer, far dearer to me than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and pledge myself never to desist, till I receive that satisfaction, which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

"In these unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines

the conduct of princes with a jealous, a scrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is therefore more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

“ In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the people of England: I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your Majesty to assign those reasons which have induced you to refuse a request which appears to me, and to the world, so reasonable and so rational.

“ I must again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a correspondence which, I fear, is not so grateful to your Majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the justice of my cause, of the purity of my motives. Reason and honour forbid me to yield: where no reason is alleged, I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given.

“ In this candid exposition of the feelings which have agitated and depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expressions have escaped me which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your Majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstances of the times, the danger of invasion, the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to my own honour and to my own character, and to state to your Majesty with plainness, truth, and candour, but with all the submission of a subject, and the duty of an affectionate Son, the injuries under which I labour, and which it is in the power of your Majesty alone at one moment to redress.

“ It is with sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect that I have the honour to subscribe myself, your most dutiful, and most affectionate Son and Subject,

(Signed)

“ G. P.”

A subsequent correspondence on this subject took place between his Royal Highness and the Duke of York; but it did not lead to any result satisfactory to the object which the Prince had in view.

Neither were his Royal Highness's feelings more consulted in the education of his daughter, the Princess Charlotte, which became the subject of much public discussion. In the reign of George the First a question was

was submitted to the judges, Whether the reigning sovereign had the right of directing the education, and disposing in marriage, of his grand-children? Ten of the judges at that period were of opinion that the right was vested in the King; but two of them dissented, and gave the reasons why they thought that the King had the right to dispose in marriage, but not to the care and education of his grand-children, which belonged to the Prince their father. However, the opinion of the majority of the judges prevailed; and from the time of George the First it has been held a part of the royal prerogative, and accordingly was so acted upon, when the education of her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales came under deliberation. The Prince of Wales remonstrated on the subject; but all his objections were overruled by prerogative.

A public writer on this subject, in favour of his Royal Highness, says, " We should be glad to know by what legal process the Prince's daughter is to be taken from him. We do not mean to say, that the nation has not such a superior interest in the royal family, particularly those who are immediately allied to the succession, that the care and education of them, as well as their marriages, may call for specific regulations. But positive law has done nothing to transfer the care and education of the children of the Prince of Wales to his father. No act of parliament has done it; and surely we are not to be amused with second-hand civil law from Bracton and Fleta. It is not easy to see good reasons for such a transference, unless it be thought important to transfer filial duty and affection. Nothing but strong particular reasons could justify the taking of the Prince's children from his care; for the very transference must be founded upon the supposition of error or misconduct in him, and with prejudices so excited, perhaps artfully encouraged, it might not be easy afterwards to reconcile the filial reverence, and obedience, and duty of a child. A Prince of Wales must always be most permanently interested in the good education and the proper tuition of his child; and it never can be his part to imbue the mind of infancy with prejudices against his own character. Even if the most strict right did most unquestionably exist, as we think it certainly does not, we should consider it one of

those rights which ought to lie dormant till they are called forth as remedial of some great evil. But we should be glad to know why the Prince of Wales is to be so stultified and so stigmatized, as to be held forth to this country, and to Europe, as unworthy to have the direction of his own daughter's education. The Prince of Wales seems absolutely to be the object of every species of insult. At one time he is told, that, during a temporary suspension of the royal authority, any man in the kingdom had just as good a right as he to the regency; another time, he is refused a command in the army above that of a Colonel of Dragoons, though the country is supposed to be on the point of invasion; and, last of all, his own daughter is to be taken out of his hands, as if he had neither capacity, virtue, nor natural affection, to enable or prompt him to perform the duty of an intelligent father. If such things do not tend to degrade a character, and to bring into question all that is most valuable to the most ordinary individual, far more to the Prince of Wales, we do not know what more successful arts of detraction can be practised. We cannot conceive, therefore, that those who advise the assertion of such a right as has been claimed can be actuated by proper motives. There can be no pretence that such a right is now necessary for the good education of the Princess Charlotte, and for the advantage of the public. On the contrary, there are the most manifest and undeniable reasons against the exercise of such a right, did it exist. If his Majesty claims the right, he must be surrounded by very pernicious counsellors; and against those counsellors the public indignation should be directed. Those who wish well to the hereditary succession of this monarchy ought seriously to consider, whether the principle has not of late been too much sacrificed. Those who would overthrow the monarchy altogether could not forward their designs more effectually, than by disgracing, mortifying, and calumniating, those who in the natural order of events will be called to reign."

The next public event which we have to notice in the life of his Royal Highness, and with which we deem it proper to close his Memoirs, is his appointment to the regency, on the lamented mental indisposition of the King, towards the latter end of the year 1810. The subsequent

sequent transactions of his life are so blended with the history of this country, and of Europe generally, that it would occupy too much of our space to attempt giving them here. The indisposition of his Majesty, as on the former occasion, had occurred during the recess of parliament, which had been prorogued to the 1st of November: on which day both Houses assembled; but such was the state of the King's health, that Mr. Perceval (following the former precedent of the King's illness) moved for a fortnight's adjournment, which was immediately acceded to. In the mean time the daily bulletins relative to the King's health filled the public mind with considerable anxiety. The fortnight's adjournment having expired, the House of Commons again met; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed another adjournment, which, notwithstanding considerable opposition from the anti-ministerial party, who proposed an adjournment from day to day in the then distracted state of public affairs, was carried. The House having again met, the report of the King's physicians was submitted to both Houses on the 29th of November; after which Mr. Perceval proposed a third adjournment, as he still entertained hopes of his Majesty's recovery; but he at the same time declared, that if at the expiration of this adjournment his Majesty should not be recovered, he would agree to the adoption of those parliamentary measures which might be found necessary for supplying the royal authority. On the 13th of December, committees of both Houses were appointed to examine the King's physicians; and, on the 20th of the same month, the House of Commons having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole House, Mr. Perceval brought forward his plan of a regency, which was similar to that of Mr. Pitt on a former occasion: it was proposed to appoint the regency by bill, and not by a direct address to the Prince of Wales. Both sides of the House were agreed as to the fitness and expediency of appointing his Royal Highness to this high and difficult station, but much difference of opinion prevailed as to the mode of appointing him, by bill or by address; but the former mode, after much debate, was finally carried.

On the last day of December, Mr. Perceval proposed certain restrictions upon the power of the Regent; and
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four resolutions were carried to this effect, but with small majorities. The substance of the first resolution was the expediency of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales being appointed Regent; the second was to restrain him from the creation of a peerage in any case, except as a reward for some important service done to the country either by sea or land; the third was to prevent him from granting any office in reversion, or any office, salary, or premium whatever, except such offices as are by law required to be conferred for life, or during good conduct and behaviour; the fourth resolution was to vest in trustees whatever part of his Majesty's property was not already vested. On the 1st of January 1811, the minister brought forward a fifth resolution regarding the royal household; but in this he found himself in a minority. The resolution, as amended by the opposition was, that the care of his Majesty's person during his indisposition should be committed to the Queen, with the sole direction of such a portion of his Majesty's household as might be thought suitable to a proper attendance and regard to his royal person. Her Majesty was to be allowed a council to assist her in the discharge of the important trusts which the act had committed to her care and superintendence. They were empowered to examine the physicians, and others in waiting upon his Majesty, upon oath; they were to meet at stated times to declare the state of the King's health, and transmit a report to the president of the privy council, who is to publish a copy in the London Gazette. Her Majesty and council are eventually to make known his Majesty's restoration to health, by an instrument sent to the privy council; and when such instrument has been received and entered by the privy council, his Majesty may require the privy council to assemble by virtue of a sign-manual. If his Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy-council, shall signify his royal pleasure to resume the exercise of the executive power, and order a proclamation to that effect, then the powers of the act shall be considered as null and void. On the event of the demise of the Regent, or that of her Majesty, or the resumption of royal authority by the King, parliament shall meet, if at that time it be either adjourned or prorogued; or if it be dissolved, the members of the former parliament shall meet, and the members

bers of the two Houses thus assembling shall be regarded as the two Houses of Parliament, but their sitting is not to continue beyond the period of six months; the election of members of parliament to be void, if appointed to office either by the Regent or her Majesty. These were the provisions of the Regency bill, and the only objectionable part of them, which appears to have given offence to the Prince, was the restrictions; his sentiments with regard to them having remained unaltered since the former occasion, in which they were deemed necessary by Mr. Pitt. In the present instance, however, they were only enacted for one year, at the end of which time, if his Majesty's recovery did not take place, they were to cease, and the Prince was to exercise the full sovereign authority.

After the Regency bill had passed the great seal, his Royal Highness was sworn into office on the 6th of February 1811; and as the hopes of the King's recovery were rather sanguine, his Royal Highness resolved to continue the administration which he found existing at his accession to the regency. He accordingly communicated his determination to Mr. Perceval; and, on the 12th of February, the session of parliament was opened by commission. The period when the restrictions were to cease was looked to with considerable anxiety by all parties, as no doubt was entertained but an entire change in the administration would take place; but to the great surprise of the country, his Royal Highness, in a letter to the Duke of York, announced his determination of not making any change, as the policy which the ministry had pursued had his most hearty and cordial approbation. This was a terrible stroke to the opposition, who had flattered themselves, and not without reason, of being put into possession of the most considerable offices in the government. We forbear to make any remarks on this extraordinary circumstance; it being sufficient to observe, that the announcement of the Prince's intention was the signal for every species of attack on one side, and the full measure of applause on the other. For the propriety and rectitude of his conduct, we leave our readers to form their own judgment, and shall here close his Royal Highness's Memoirs, as the subsequent events of his life may be more properly termed the history of his country.

Memoirs
OF
FRANCIS JOSEPH CHARLES
EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

FRANCIS the Second, Emperor of Austria, was born on the 3d of February 1768, and ascended the Imperial throne upon the death of his father, who died suddenly of a pleuritic fever, on the 1st of March 1792; and, on the 14th of July following, he was elected Emperor of Germany, the sovereignty of which, however, he did not long retain, the ancient fabric of the German constitution being subverted by the victorious career of the French.

Previous to the accession of Francis, the court of Vienna had, although not directly, yet virtually, embarked in a war against France, to which it was committed by the treaty of Pilnitz; and no sooner had the young monarch ascended the throne, than he informed the court of Berlin, that he was fully resolved to adhere most scrupulously to the terms of this treaty. Before he took up arms, however, he endeavoured to obtain by negotiation the objects he had in view; and M. de Noailles was instructed to explain, in his dispatches to the French minister, the propositions of the Imperial court. These were, that satisfaction should be given to the German princes, proprietors of Alsace; that Avignon, which had been appropriated by France, should be restored to the Pope; and that the internal government of France should be invested with sufficient efficiency, that the other powers might have no apprehensions of being troubled by France. These terms not being complied with on the part of the National Assembly, they immediately declared war against Francis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 24th of April 1792. In the beginning of July following, the Emperor Francis published a
declaration

declaration, explaining the cause of the war, and retorting on the French nation some of the heavy charges contained in its declaration. On the 26th of the same month, the Prussian monarch also issued a concise exposition of the reasons which determined him to take up arms against France. He pleaded his alliance with the Emperor; and that, as sovereign of a German state, he was bound to interfere, to prevent the violation of the rights of the German princes of Alsace and Lorraine, and the invasion of the territories of others: and he concluded, by honestly avowing, that it was his intention to repress the too great liberty of France, which might afford a dangerous example to neighbouring countries.

The French immediately began the war by attacking, in three different columns, the Austrian Netherlands. Their first movement, however, was stained with defeat, and with the unpropitious murder of Theobald Dillon, their leader, who fell a prey to the suspicious and savage ferocity of some of his soldiers, who fled from the enemy, but attacked their general.

The command of the combined armies of Austria and Prussia was given to the Duke of Brunswick, who issued a most mischievous proclamation to the French nation, which led to very disastrous results. It would be needless to describe the military events that ensued, as they have been already so fully noticed in our Memoirs of Louis XVIII.; it is sufficient to remark, that the hasty advance of the Duke of Brunswick was soon checked, and the combined army obliged hastily to evacuate the French territory. But the misfortunes of the allied army did not stop here; the French General Dumourier had meditated an attack upon the possessions of the House of Austria in the Netherlands, which were already prepared to shake off the yoke of the Emperor Francis. In the early part of November, the French General having entered the Netherlands, with an army of 40,000 men, afterwards much increased, and a most formidable train of artillery, repeated engagements with the Austrian army, commanded by the Duke of Saxe-Teschén, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, and by General Beaulieu, which, however, exceeded not 20,000, occupied the first five days. At length, on the 6th of November, a great battle was fought at Jemappe, which

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decided the fate of the Netherlands. The contest was very general; all the points of the enemy's flanks and lines were attacked at once; all the bodies of the French were in action, and almost every individual fought personally. The cannonade began at seven in the morning. Dumourier ordered the village of Carignoc to be attacked, because he could not attempt the heights of Jemappe till he had taken that village; at noon the French infantry formed in columns, and rapidly advanced to decide the affair by the bayonet. After an obstinate defence, the Austrians at two o'clock retired in the utmost disorder.

Dumourier immediately advanced, and took possession of the neighbouring town of Mons, where the French were received as brethren. The tidings arriving at Brussels, the court was struck with an indescribable panic, and instantly fled to Ruremond, whence it was again to be driven by the arms of Miranda. Tournay surrendered to a detachment on the 8th of November. Dumourier, having refreshed his troops at Mons, advanced to Brussels, where, after an indecisive engagement between his van and the Austrian rear, he was received with acclamations on the 14th of that month. Ghent, Charleroi, Antwerp, Malines (or Mechlin), Louvain, Ostend, Namur, and, in short, all the Austrian Netherlands, except Luxemburg, successively followed the example of the capital; and thus this ancient and flourishing patrimony of the Imperial house of Austria, which had been transferred to this family by the Emperor Charles the Fifth in the year 1477, was entirely and irrecoverably lost to the Emperor Francis. Soon after this event, General Miranda laid siege to Maestricht, where he was attacked by Prince Frederick of Brunswick, and defeated with considerable loss. The Austrians, after this, divided themselves into three columns; two of which marched towards Maestricht, and the siege of that place was immediately raised; the third pursued the advanced guard of the French: and the absence of several commanding officers was supposed to have greatly facilitated the success of the allies in these rencounters.

On the 14th of March, the Imperialists advanced from Tongres towards Tirlemont, by St. Tron; and were attacked by General Dumourier successively on the 15th
and

and following days. The first attempts were attended with success; the Austrian advanced posts were obliged to retire to St. Tron, through Tirlémont, which they had already passed. On the 18th a general engagement took place at Neerwinden; the French army being covered on the left by Dormael, and on the right by Landen. The action continued with great obstinacy on both sides; from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon; when the French were obliged to fall back, and the Austrian cavalry coming up put them entirely to flight. The loss in each army was great. The French displayed considerable courage and address; but were overpowered by the superior numbers, and, perhaps, by the more regular discipline of their enemies.

The arms of the Emperor Francis were not more fortunate in Italy than in the Netherlands. In the year 1796, the campaign opened in the south on the 9th of April, when the rapid and signal victories of the republican troops, under the command of the then obscure and little known Napoleon Buonaparte, ended, in a little more than a month, the war with Sardinia. The battles of Mellesimo, Dego, Mondovi, Monte Lerno, and Monte Notte, compelled his Sardinian Majesty to accept such terms as the conquerors thought proper to offer; and a treaty of peace, by which he ceded Savoy and Nice to France, was signed on the 17th of May.

Buonaparte pursued his success; and, again defeating Beaulieu, the Austrian general, at the battle of the bridge of Lodi, forced the shattered remains of the Austrian army to retire towards Mantua, pursued by one part of the republican forces; while the remainder entered Milan on the 18th of May without further resistance, and the French armies gained possession of the whole of Lombardy.

The armistice which had been concluded on the Rhine was afterwards prolonged, but at length declared to be at an end on the 31st of May; when the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under General Jourdan, gaining considerable advantages over the Austrians, advanced into the heart of the empire; while another army, under General Moreau, passed the Rhine at Strasburg, took the fort of Kehl (a post of great importance on the opposite bank), and, penetrating through Bavaria, nearly

to Ratisbon, endeavoured to form a junction with the army of Jourdan. This attempt, however, did not succeed; both armies experienced a reverse of fortune, and were obliged to retreat till they re-crossed the Rhine. The situation of General Moreau was highly critical; and his retreat is acknowledged, on all sides, to have been conducted with great military skill. The Archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrian army, followed Moreau in his retreat, and laid siege to the fort of Kehl, which he re-took after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the French.

To restore the affairs of Italy, the Emperor Francis assembled a new army, composed of the flower of the German troops serving on the Rhine; and gave the command of it to General Wurmser, one of the oldest and ablest of his generals. This force, on its first arrival, was successful; the French were repulsed, defeated, and compelled to raise the siege of Mantua. Buonaparte, however, soon returned to the charge; and, after a series of hotly-contested actions, all of which we have already described, the army of Wurmser was so reduced and harassed, that he was obliged to shut himself up in Mantua, where he was closely besieged by the victors, who at the same time made incursions into the Tyrol, and, by the battle of Roveredo, and the possession of Trent, became masters of the passes that led to Vienna. The Austrians, at the same time, made a great effort, under General Alvinzy, to rescue the gallant Wurmser and his besieged army; but the battle of Arcole completely defeated their design, and Mantua was soon after obliged to surrender.

After the taking of Mantua, the victorious Napoleon penetrated into the Tyrol, and directed his course towards the Imperial capital. The Archduke Charles was opposed to him, but was unable to check his progress. The republican armies had at length advanced so near to Vienna, that the utmost alarm and confusion prevailed in that city. The bank suspended its payments; and the Emperor was preparing to forsake his capital, and remove to Olmutz. In this critical situation of his affairs, Francis opened a negotiation with Buonaparte; a short armistice was agreed to; and the preliminaries of peace between the Emperor and King of Hungary, and the Republic

Republic of France, were signed at Leoben in the month of April 1797. This was shortly followed by a definitive treaty by which the Emperor Francis was compelled to cede to France the whole of the Netherlands and all his territories in Italy; in return for which he received the cities of Venice, Istria, and Dalmatia, and the Venetian islands in the Adriatic.

A peace, however, which was thus dictated at the point of the bayonet, could not be expected to be of long duration; and a fair opportunity was only wanted for the Emperor Francis to break it. This was soon afforded him. The unprincipled attack of the French, under Buonaparte, upon Egypt, had so incensed the Turks, that they immediately declared war against France: and the Emperor of Russia, having accepted a subsidy from England, entered into a treaty of alliance with the Ottoman Porte and Great Britain, and gave orders for a large body of troops to be raised to act against the French republic. Austria, likewise, appeared disposed to avail itself of the assistance of this new ally; and she took her measures accordingly. The Directory having demanded of the Emperor Francis an explanation of his motives on this subject, and received no answer which they deemed satisfactory, sent orders to General Jourdan to pass the Rhine, with the avowed intention of forcing the diet of Ratisbon to declare against the march of the Russian troops. He executed these orders on the 1st of March 1799; and nearly about the same time, General Bernadotte, at the head of an army of observation, passed the Rhine at Weldeck, invested Philipsburg, and summoned that fortress to surrender; while General Ney sent a similar summons to Mannheim, which immediately opened its gates to him. Yet, notwithstanding these proceedings, the French ambassador declared to the congress of Rastadt, which, though it had sat so long, had as yet come to no conclusion, that these hostile movements were undertaken solely to prevent the interference of the court of Petersburg, and accelerate a general peace. The congress soon after was broken up, and two of the three French plenipotentiaries basely and inhumanly murdered, as they were leaving the town, by some Austrian hussars, or persons who had assumed that disguise.

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The Emperor Francis being now certain of the aid of Russia, the Austrian army, under the command of the Archduke Charles, passed the Lech on the 4th of March; and the war, which had so long desolated Europe, was renewed. Fortune at first appeared to declare in favour of the French. A body of troops of that nation, advancing through Schaffhausen towards Swabia, were opposed by a detachment of Austrians, whom they defeated, taking the general and 3000 men prisoners. They were also successful for a short time in Italy. Their troops occupied the whole of Tuscany; and the king of Sardinia was reduced, in the month of January, to the cruel necessity of formally renouncing the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retiring with his family and adherents to the island whence he derived his title. The king of Naples likewise, having taken up arms and invaded the Roman republic, after being at first so successful as to obtain possession of Rome, was totally defeated, and obliged to take refuge in the island of Sicily.

But, soon after the commencement of hostilities with Austria, the French arms experienced a fatal reverse. On the 25th of March, General Jourdan attacked the Austrians near Stockach, but was defeated, and obliged to retire in disorder; and on the 26th of the same month, General Kray beat the French on the Adige, near Verona, and again defeated them on the 30th. On the 14th of April, Marshal Suwarrow arrived with the first column of the Russian troops, and the successes of the allies became rapid and uninterrupted. On the 24th of the same month the Austrians and Russians passed the Oglio, and drove the French before them. They then crossed the Adda; and Suwarrow, on the 27th, defeated Moreau at Cassano; and so decisive was his victory, that General Serrurier and 3000 men were taken prisoners, and Milan opened its gates to the conquerors on the 30th. Peschiera was taken on the 6th of May; and on the 10th Pizzighetone surrendered to General Kray. On the 12th the Austrians entered Bologna, and took 1200 prisoners; and on the 23d they took possession of Ferrara. In Piedmont, the French, notwithstanding the efforts of Moreau, Macdonald, and Joubert, beheld themselves successively deprived of all their strong holds. The Austrians entered Turin on the 27th of May, and the citadel surrendered

surrendered on the 20th of June. Mantua, after a short siege for so strong a place, surrendered on the 30th of July; the city of Alessandria on the same day: and such was the success of the campaign, that the French were obliged to abandon the whole of Italy—Genoa, and a small portion of the adjoining territory, only excepted. On the 25th of August a desperate battle was fought between the French and the Austrians and Russians at Novi, in the territory of Genoa, in which the French are supposed to have lost not less than 10,000 men: but this victory was purchased with a loss nearly as great on the part of the allies.

But a fatal reverse was awaiting the Austrians, which was reserved for the following campaign. Buonaparte, having effected his escape from Egypt, and usurped the sovereign authority in France, now prepared a grand blow against the Emperor Francis in Italy. The last campaign had closed with the taking of Coni, and the retreat of the French army into the territory of Genoa, which was now the only important place in Italy that remained in its possession. The Austrians took the field on the 6th of April 1800; and Massena, who commanded the French army, was attacked by General Melas, and forced to retire to Savona and Vado, whence he was compelled to fall back to Genoa with the remainder of his army, which consisted of 18,000 men. In Genoa he defended himself during two months with the most determined obstinacy, and did not surrender till every hope of succour had vanished, till every kind of provision had been exhausted, till 15,000 inhabitants of the city had perished by famine, and his army was reduced to only 8000 men. Genoa was given up to the Austrians on the 5th of June.

In the mean time Napoleon, having assembled an army at Dijon, put himself at the head of it on the 6th of May, passed the mountains of St. Gothard and St. Bernard, and, surmounting apparently insuperable obstacles, entered Italy, where he immediately made himself master of Milan, Pavia, Piacenza, Cremona, and the whole course of the Po. The Austrian General Melas appears to have been so confident that it was impossible for an army to enter Italy by the route which the French had taken, that he took no measures to oppose the passage of
Buonaparte

Buonaparte until it was too late. At length he dispatched General Otto with thirty battalions, to stop the progress of the French army, which was marching towards Piedmont; but that general was defeated at Casteggio, with the loss of 3000 men killed, and 6000 taken prisoners.

This victory was the prelude to the great and decisive battle of Marengo, fought five days afterwards, and which fixed the fate of Italy. Melas, having assembled the whole of his forces, marched to meet his enemy, and took post in the village of Marengo. In the battle which ensued, victory appeared at first to have declared decidedly in favour of the Austrians. The centre of the French was compelled to retreat with great slaughter; but the body of reserve, under General Dessaix, impetuously charging the Austrians, who were thrown into some confusion by the eagerness of pursuit, and their confidence that the battle was gained, turned the fortune of the day, and, though Dessaix himself fell in the attack, gave the French a complete victory. The Austrians lost, by the French accounts, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 15,000 men; and the loss of the French could not be much less. Yet so important was this battle in its consequences, that the next day, General Melas, finding his situation no longer tenable, proposed an armistice, which was accepted by Buonaparte, and by which Genoa was immediately surrendered to the French, together with all the strong places of Lombardy and Piedmont.

In Germany, the French had opened the campaign with similar success. They crossed the Rhine in three divisions, at Kehl, Brisac, and Basle, and forced the Austrian army to fall back on the line of Stockach, where a battle took place on the 4th of May, in which the French were victorious, and which in a great degree decided the fate of the campaign, as the Austrians were not able afterwards to make any effectual resistance, but continued to retreat and suffer successive defeats.

When the armistice was concluded in Italy, the Austrian general of the army in Germany endeavoured to avail himself of it, to put an end to the progress of the troops under Moreau; but the French general would
not

not listen to such a proposition : on the contrary, being in possession of Munich, and the greater part of Bavaria, he detached Lecourbe towards the Tyrol, to seize upon the Voralberg and the Grisons, and form a junction with the army of Italy. The offer of a suspension of arms, however, having been repeated, and Count St. Julien having arrived at Paris with proposals for peace, an armistice was at length concluded for the armies in Germany, leaving each in possession of the posts it occupied at the time it was signed.

In the negotiations now carried on at Paris, the Emperor Francis intimated that he was bound in honour only to treat for peace in concert with Great Britain. The First Consul signified his consent that the negotiations should include a peace with England, but required a naval armistice as a preliminary. This demand, under certain conditions, the British ministry did not reject; but they would not permit the Brest fleet to be supplied with stores, or succours to be sent to the French army in Egypt. This proposal, therefore, not being accepted, Buonaparte refused to negotiate with England, and the Emperor refused to ratify the preliminaries of peace which had been signed by his envoy, Count St. Julien, at Paris.

The rupture of these negotiations was followed by that of the armistice in Germany, which had been renewed by the Emperor at the expence of surrendering the important fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philipsburg, into the hands of the French, as a pledge of his sincere desire for peace. The campaign recommenced on the 24th of November; and, in the beginning of December, the Austrians were defeated by Moreau in the decisive battle of Hohenlinden, in which the French took 10,000 prisoners, with 80 pieces of cannon. The Archduke Charles was likewise defeated, with the loss of 8000 men; and the Emperor was convinced that he had no resource but in a peace.

Another armistice was therefore concluded on the 27th of December; and negotiations for peace were opened at Luneville, and carried on with such dispatch, that the preliminary treaty was signed on the 3d of February 1801, by Count Cobentzel and Joseph Buonaparte, and soon after ratified by the Emperor. By this treaty

the cession of the Belgic provinces to France, as stipulated by the treaty of Campo Formio, was ratified in a more formal manner; and the whole of the country on the left side of the Rhine, the cession of which had been assented to at the congress of Rastadt, was likewise given up to France. The boundaries of the Cisalpine, afterwards called the Italian republic, were enlarged; and the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were compelled to renounce their territories, and accept such indemnities as should be provided for them in Germany.

The treaty of Luneville, like that of Campo Formio, was of short duration; and the Emperor Francis, in again taking up arms, was doomed to experience the most mortifying defeats, which, but for the clemency and moderation of the conqueror, might have been fatal to his empire. The causes which led to the renewal of hostilities are to be found in the continued encroachments of Buonaparte, which left no safety to any power, but in an open resistance by arms. A combination was therefore formed against him by England, Russia, and Austria, which was termed the *third coalition*. Buonaparte soon got intelligence of it, and immediately prepared to meet the storm. He left Paris on the 24th of September to join the grand army, and reached Strasburg on the 26th, accompanied by the Empress. The army which had for a length of time been forming on the coast, for the ostensible purpose of invading England, it was now perceived, was collected together, and strictly disciplined, solely for the purpose of being ready to take the field at a moment's notice, before his enemies could be equally prepared. Accordingly this powerful force rushed like a torrent to the frontiers, reached the banks of the Rhine on the 20th of September, and crossed that river on the 25th. On the 1st of October they were followed by the Emperor, who crossed the river at Kehl, having first issued a manifesto to his army, mentioning the commencement of the war of what he termed the third coalition, which, he said, was created and maintained by the gold and hatred of England. In the mean time the army under Bernadotte, consisting of about 40,000 men, moved with such rapidity as seems to have entirely discomfited the Austrian General Mack, who took no measures to oppose its progress.

Hostilities

Hostilities commenced on the 7th, when the Austrians were defeated in attempting to oppose the passage of the French army at the bridge of Donawert. Another Austrian column, while on its march to Ulm, the Austrian head-quarters, was suddenly surrounded and disarmed. Considerable reinforcements arriving under the command of Marshals Ney and Soult, the latter general marched through the neutral territory of Anspach, which belonged to Prussia, towards Biberach, in order to cut off the retreat of the Austrians by that quarter; while Ney crossed the Danube, and made an attack upon Elchingen, a little above Ulm. The Austrians made a *sortie*, but were driven back to their entrenchments before Ulm with great loss. In this city General Mack was obliged to shut himself up, but surrendered by capitulation on the 17th. To this unaccountable step, he afterwards said, he was induced, because Berthier assured him that the Austrians were driven behind the Inn, that Marshal Lasnes was in pursuit of the Archduke Ferdinand, that General Werneck had capitulated, and that it was impossible for any succours to reach him in that place, where he was pressed for provisions.

The surrender of Ulm was followed by successive defeats of the Austrians. That division of the army under Prince Ferdinand was closely pursued by Murat, with a large body of horse, who brought them to action on the 15th, and again on the 17th, when General Werneck surrendered the whole of his division prisoners of war. The remainder of the Austrian army was most vigorously pursued from Albeck to Nuremburg, and at length entirely defeated and dispersed; the Archduke, and only a few of his followers, making their escape.

Every division of the French army had crossed the river Inn, in the direct road to Vienna, on the 1st of November. The Emperor was with the right wing at Salzburg; and the centre, commanded by Prince Murat, rushed on Lintz with great rapidity. The Austro-Russian army retreated to Maelk, 50 miles from Vienna, on their approach, and the French entered that capital on the 12th of October. After a few days repose, the grand army pursued its march with irresistible rapidity in quest of the Austro-Russian army, which retreated before it, in hopes of drawing the French to a great distance from

their frontiers, in which case a defeat would to them prove truly disadvantageous.

After a great number of military evolutions, Buonaparte, at length, succeeded in gaining possession of nearly the whole of his enemy's provisions, which compelled them to risk a general engagement. At sun-rise, on the 27th of November, the sanguinary battle of Austerlitz commenced with a tremendous cannonade along the whole line. In less than one hour the whole left wing of the allied army was cut off, and their right forced back upon Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the Austro-Russian army, from the heights of which the two Emperors, Francis and Alexander, witnessed the total defeat of their army. The loss sustained by the allies, during the whole of this battle, amounted, according to the French bulletins, to 35,000 men killed on the field or taken prisoners, independent of 20,000 who were drowned, 150 pieces of cannon, and 45 stand of colours.

The consequences of this victory were fatal to the allies, and particularly to the Emperor Francis. An interview between the three Emperors took place, which lasted for two hours; this led to an armistice, which was to serve as the basis of a definitive treaty. The Emperor Alexander was to march home the remains of his army, in such a manner as Buonaparte should prescribe; and the French were to evacuate Brunn on the 4th of January, Vienna on the 10th, and the whole Austrian territory in six weeks after signing the treaty. After some discussion, the treaty was at length signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, by which several important changes took place in Europe: Venice was ceded by Austria to the new Italian kingdom; and the Emperor Francis agreed to relinquish all his power over the circles of Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, which Buonaparte formed into the kingdoms of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden; and they entered into a confederation, of which he placed himself at the head.

Shortly after the peace of Presburg, a treaty of perpetual alliance was signed at Paris between France and several members of the Germanic body, of which Napoleon was declared Protector. This event was the signal for the overthrow of the German empire; and, on the 6th of August 1806, the Emperor Francis publicly renounced

nounced his title and privileges as Emperor of Germany. That the Imperial title, however, might not become extinct in his family, he soon after declared himself Emperor of Austria, which title was soon acknowledged by all the powers of Europe.

The conduct of Napoleon towards the powers of the continent was now marked by the most violent usurpation and oppression, particularly after the peace of Tilsit, which seemed to lay the whole continent at his feet. The Emperor Francis for a long time was compelled to put up with his assuming conduct, which affected to treat the powers of Europe merely as conquered provinces, till, at length, roused by his overbearing conduct, the house of Austria resolved to make one more effort to assert its independence, and rescue Europe from its scourge. The Archduke Charles, who on several former occasions had distinguished himself as a great commander, was at the head of the army; and he, with the advice of the military council, proposed to carry on the war in the country of the enemy. Agreeably to this resolution, in the spring of 1809, after a declaration of hostilities, the Austrian army advanced, and took possession of Munich (the capital of the kingdom of Bavaria), Ratisbon, and other places. The inhabitants of the Tyrol, who, by the treaty of Presburg, in 1805, were made subject to the King of Bavaria, now almost unanimously declared themselves in favour of the house of Austria, to which for several centuries they had been subject. They drove the Bavarian troops from the whole of their territories, and for some time bravely defended themselves against a very superior force.

It is not to be supposed that the French government continued a moment a calm spectator of these events. No sooner was Napoleon aware that one of the princes of the Rhenish confederacy was driven from his capital, than he immediately set out at the head of a powerful army to repel the invaders, and *protect* his allies. On the 10th of April he set out from Paris, crossed the Rhine on the 15th, and arrived on the evening of the 16th at Dillingen, where he had an interview with the King of Bavaria, and promised in fifteen days to restore him his capital. On the 19th, at day-break, the two grand armies came in sight of each other; and a smart
action

action commenced, which terminated in favour of the French. On the 20th, the Austrians were again defeated in the battle of Abensberg; and on the 21st, after an obstinate contest, Landshut was taken by storm. On the 22d, the whole of the Austrian lines were attacked, and put to the route; but they were bravely defended by their cavalry, who nobly covered their retreat: and on the 23d, the horse made a spirited stand before Ratisbon, which however, ultimately, they were unable to protect, having been vigorously attacked by a greatly superior number of the enemy's cavalry. Ratisbon was taken by assault, and all who resisted were put to the sword. During all this continued fighting, the Austrians disputed the ground inch by inch; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, the French continued to advance, till at length, on the 10th of May, early in the morning, they appeared before Vienna, which had been relinquished by the grand Austrian army, the Archduke Charles having sought a strong position for the defence of Hungary, where he meant to make a stand. The capital was immediately summoned to surrender: but this was refused with disdain; and the populace fell upon the aide-de-camp, who was the bearer of the proposition, and wounded him. The suburbs of Vienna are incapable of making any defence; they are divided into eight quarters, and separated from the city by a vast esplanade. Of the 300,000 souls comprising the population of Vienna, 220,000 live in the suburbs, while only 80,000 inhabit the city. On the approach of the French army, a very great proportion of the inhabitants sought for refuge in the city, which was crowded to excess, and from the ramparts of which the garrison opened a vigorous cannonade upon the enemy, who had taken possession of the suburbs. Another summons was then sent, requiring an immediate surrender, which being refused, it was bombarded and set on fire in several places. A person must have seen Vienna, its houses of eight or nine stories, its narrow streets, and over-crowded population, within so narrow a compass, in order to form an idea of the tumult, horror, and disorder, which such an operation could not but occasion. In the evening, two French troops of voltigeurs having swam across the Danube, and collected materials for the erecting of a bridge
of

of boats, the Archduke Maximilian, the governor of the city, retreated, and a negotiation was entered into for its surrender. The capitulation was signed on the 12th in the evening; and on the 13th the French took possession of it.

While these events, so disastrous to the fortunes of the Emperor Francis, were passing in Germany, his affairs on the side of Italy were not much more favourable. On the 8th of May, the Austrians were defeated by the French, and obliged to retreat. In the Tyrol the inhabitants rose in a mass against the French and Bavarians, and drove them out of their country; but the Bavarian army now began to advance against them. In the north of Germany, the spirit of insurrection likewise began to manifest itself, and at length broke out into open hostility. Baron Von Schill placed himself at the head of a body of malcontents, and forced the troops of the King of Westphalia to relinquish Lunenburg and several other places; and his forces increased every day.

It could not be expected that the Emperor Francis would tamely submit to see his capital in possession of the French, without risking a battle for its recovery; on which also would depend the existence of Austria as an independent empire: accordingly we find that every preparation was made for the mighty contest that ensued. The Archduke Charles, who had retreated into Bohemia and Hungary, suddenly advanced on the left banks of the Danube, in order to prevent the French troops from crossing that river. The Emperor Napoleon left Vienna on the 19th; and a bridge of boats was thrown across the Danube at Ebersdorf, about six miles below that city. Near this place the river is divided into two channels by the island of Lobau; that on the right bank is of considerable width, while the other is comparatively narrow. It was on this spot that the French Emperor determined to attempt the passage of the river. On the 19th, Napoleon, with the greater part of his troops, passed the larger arm of the Danube; and, on the evening of the 20th he took a position, with his advanced guard on the left bank. The Archduke Charles, being apprised of his intentions, determined on attacking him before his whole army was passed over; and, at noon on the 21st, advanced forward to attack the French. The Emperor Napoleon in

in person directed the movements of his troops; and at three o'clock the battle commenced, when Buonaparte, at the head of the cavalry, endeavoured to break through the Austrian centre. This vast body of horse he had supported by upwards of 60,000 foot, and 100 pieces of cannon; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, he was unable to penetrate the compact mass which the Austrian battalions presented. The battle now became truly awful, and was worthy of deciding the fate of a mighty empire: above 200 pieces of cannon were at once in full play; the village of Aspern was ten times taken and re-taken, and at length remained in the possession of the Austrians, who, at eleven at night, remained masters of the field of battle. The French, during the darkness of the night, took up a position in a corner, with the Danube and the Isle of Lobau in their rear. Meanwhile the floats of heavy pieces of timber, which had been cut down in the vicinity of Vienna, drifted with great impetuosity against the bridge which the French had constructed, and carried away the bridge which united the right bank of the Danube with the Isle of Lobau, and entirely cut off all communication between the advanced and rear guards of the French army. Aware of this disaster, Napoleon, during the night, conveyed over, by continued embarkations, as many of the disposable troops which he had in Vienna and on the other side, for which he could procure a passage, and, at four o'clock in the morning, furiously attacked the enemy, who as warmly returned the charge. Words are wanting to describe the horrid scene which now ensued; until seven in the evening the battle raged with unabated fury, till, at length, the French were obliged to relinquish the attack, and retire to the position which they had primarily taken up on crossing the river, leaving the Austrians masters of the field of battle. The loss on both sides in this sanguinary conflict was immense. Six thousand wounded Frenchmen fell into the hands of the Austrians; and the French boast a great number of prisoners, and unhesitatingly claim the victory: they admit their being unable to advance, which they attributed to the destruction of their bridge by excessive floods. On the 23d and following day, the Austrians employed themselves in burying their dead, and the French in repairing the bridge, which was rebuilt

rebuilt on the 25th, when their wounded and prisoners were removed to the right bank of the river.

The fate of the war still remained undecided; nor could it be expected that any negotiation would take place until something more decisive in the field had been accomplished. After the above sanguinary affairs, the two grand armies, as if weary of destruction, remained quiet for several days. During this interval, the French were busily engaged in the construction of bridges and other works for repassing the Danube, and the Austrians in erecting fortifications and other works to prevent their advancement. On the 30th of June, the French works were completed. During the whole period since their repulse at Asperne on the 21st and 22d of May, the French continued in the possession of a small spot on the left bank of the Danube, which they defended by *têtes de pont* of 1600 fathoms in extent, formed of redoubts surrounded by pallisades, frizes, and ditches filled with water. To this point, from the right bank of the river, a bridge of sixty arches extended, on which three carriages could pass abreast; a second bridge was built upon piles, eight feet broad for the infantry only. Next to these was a bridge of boats, all of which were defended from the attack, even of fire-ships, by stuccadoes raised on piles between the islands. On the morning of the 1st of July, Buonaparte removed his head-quarters from the right bank of the Isle of Lobau, and from thence, on the 2d, to the entrenchments on the left bank. The Austrians were strongly fortified; notwithstanding which, Buonaparte ventured upon the attack, and, by a skilful manœuvre, succeeded in drawing the attention of the Austrians to a point remote from that where, in fact, he intended to commence his operations. The Austrians, completely deceived, were thus drawn away from the protection which their works had been calculated to afford, and were actually compelled to fight upon ground chosen by the enemy. This was a material advantage gained by the French. The Austrians appear to have been astonished by the unexpected movements which were made by the French during the night of the 4th, and morning of the 5th: but they recovered, endeavoured to turn their position to the best account; and, though there was much hard fighting, it does not appear that the French obtained any signal advantage on the 5th.

On the 6th they were more successful; and, in consequence of the Archduke Charles having weakened his centre by extending his flanks, they were ultimately victorious. The Austrians retreated towards Bohemia, on the high road to Prague, and were closely pursued by the French. On the 10th a smart action took place between the advanced guard of the French and the rear of the Austrians, which terminated in favour of the former; and on the 11th a general engagement took place at Znaim, during the heat of which Prince John of Lichtenstein repaired to the head-quarters of the French Emperor to propose an armistice, which, after a great deal of altercation was agreed to, and, in consequence, a cessation of hostilities took place, which was the only thing that could possibly save the Austrian empire from destruction. During this short contest, many of the continental powers were favourably disposed to the cause of Francis, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of declaring themselves, and of joining the House of Austria; but the late victories of the French produced a great change in their dispositions; the recent disasters of the Austrians cooled their ardour, and they were obliged tacitly to submit to their unhappy fate. The cessation from hostilities included not only the grand contending armies, but the whole forces of both empires; and the line of demarcation was specifically pointed out for the position of all the armies, till the terms of a general peace could be settled and agreed on: which event took place at Vienna, on the 14th of October, by which the Austrian empire was obliged to make a sacrifice of a considerable extent of territory. Nearly the whole of the archbishopric of Saltzburg was secularized, and annexed to Bavaria; the territory of Trieste, Fiume, and the Austrian possessions on the eastern side of the Adriatic, were possessed by the French; a considerable portion of Eastern Galicia was ceded to Russia, and part of Western Galicia was annexed to the Duchy of Warsaw.

Thus have we seen, that, after repeated appeals to arms, this venerable empire successively sustained the most severe losses; and in the short space of a few years, the Emperor Francis, from reigning over a powerful and extensive empire, saw himself reduced to a most humiliating insignificance, and compelled almost to implore the clemency of his conqueror for what he retained

retained of all his vast possessions. But the most important part of the treaty of Vienna was that which gave to Napoleon the daughter of the Emperor Francis. This was no doubt extremely humiliating to the latter, and proved how great his desire was to obtain peace.

Besides the sacrifices which we have already mentioned, which the Emperor Francis was compelled to make, the country of the Tyrol, which for several centuries had been subject to the house of Austria, was, by the treaty of Vienna, ceded to the King of Bavaria. This measure was almost unanimously resisted by the inhabitants, who flew to arms; and, headed by the immortal Hoffer, during the autumn of 1809 and the following spring, nobly resisted every effort to subdue them. At length, however, they were overpowered by the number of their opponents in June 1810, and their leaders taken and executed.

The alliance which was imposed on the Emperor Francis, however repugnant to the feelings of the house of Austria, being acceded to, the nuptials were consummated with great pomp at Paris, on the 1st of April 1810; and from that period a good understanding appeared to exist between the two courts of France and Austria. But the subsequent events prove how frail the most intimate alliances are, when opposed to the interests of states. No sooner had fortune declared against Napoleon, and his expedition against the Russian empire failed, than the Emperor Francis declared in favour of the allies, and was thus a main instrument in effecting the destruction of his son-in-law.

It would be superfluous to repeat the great events in which the Emperor Francis was personally engaged, from the time we have brought down his Memoirs to the present period, they having been already so fully described in this work. It is sufficient to remark, that the Austrian empire has regained nearly the whole of its ancient possessions, and that its losses have been amply made up by the acquisition of new territories, confirmed to the Emperor by the Congress at Vienna.

The Emperor Francis was married, August 14th, 1790, to Maria Theresa of Naples, by whom he had eight children. She dying May 13th, 1807, he was subsequently married, Jan. 6th, 1808, to the Princess Maria Beatrix.

Memoirs
OF
FERDINAND THE SEVENTH,
KING OF SPAIN.

THE transactions which would properly fall under the life of this sovereign Prince, have been so fully narrated in our Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington, that we shall have but little to add in this place.

Ferdinand was born on the 14th of October 1784, a few years before the breaking out of the French revolution. His father Charles IV. (who is now an exile) had scarcely mounted the throne of Spain, before this portentous event involved all Europe in a general scene of political and military contest. Spain joined the general confederation against the new republic, and in consequence was numbered among the objects of its resentment, by a declaration of war in 1793. The operations of Spain were, however, by no means vigorous, but languid and inefficient; and, after two campaigns, she was compelled to sign a treaty of peace at Basil, on the 22d of July 1795. By this treaty the French agreed to evacuate the Spanish territories in Europe, and received for this cession all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo. This treaty was soon followed by a rupture with Great Britain. On the 5th of October 1796, a manifesto was published against this country, to which the court of London made a spirited reply; and, about the same period, an alliance, offensive and defensive, was concluded between Spain and the French republic. In the war which succeeded with Great Britain, his Catholic Majesty could boast of little honour or success; and the French republic gained little from its new ally, save pecuniary contributions, which from time to time she was compelled to advance. The naval engagement off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February 1797, nearly annihilated her marine; and
from

from that period to the temporary termination of hostilities by the peace of Amiens, in 1802, nothing remarkable occurred in the court of Spain.

On the re-commencement of the war in 1803, Spain was again compelled, by the overbearing power of France, to take an active part against England. She fitted out a formidable fleet, which being united to a considerable French squadron, on the 21st of October 1805, was nearly annihilated off Cape Trafalgar, by the immortal Nelson. After this terrible blow to the naval power of Spain, nothing remarkable occurred in her history till 1808, when the designs of Buonaparte (which had long been suspected) against the independence of Spain were openly avowed. These schemes were furthered in consequence of a domestic dispute, probably fomented by the emissaries of France, which took place between the reigning monarch, Charles IV. and the heir-apparent Ferdinand, the Prince of Asturias. During the winter of 1807-8, the public mind had been greatly agitated. Some accused the Prince of Peace (Don Manuel Godoy), who had long held the helm of state, and who, from a menial situation, had become the richest and most powerful subject in the kingdom, of having concerted with the Queen to destroy Ferdinand. Others accused Ferdinand of being at the head of a party to dethrone his father. Solemn councils, and long deliberations, followed up by exiles, and violent proceedings, far from calming the public mind, served to agitate it still more.

In March 1808, great disturbances happened at Aranjuez, which were excited by a report that the royal family were about to quit Spain, and emigrate to America. This report drew together the people from all quarters to Aranjuez, where they found the attendants of the court packing up the baggage of the royal household, and understood that relays of horses were stationed on the road to Seville, from whence the royal family, it was said, intended to take shipping. But the King having taken all the means in his power to convince the people that he had no such intentions, the populace suspected that Godoy was the chief instigator of this unpopular measure, and directed their fury chiefly against that nobleman, whose palace they attacked on the 18th of March. He, however, escaped, but was afterwards taken in a garret

garret of his own house. In the mean time the King issued two decrees, with a view to allay the popular tumult; but, as this did not abate, he, on the 19th, took the extraordinary resolution of abdicating the throne in favour of Ferdinand, his eldest son. His motives for this conduct he attributed to the infirm state of his body, which no longer permitted him to support the weight of government; and this resolution he publicly declared to be the result of his own free will. The new sovereign was therefore proclaimed with the title of Ferdinand VII. who issued an edict, confiscating the effects of the Prince of Peace, and appointing the Duke del Infantado his successor as minister of state.

How far these disturbances were caused by the machinations of Buonaparte, it is impossible to determine; but that they were so is probable, by the active measures taken about this time by Napoleon to awe by a French force, the Spanish nation. A very considerable force had for some time been collecting at Bayonne, probably to take advantage of any circumstance which might occur favourable to his designs. On being made acquainted with these transactions, and the abdication of Charles, Buonaparte affected to consider this as having been forced upon his ally, for whose assistance Murat was ordered to advance with a considerable army towards Madrid. He caused it to be intimated to Ferdinand, that the French Emperor was on his way to Spain, and advised him to meet his master on the road. In the mean time he tampered with the weak and self-deposed Charles, whom he assured Napoleon would reinstate on the throne of his ancestors. This imbecile monarch was then advised to address a letter to Buonaparte, in which he contradicts his decree of abdication, declaring that it was a measure of compulsion, and throws himself upon the protection of the French Emperor, his friend and ally, from whom alone his subjects can hope to derive tranquillity and happiness.

In the mean while Ferdinand had left his capital, accompanied by the French General Savary, and had advanced as far as Vittoria; where he was left by that officer, but found himself surrounded by French troops, with whom he was compelled to remain, till Savary returned to him again, bringing a letter from his master, addressed
to

to Ferdinand, as Prince of Asturias, assuring him that the sole object of his intended journey into Spain was to make such reform in that kingdom as would be agreeable to the public feeling. Reverting to the late disturbances in Spain, and his own power over the royal family, he makes use of the following expression: "*A few of my soldiers may be murdered, but the subjugation of Spain shall be the consequence.*"

After this, Ferdinand was compelled, against his will, to continue his journey to Bayonne, where he was obliged to take up his residence in a place by no means suited to his rank. He, however, dined with Buonaparte on the day of his arrival: but, after he had retired, General Savary brought a message from his master, intimating his determination that the present royal family of Spain should give up to him all right and title to the crown of that kingdom, and that they should be succeeded by a branch of his own family. Ferdinand resisted with indignation all the promises, and afterwards the threats of the usurper, to mould him to a compliance with his wishes; but he soon began to perceive that he was a close prisoner, and had the mortification, in a few days, of finding that his father and the rest of the royal family were in the same situation. Napoleon, finding that all his efforts were unavailing to reduce Ferdinand to a compliance with his views, resorted to policy to effect what force could not. He persuaded Ferdinand to resign the throne into the hands of his father; and, on the 1st of May, he made a conditional surrender of it. On the 5th Napoleon had a long conversation with Charles and his Queen, before the breaking up of which Ferdinand was called in to hear the humiliating and disgusting expressions which were used by the usurper in order to induce Charles to concede what Ferdinand had so nobly refused. All the parties were seated, except Ferdinand, who was now ordered by his father, on pain of being treated as an usurper, and a conspirator against the rights of his parents, to make an absolute renunciation of the crown to the French Emperor. With this requisition he, after some hesitation, complied. This act completed the abdication of the Bourbon family in Spain; for it appeared that the imbecile Charles, on the preceding day, had executed a deed of resignation, which transferred

transferred to the Emperor of the French his title to the crown of Spain, on consideration of receiving, during his life, an annuity of 80 millions of reals, a dowry to his Queen of two millions of reals, and to the Infanta of Spain the annual sum of 400,0000 livres. Thus Buonaparte effected the transference of the Spanish nation from the Bourbon dynasty to his own family; and, filled as the annals of mankind are with acts of treachery, perfidy, and violence, it would be difficult to point out a deed, which in every part of its performance, in its own nature, or in the character of the means by which it was obtained, bears such strong marks of unjust and lawless tyranny.

The crown of Spain being thus in possession of Napoleon, it was not long before he transferred it to his brother Joseph, who, in the beginning of June, repaired to Bayonne, where he was received by a deputation of the grandees of Spain, who addressed him with the most fulsome adulation. But though the nomination of Joseph was easily effected by a party, yet it was not so easy to place him on the throne in opposition to the almost unanimous will of the nation. Ferdinand was the darling of the people: he had on various occasions evinced a superior judgment and understanding, but had been always kept in the back ground by the Prince of Peace, who by his arts had obtained a complete ascendancy over the elder branches of the royal family. His accession had been hailed with joy by the people, as it released them from the tyranny of an upstart minister. They had hitherto submitted with patience to the influence and power of France, hopeless of rescuing themselves while Charles possessed the throne; but the accession of Ferdinand, and the consequent disgrace of Godoy, led them to hope that they should now find a sovereign able and willing to assist their efforts to regain their independence. Under these circumstances, a great part of the nation had come forward to offer their services in supporting the claims of the new monarch, who, however, rejected the proffered assistance, lest he should expose himself to the suspicion or displeasure of Buonaparte, whose views, till too late, he could not develope. The spirit which animated the people was not of a nature to be chilled or repressed by the French usurper's treachery or ambition. The renunciation of the royal family was no sooner known

known in Spain, than the northern provinces, ascribing it all to treachery, burst into open insurrection. Asturias and Galicia set the glorious example, and it was soon followed by almost every part of Spain not immediately occupied or overawed by the armies of France.

The subsequent transactions, which ultimately led to the expulsion of the French from Spain, and the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne, have been so fully narrated already in the course of these Memoirs, that we shall abstain from repeating them here. With respect to the conduct and ingratitude of Ferdinand towards the Spanish patriots, for which he has merited so much just reproach, we cannot better illustrate this part of his policy, than by presenting to our readers the speech of Mr. Brougham in the House of Commons, in which he has taken an enlarged view of the proceedings of Ferdinand from the termination of his captivity to the present time; and with this speech we shall conclude his Memoir.

Mr. Brougham prefaced his remarks on the conduct of this monarch, by saying, that our high character as a nation is in danger, if in the affairs of other countries we exert our power of interference in a wayward and capricious manner—at one time, in behalf of one family, keeping up a constant system of interference, both in establishing it and maintaining it on a throne, and at the same time refusing to interfere with the reign of another man, who, by our assistance, had been established on the throne, and who exerted all his power to oppress those to whose cordial and generous co-operation we owed our success in his cause and our own. The honourable gentleman then proceeded to prove our right to interfere in certain cases, from instances drawn from the reigns of Philip II. and Queen Elizabeth. He then entered into a review of the conduct of King Ferdinand, contrasting it with that of the Cortes, and shewing that from the treaty concluded between him and Buonaparte at Valency he had been hostile to this country. “On his return from captivity,” said Mr. Brougham, “instead of proceeding to his capital, he shut himself up in the town of Valencia, and thought only how he could get rid of the Cortes and the Regency, the allies of England, and who, with England, had saved his country for him. The Cortes, on their part,

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pursued a different line of conduct: they refused to ratify the treaty of Valency, because they were the allies of England, and that treaty was hostile to England; and now, for having refused—for having persevered in their strict alliance with us, they are suffering under the persecution of a sovereign, whose matured plot it was (I am justified in considering it as such, from the whole conduct of Ferdinand while in captivity) to break down the constitution, and to burst asunder the bonds that knit him with this country. I lament to add, that it was not without great assistance he was enabled to accomplish this execrable project: I grieve to say, that it is but too indisputable that without the assistance of England it never could have been done. What representations our minister, who was then with Ferdinand, made upon the subject, I know not; if he received any instructions from home, those instructions would be in the office of the noble Lord; but I will venture to say, he received none, for if he had, they would have been produced before now, in order to remove that stigma from the foreign policy of the noble Lord. But it was not merely the countenance of a British minister which Ferdinand received in his endeavours to overturn the constitution; the troops which were sent against the Cortes were in British pay, and the van-guard was commanded by a British officer. General Whittingham, who had been appointed to a command in the Spanish army, is also a Lieutenant-Colonel in our own. He preceded Ferdinand; he surrounded Madrid, while Ferdinand himself was in the rear, and even behind the rear. The Cortes surrendered—the Regency surrendered: *they were arrested, and sent to different dungeons.* British payments did not cease even then; more money was issued for the use of Ferdinand; more equipments and clothing for his troops were furnished: in a few months the different sums advanced amounted to half a million sterling, and then a paltry subterfuge was set up by the government that this was only the arrears of a balance that was due. Had the engagements entered into between the two countries no reciprocity? Were there none on the other side which required to be fulfilled? Where was the treaty of Valency? Or did we engage to pay money to Spain at all hazards, no matter whether she fought against us or for us?

us? Are all contracts to be considered as founded upon a principle of reciprocity, except when British money is to be squandered? Have we that plethora of opulence, that we require some assistance in order to relieve us from the intolerable burden of our wealth? I have no hesitation in saying, that after what happened, after the treaty of Valency, and after the unequivocal conduct of Ferdinand, we ought to have paused before we sent another shilling to Ferdinand. General Whittingham having performed the services which I have described, he was rewarded by Ferdinand, promoted to the rank of Major-General, and decorated with a Spanish order. In imitation also of Ferdinand, and no doubt by the advice of the noble Lord, he was appointed an aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, being placed over the head of at least one hundred and forty other officers." "I think," continued Mr. Brougham, "I have said enough to shew that this is not an unnecessary interference with the proceedings of Ferdinand; for those proceedings are in fact against our policy and our measures. His cruel persecutions against the patriots were because they had fought and acted in our cause, and because they had refused to give up that constitution, which we had co-operated with them in producing. What followed upon his return to Spain, I do not wish minutely to trace. Twenty-seven members of the Cortes, and two of the Regency, were thrown into dungeons, together with a number of persons in private stations of life, who had committed no other crime but that of having aided the cause of their country. After nineteen or twenty months imprisonment, without being brought to trial, it at length pleased his Catholic Majesty to appoint a commission, or rather three commissioners, one after another, all of them filled up by himself, and not selected from the ordinary judicial bodies of the kingdom. By these commissioners thus appointed, all those unhappy persons were tried, and sentences of acquittal or condemnation pronounced upon them. After, however, these courts had done their duty, it was the good will and pleasure of the Spanish King to revise all their proceedings, and to disapprove of all. He proclaimed to his own people and the world, that even the very creatures with whom he had filled the tribunals of justice were not sufficiently subservient to his will, or

underrated the pitch of animosity which rankled in his mind. Some of the sentences, indeed, were thought sufficiently severe by this royal judge. One man was condemned to two years solitary confinement, merely for having been a member of the Cortes: he had committed no other earthly offence! There was another, a poor tradesman, who had shewn great zeal in support of the patriotic cause, and towards England; he was condemned to four years imprisonment. 'What!' said Ferdinand, 'only four years for a wretch who made a speech in a popular assembly, and advocated the principles of liberty!' He immediately took his pen, struck out the punishment affixed to this poor cripple (for such he was), and condemned him forthwith to be hanged. But there was something so iniquitous, so revolting in all this, that even the populace of Madrid, the scum, the very rabble, the lowest vulgar of that city, with whom alone all the measures of Ferdinand had hitherto been popular (and what more fatal alliance can be imagined than king and mob, either for the safety of the throne or the people), even these, his chosen friends and allies, rose with indignation, and rescued the unhappy victim. I will not enter into numerous details; but when I look at this infernal list of proscriptions, and find at the head of it the name of M. Arguelles, every one who values talent, every one who venerates patriotism, every one who loves virtue, or who admires eloquence, must share with me in the pain and indignation I feel, to reflect that this unfortunate, this ill-fated gentleman, who never exerted his great abilities but to support the cause of his country, and who zealously endeavoured to obtain in the Cortes the abolition of the slave-trade, which was on the eve of being accomplished, has been condemned by Ferdinand to serve as a common soldier in the garrison of Ceuta, a pestilential dungeon on the coast of Africa, in sight of our own fortress of Gibraltar. The question which the House now has to consider is, whether this shall be *the only case* in which we will not interfere: that *we have interfered, on other occasions, and do even to this hour, cannot be denied*. We keep up an army in France, not to support an ally for objects of truly British policy, but expressly and avowedly, as acknowledged in a note by the noble Lord himself, to maintain on the throne a certain individual. I

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am sure I should not say too much if I were to say that the whole police of France is under the direction of the Duke of Wellington; the police of Paris unquestionably was for four or five months. Dispatches daily arrive from Paris, as if France were only a province of the British empire; and when they arrive, cabinet-councils are assembled in Downing Street to take them into consideration, as if they came from Dublin or York. We are constantly and perpetually alive to every little proceeding which occurs in France, and all this merely for the purpose of keeping one particular branch of the royal family upon the throne. I trust I have now shewn a case in which we are bound to protect our allies, to interfere in behalf of those whom we have brought into danger, and whom we have no other means of relieving, but by the influence and weight which this country possesses—an influence and weight which has never been denied when exercised in a just and honourable cause. It may be said, perhaps, that by interfering we shall only expose the objects of our solicitude to some new turn of caprice or resentment on the part of Ferdinand; but we may dismiss those apprehensions, because it is impossible to argue upon the waywardness of tyranny, and therefore impossible to deduce from it any just grounds for remaining quiet. All I entreat of the House is, that it will recollect the ground upon which we have voluntarily placed ourselves, in reference to our Regency and our Cortes; we have brought them under the resentment of Ferdinand, and even though we were bound by no stipulations—by no solemn alliance—by no obligations arising out of a combined system of operations for one common end, yet parliament has repeatedly carried addresses to the foot of the throne, to promote the ends of justice and humanity. I would not recommend that threats or menaces should be employed; that is always bad policy; but surely we might remind Ferdinand, not of the services which we have done him, because gratitude is a virtue of which I do not suspect him, but of principles which have commonly more influence upon persons of his description. We might appeal to his apprehensions—to his fears—to the danger he incurs by persevering in such a line of conduct. We might remind him of what England has done upon former occasions, and how often her
power

power, when aroused, has scattered in one breath the whole resources of Spain. We might remind him of what we did for the Huguonots in France, what we have done for the Protestants in other countries, and what we have done for the oppressed wherever we heard of their injuries and their sufferings. We may, perhaps, succeed by these means, in impressing upon him a truth which I would not convey to him in my own language, but in the language of a Spanish minister, who addressed himself to one of his ancestors:—‘ Your Majesty,’ said he, ‘ has two enemies; one is the whole world, the other your own minister.’ At any rate there is one view of the matter which it is impossible to overlook. He will at least be reminded that there is yet in the world a corner where truth may be fearlessly spoken—where the crimes of Princes may be arraigned—where the oppressed may be vindicated—and where the oppressors may be called to account; that place is the Commons’ House of Parliament.” The honourable member then concluded by moving an address, stating that the alliance now subsisting between this country and Spain afforded a favourable opportunity for employing the weight and influence of the government, supported by the opinion of the House of Commons, in behalf of the Spanish patriots.

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